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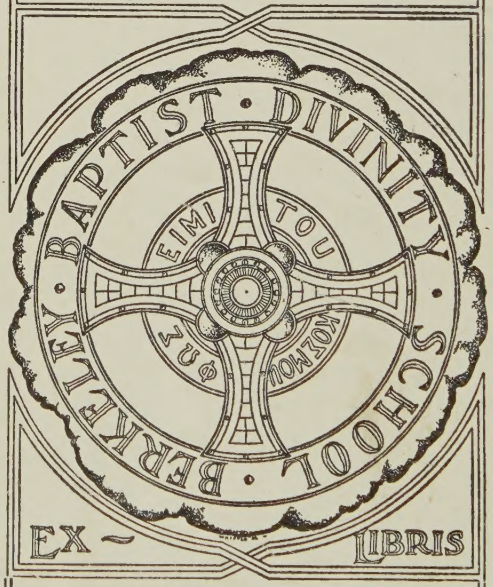

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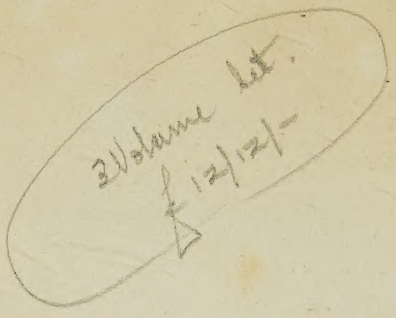

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from an original Picture in Lambeth Palace.

JOHN WHITGIFT, D.D.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Born 1530. *Died Feb^ry 29^th 1603.* A.

THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

JOHN WHITGIFT, D.D.

THE THIRD AND LAST LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The whole digested, compiled, and attested from Records, Registers, original Letters, and other authentic MSS. taken from the choicest Libraries and Collections of the Kingdom.

TOGETHER WITH

A LARGE APPENDIX OF THE SAID PAPERS.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXXII.

1822

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TO THE

MOST REVEREND AND PIOUS FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN, &c.

May it please your Grace,

I HAVE now lived (by the gracious providence of God) to finish the Lives and Acts (as far as my collections would serve me) of the four first holy Archbishops of Canterbury, those wise and painful, great and good governors of this reformed Church of England. And as I have dedicated the accounts given of the three former unto two most worthy Archbishops of Canterbury, your Grace's immediate predecessors, with their good acceptance; so I take the assurance to offer this last unto yourself, truly deserving the same character.

And indeed to whom could I so fitly dedicate the history of this Archbishop, as to an Archbishop, who desires to tread in his steps, and to follow such a great example; and who reckons it the highest honour, as well as truest satisfaction to himself so to do; (as your Grace piously hath been pleased sometime to declare;) and who, it appears, makes the welfare, peace, and establishment of this Church your unfeigned care and concernment, as that active predecessor of your Grace did. And surely your

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Grace, so well disposed, may meet with some passages in the lives of these Archbishops, and especially this last, that may suggest something to your wisdom and consideration, both for your direction and comfort in the managery of this weighty charge committed unto you, and to imitate their courage and constancy under the difficulties they met with in their government, by means of unquiet and undermining spirits.

I cannot, May it please your Grace, but observe for this purpose, several singular Christian virtues shining in Queen Elizabeth's three Archbishops, right worthy to be followed by all their successors, as very suitable for *their* conduct especially.

The first of these was a man above the world, contemning all the faint and fading glories of it; as his motto (that he affected, taken out of the word of God) bespake him. So that his high place and dignity did not puff him up, nor hinder his aspiring to, and earnest expectation of, the more substantial satisfactions of another world.

Mundus transit, et concupiscentia ejus.

The next had his soul possessed with a firm and comfortable affiance and trust in God, necessary for his high and holy calling and office. And that, not only when he suffered exile and the loss of all for the cause of Christ; but also afterwards in his elation to the metropolitical see, when the faithful and conscientious discharge of his duty herein created him enemies, contriving to bring him into disgrace and sorrow; and so they did effectually: but still *the name of the Lord was his strong tower.*

Turris fortissima nomen Domini.

Invincible patience was conspicuous in this our third Archbishop, under those many oppositions,

taunts, reproaches, calumnies, clamours, lies, and unsufferable abuses he underwent in Parliaments, in Court, in city, in country: and for nothing else, but for labouring to preserve and keep the Church of England, as it was legally established in the first reformation of it. All which notwithstanding, he went on steadily, and with meekness and forbearance persevered in his pious purposes, and succeeded at length beyond expectation; making good his motto, *That he that beareth patiently overcomes at last.* Vincit qui patitur.

These noble and divine gifts, your Grace hath and will have great need of in your station and spiritual administration of the affairs of this Church, as they had and exercised, who are gone long since hence, and do enjoy the ample reward of their faith and patience.

Pardon, my Lord, this address. And I beseech your Grace, and all others, to accept in good part this my imperfect, but well meant, and, I hope, useful work. And so begging your Grace's blessing, I humbly take my leave; being,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble

and obedient Servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

I SHALL only detain the reader of this book now offered to the public, while I advertise him of two or three things briefly; *viz.* concerning the *end* and purpose for which I have composed it; the *method* I have used; and the *credit* to be given to it.

My *end* herein was, together with the preserving of the memory of this Archbishop, to continue some history of our reformed Church under Queen Elizabeth; the knowledge whereof we have hitherto much wanted. Which as I had given some account of in the former part of her reign, under the lives of the two former Archbishops, and elsewhere; so under this we have gone on, and lengthened it out to the end of her life; and somewhat further, to the entrance of her successor King James I. The fruit whereof is various, and chiefly to dispose us, in this succeeding age, to value and adhere to this holy religion and Church, which still flourisheth, after so many foreign and domestic endeavours to undermine it, and the more open assaults to overthrow the evangelical and apostolical discipline, on which it was settled after great deliberation by very wise and good men, our first Reformers; several of them martyrs and confessors: and to excite us (who live in these days) heartily to bless and praise Almighty God for the many signal deliverances which we see it hath obtained by his gracious and overruling hand, throughout that long and dangerous reign; and to live quietly and thankfully in the communion of it.

The *method* I have taken hath been to comprise the history under two heads; *viz.* under the life of the Archbishop, and his particular care and conduct in the govern-

ment of the Church, and influence in the many occurrences wherein religion or learning were concerned. And secondly, under other various ecclesiastical emergencies happening from time to time, having some respect or other to the Archbishop, his courts or dependencies. By which means a fair prospect is given of thé state of this Church for many years; *viz.* from the time that Whitgift first wore the mitre, to the conclusion of his life, and the administration of it for above a year after.

And to make the history the more useful and instructive, as well as entertaining, I have given myself the liberty (as occasion hath fallen in) to enlarge my accounts both of matters and persons. So that a great many transactions, from year to year, are related; especially what was done in Parliaments, and Convocations, and Commissions Ecclesiastical. And large notices are recorded of many Bishops, Divines, dignified men, or eminent for learning, disciplinarians, schismatics, and enthusiasts, as well as other persons of quality or remark in those times: whereby the knowledge of them, their principles, their characters, their virtues, their vices, &c. are brought to light, or to clearer and truer light; the names only of some of them, or little more, having come to our ears at this distance of time.

As, these Archbishops and Bishops, (besides our Archbishop,) *viz.* Parker, Grindal, Sandys, Cox, Scory, Ælmer, Cooper, Overton, Hutton, Matthew, Pierse, Bilson, Fletcher, Still, Bickley, Heton, Bancroft: Deans, Divines, and University men; Noel, Perne, Goodman, Fox, Lever, Saravia, Sutcliff, Whitaker, Broughton, Reynolds, Baro, Hooker, Andrews, Abbot, Goad, Overal, Nevyl, Charior: new Reformers and Separatists; Sampson, Nicolls, Cartwright, Travers, Chark, Giffard, Browne, Randall, Fenn, Snape, Pagitt, Penry, Udall, Barrow, Greenwood, Darell: Civilians; Clark, Cofin, Lewen: Papists; Ballard, Moor, and the gentlemen and Priests in Wisbich-castle: Courtiers and Statesmen; Lord Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Walsingham, Wylson, Hatton, Knowles, Beal, &c. Of all whom, and many more, mention is made, and divers mat-

ters observable, in the series of the book, are discovered concerning them. To which I add, that there are interspersed not a few affairs of both the Universities, and of divers colleges therein.

And now, as for the *credit* to be given to what I have writ: I have taken my relations from authentic records, papers of state, original letters, registries of Archbishops and Bishops of Canterbury, and of the University, the Cotton library, the Heralds' Office, Mr. Petyt's library, the Harleyan library, that of the late Bishop of Ely, and other treasuries of manuscripts of the greatest fame; and most of them such as mine own eyes have seen, and hand hath transcribed. And as I have always professed, so I have now governed myself strictly by the rules of truth and integrity. And that I might the more surely give the sense of the papers I have made use of, I have for the most part compiled the history, not so much in mine own words, as in the very words of the records and writings; though sometimes the expressions are uncouth, and the spelling not so consonant to our modern way of writing; that so the reader may the better judge of what he reads; and that the truth of the things themselves may the more evidently appear.

I must also here in gratitude acknowledge the assistances divers learned men have given me, by supplying me with some very valuable papers, either originals or transcripts; as willing to render this work I had undertaken the more complete: particularly the Reverend Thomas Brett, LL. D. of Spring-Grove; Thomas Baker, B. D. of St. John's college; Mr. Samuel Knight, of Trinity college, Cambridge; Mr. Nicholas Battely, of Beaksborn, deceased; Mr. Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds in Yorkshire.

And in order to be secure from imbibing wrong impressions, (as often happens by means of the author's partiality, or mistake, or wilful concealment of many things,) and for the confirmation of what is here related, I have in an Appendix entered a great sort of originals, to the number of one hundred and twenty-nine: which will both vindicate

my truth and diligence, and, to a critical, exact, and curious reader, will, I dare say, be highly acceptable and satisfactory.

In short, and to conclude: By what is here written, we may see what the true principles of the Church of England be; what ground it stands upon; what arguments it hath used to defend itself. The benefit whereof may be, to prevent any after-deviations from it, by any novel doctrines or modern practices, endeavoured to be superinduced on it. We may see what violent and dangerous assaults it hath met with from two sorts of ill-willers especially; and how wonderfully from time to time, by the great and indefatigable care and diligence, moderation and wisdom of its Archbishops of Canterbury, and especially this our Archbishop, the countenance and favour of Queen Elizabeth, and above all, the blessing, protection, and good providence of God, it hath been preserved, and subsisted through that long reign.

THE CHAPTERS

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTS

OF

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

WITH THE CHIEF MATTERS CONTAINED IN EACH CHAPTER.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

THE INTRODUCTION. Whitgift's name, stock, and family. His birth, education, and removal to the University of Cambridge. Made Fellow of Peter house. His danger in the visitation under Queen Mary. Some account of this visitation. The rigour thereof. Dr. Perne, the Master of the college, his favour towards him. Whitgift's gratitude afterwards to Dr. Perne. P. 1.

Ann. 1530. 1548. 1553. 1555. 1556. 1557.

CHAP. II.

Whitgift takes holy Orders. Preaches before the University. His degrees, and preferments. Made Chaplain to Cox, Bishop of Ely. His public lectures. Is concerned about University affairs; and in addresses to Cecil their Chancellor. Made Master of Pembroke hall; and of Trinity college. Clears himself in a letter to Cecil from some imputations. His benefactions to Peter house. Is made Regius Professor. Commissioned by the University to examine a Lady Margaret Preacher at Leicester; complained of for his doctrine. P. 13.

Ann. 1558. 1560. 1563. 1565. 1567.

CHAP. III.

His conscientious care of the college statutes. Obtains a prebend in the church of Ely. Endeavours a regulation concerning sending Westminster scholars to Trinity college. Resigns his Divinity Lecture. His letter to Cecil, recommending a Mas-

Ann. 1568. 1569.

ter for St. John's college. Is one of the Commissioners for visiting King's college under a Popish Provost. Articles against him. Departs the college. Dr. Roger Goad by them confirmed Provost. P. 25.

CHAP. IV.

Ann. 1570. Procures new statutes for the University. Cartwright deprived of his lecture. Whitgift shews Cartwright's assertions to the Chancellor: and to the Archbishop: and answers them. Judicial proceedings against Cartwright. Whitgift offers him a dispute. On what terms. Which he refuses. He treats Whitgift with opprobrious speeches. P. 37.

CHAP. V.

Ann. 1571. 1572 Dr. Whitgift Vice-Chancellor. A parsonage and prebend granted him by Cox, Bishop of Ely. Preaches before the Convocation. Made Prolocutor. Interposes in a controversy between the Heads of colleges and the Proctors. Thinks of leaving the University. But upon the Heads' intercession with the Chancellor he is prevailed upon to stay. Is arbitrator in a case between the Master and some Fellows of Magdalen college. P. 44.

CHAP. VI.

Admonition to the Parliament, a dangerous book. Some account of it. Whitgift undertakes to answer it. Dissuaded. His resolution; and reasons. The matters treated of therein. Shews the magistrates the danger of these men, by the example of the Anabaptists in Germany. Warns them to be circumspect. Sets before them the Donatists. The compilers of the Liturgy commended. A writing of Bishop Jewel, concerning Bishops and Archbishops. He is vindicated by Whitgift. The Archbishop of Canterbury traduced in the Admonition. Beza and other foreigners, their judgments of this Church. Reasons of the Second Admonition considered. P. 54.

CHAP. VII.

Other pamphlets accompany the Admonition. The contents of them. Answered by Whitgift. The Bishops called Pharisees: retorted. Whitgift's judgment of the new platform; and of the Church of England. Whitgift's book before it was printed, reviewed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops.

Of public use to the Church. But oppugned in the University; and particularly in St. John's college. Endeavours to redress these seditions there. Chark, of Peter house, makes his Clerum against Bishops. Is expelled by the Heads. Their letter to the Chancellor, declaring his case. P. 80.

CHAP. VIII.

Browning and Browne, Fellows of Trinity college, convented before the Vice-Chancellor for their doctrines against Episcopacy. Ann. 1572. 1573. Dr. Whitgift pronounceth Cartwright no Fellow. Preaches at Paul's Cross. His character of Dr. Bartholomew Clerke, of King's college. Resigns Teversham. Milayn of Christ's college, his seditious preaching. The contents of his sermon at St. Mary's. Expelled. Whitgift concerned with the other Heads in vindicating the University privileges against the ecclesiastical commission. A case referred by them to the Archbishop of Canterbury. P. 93.

CHAP. IX.

Cartwright sets forth a Reply to Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition. His two main principles; unsound. His proofs and manner of writing. His way of dealing with the Fathers and ancient writers; and with the more modern reformers. The favour his book and himself obtained in London. Preachers at Paul's Cross, who extol his doctrine. The Bishop of London's letter hereupon. P. 102.

CHAP. X.

Dr. Whitgift sets forth his Defence against Cartwright. Sends it to the Lord Treasurer. Hated and vilified for his book. His method in the writing thereof. His declaration concerning the Church of England. Reproves the disturbers of the Church's peace. The state of the controversy. Dangerous doctrines and untruths in the Reply, shewed by Whitgift. His answer to Cartwright's reproaches. Is made Dean of Lincoln. Another answer against T. C. comes forth, entitled, *A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment.* Whitgift procures the Lord Treasurer's friendship to Trinity college. A case between the Master of Magdalen college and the Fellows referred to Dr. Whitgift. P. 109.

CHAP. XI.

Ann. 1574. 1575. Dr. Whitgift preaches before the Queen. The contents of his sermon. Is Vice-Chancellor. Sent to the Chancellor of that University about an University statute. His Defence replied to by Cartwright. Who vindicates himself from Whitgift's reflections. Extols his discipline. Approves of contention in this cause. Some other passages in his book noted. Dr. Whitaker's judgment of Cartwright's book. Another part of Cartwright's Second Reply comes forth, anno 1577. The contents thereof. P. 120.

CHAP. XII.

Whitgift in commission to examine and appease contests in St. John's college. Visited by the Bishop of Ely. The old statutes to be amended. The Master of that college abused in a common place. Whitgift's judgment thereof. His thoughts of an endeavour of taking away impropriations from bishoprics, and of holding but one benefice. The Bishop of Ely's troubles by reason of his revenues. Whitgift encourageth him. P. 140.

CHAP. XIII.

Ann. 1576. Dr. Whitgift endeavours to stop buying and selling of places in the University. Writes to the Treasurer for that purpose. Exact in observing the college statutes. His resolution of a case against certain Libertines. Nominated for Bishop of Worcester. His care for a fit man to succeed him in Trinity college. Dr. Still promoted to that place. In what state he left St. John's. The good and quiet condition Whitgift leaves Trinity college in. His good discipline and example there. Gives plate and manuscripts to that house. His deserts towards the University. P. 148.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Ann. 1577. 1578. Dr. Whitgift confirmed; and consecrated. Goes to his diocese. The Queen writes to him to forbid prophecies. Is made Vice-President of Wales. Informs the Council of Papists in those parts, and of Masses said. The Council's letter to him on that affair. What he did thereupon. Misrepresented at Court.

Clears himself. Concealers come into that country. Hartlebury in danger by means of them: but preserved by the Bishop. His excellent free speech to the Queen in behalf of the revenues of the Church. Obtains the disposal of the prebends of his church of Worcester. P. 161.

CHAP. II.

The Lord President of Wales resumes his office. Abuses in the Queen's fines endeavoured by the Bishop to be remedied. Takes the part of an honest man of the Council there; faithful in his trust. The Privy Council's orders to him for Seminaries. Dangers from them. A Parliament. A petition for reformation of abuses put up. Our Bishop's answer thereto. Left to our Bishop to nominate Justices of the peace in his diocese. A note of Peter Baro, Margaret Professor. An Act against Papists. The Lords write to him for dealing with them in pursuance of that act. Opposes the Lord President about a commission. The effect of his conference with Recusants. Interposes for his Clergy. P. 177.

Ann. 1579. 1580. 1581.

CHAP. III.

Letters to the Bishop from the Lords for Popish recusants. Rules sent for conference with Priests and Jesuits. He composes a difference at Ludlow. Hath a commission from the Archbishop to visit the church and diocese of Litchfield. Directions to him for this visitation from the Council. Their letter. The ill state of this church and diocese: and contests between the Bishop, and the Dean and Chapter, and others, about the chancellorship. *Subsidium Charitativum* required by the Bishop. A Divinity Lecture in the church of Litchfield set up. The conclusion of this visitation: and the Bishop restored to the execution of his function. P. 195.

Ann. 1583.

CHAP. IV.

Makes statutes for the church of Hereford. Petitions of that church for a Divinity Lecture, and a freeschool. Reconciles a difference about the river Avon. The rectory of Lugwarden in danger to be lost from the church of Hereford: endeavoured to be preserved by our Bishop. The rigorous government of the Lord President of the Marches. And particularly toward the Bishop of Hereford. P. 213.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1583. Whitgift elected Archbishop of Canterbury. Reads a schedule assenting to the election. The Queen's letters to the Bishop of London, and other Bishops, to confirm him. His confirmation. A Popish lying report printed of his consecration. The University of Cambridge congratulate him. His trouble and disquiet by the increase of sectaries: and the favour borne them by great men. P. 221.

CHAP. II.

The Archbishop sets forth articles to be observed for Church matters. Sends to the Bishops to execute them. His direction for prosecution of recusants. The opposition the articles met with, especially from the men of the Discipline. A letter of a lawyer, to answer and confute them. Other articles from the Privy Council sent to the Archbishop about religion. The Archbishop enjoins them. P. 227.

CHAP. III.

The Archbishop strictly requires subscription to the three articles; which procured him many ill-willers. A libel against subscription, called *The Practice of Prelates.* Begins his metropolitical visitation. His dealing with some Ministers in Kent, non-subscribers. Some of their principles and opinions. The evil consequence of non-subscription shewed by the Archbishop. Some Suffolk Ministers refuse. Their complaints to the Council against the Archbishop. His excellent letter to the Council concerning them. And his challenge. Ministers of Sussex suspended. Their suspensions taken off. P. 240.

CHAP. IV.

Commissions for the dioceses of Ely and Winton, vacant. Other commissions for Chichester and Hereford. Recusants. A Bishop of Winton confirmed by the Archbishop. His commission to the Suffragan of Dover. Unites two Churches. Preaches at St. Paul's on the 17th day of November. The contents of his sermon. Obtains a commission for ecclesiastical causes.

Shews reasons for the necessity thereof. Draws up articles and interrogatories for Ministers. P. 260.

CHAP. V.

Some Kentish gentlemen intercede with the Archbishop for their Ministers. The communication between them and the Archbishop. Some account of these Ministers: and particularly of Nicolls, Parson of Eastwell: and Ely, another. The Archbishop procures their places to be supplied during their suspensions. Mr. Beal's book in behalf of the Puritans. He affronts the Archbishop; who sends the sum of it to the Lord Treasurer: and his own collections and animadversions thereupon. Anno 1584. P. 271.

CHAP. VI.

Beal's rude carriage and speeches to the Archbishop at Lambeth. He acquaints the Lord Treasurer therewith: and asketh his advice. Beal's insulting letter to the Archbishop. The contents thereof. The Archbishop clears himself of Beal's imputations in a letter to the Lord Treasurer. Beal still abusive of the Archbishop. Advice to the Lord Treasurer about a printing press at Cambridge. P. 288.

CHAP. VII.

Gifford of Malden suspended; brought before the High Commission. Ministers of Lincoln and Ely diocese non-subscribers. Letters from the Council in their favour. The Archbishop's letter hereupon. Expostulates with the Lord Treasurer about these refusers. Is threatened. Draws up a schedule of all the preachers, both Puritans and subscribers; the number of the latter far exceeding. Sir Francis Knollys writes to the Archbishop, and so doth the Lord Treasurer, about these men. The Archbishop's earnest letter to him in answer. P. 301.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbishop's two papers, containing reasons to justify his proceedings by inquiry *ex officio mero*. His two letters to the Lord Treasurer in vindication of himself; and to satisfy that Lord in his doings, for settling due order in the Church. Desires continuance of amity with the said Lord. The Council writes to the Archbishop upon an information concerning some

Ministers in Essex, suspended and deprived. The Archbishop's answer. His answers to objections to the Book of Common Prayer, written to the Queen. P. 317.

CHAP. IX.

The Archbishop moves the Treasurer for the filling up the vacant sees. Vindicates the Bishops. The courses he took for the peace of the Church, not severe. Concerned for a fit man to be Master of the Temple. Opposeth Travers. His letters to the Queen and Lord Treasurer against him. He supposeth Travers to be the author of *Disciplina Ecclesiastica*. Some account of that book. The Archbishop objecteth against Travers's taking orders; not according to the Book. His plea. P. 336.

CHAP. X.

A Parliament. Petitions, in divers articles, in favour of Puritan Preachers, read in Parliament. But not allowed in the Upper House. The speeches of both Archbishops against them. The Archbishop writes his judgment of them to the Lord Treasurer. The party's diligence in preparing them for the Parliament. Sampson's letter to the Lord Treasurer. Articles exhibited to the Queen by the Archbishop and Bishops, for reforming of abuses. True causes of the insufficiency of many of the Clergy in these days. Other bills concerning the Bishops, and other ecclesiastical matters, brought into Parliament. The Bishop of Winton's considerations of the petitions. P. 347.

CHAP. XI.

The Archbishop's pleas for his Court of Faculties, against a bill in Parliament. Arguments about pluralities. Sir Francis Knowles's notes for the bill. The petition of the Convocation to the Queen against it. A paper of Archbishop Parker's in defence of that Court. Papers of the new Reformers about these matters: answered by the Archbishop. He writes to the Queen upon some bills passed in Parliament, prejudicial to the ecclesiastical state. Her speech, forbidding them to meddle in those matters. The Archbishop procures an act for Eastbridge hospital. P. 380.

CHAP. XII.

Decrees made in Convocation for the regulation of the Clergy and

spiritual courts. Account of matters done in this Convocation. Misdemeanours of Mr. Beal, drawn up by the Archbishop. The Archbishop endeavours to stop a *Melius inquirendum*. Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops. An option. Metropolitical visitation. Vacancies. He solicits the Queen for the liberties of the Church. A charter of Edward IV. *De Libertat. Cleri*. A collection for a great fire, recommended by the Lords to the Archbishop. A paper sent to the Archbishop by one enduced with a *later spirit*. What that spirit dictated. P. 396.

CHAP. XIII.

The Bishop of Exon vindicates himself to the Archbishop against certain accusations. He deprives one Randal, of the Family of Love, for his strange opinions. The Archbishop restrains the liberty of the press. Rules for that purpose. His discouragement from great men. His letter thereof to Sir Christopher Hatton. His humanity to Cartwright. The Earl of Leicester's letter to the Archbishop thereupon: and in behalf of one Fenn. The Archbishop's letter to the Earl. Passages between Secretary Walsingham and him about the Puritans. P. 419. Anno 1585.

CHAP. XIV.

The Earl of Leicester requires the Archbishop's judgment about the Queen's undertaking the defence of the Netherlanders. His wary answer. The Bishop of Sarum's discourse of the lawfulness of the Queen's preventing that people's being forced to idolatry. Another paper, *Whether the Queen be bound by the word of God to assist the United Provinces:* supposed to be the Archbishop's writing. He labours to stop a commission for enhancing the first-fruits and tenths of the Clergy. Motion made for Mr. Daniel Rogers to be Treasurer of St. Paul's. The Dean's reasons against it. The controversy between Hooker and Travers. The Archbishop's judgment thereupon. P. 434.

CHAP. XV.

Mr. Whitaker, the Queen's Public Professor of Divinity, motioned for Master of St. John's college, Cambridge. The Archbishop his friend. Objections against him. Dr. Perne's letter to the Lord Treasurer about the said Professor. Elected. In troubles arising to the University of Oxon, the Archbishop applied

to. Makes statutes for the cathedrals. His visitations; and consecrations of Bishops. Of Chichester, Dr. Bickley, Warden of Merton college. Mr. Savil succeeds him there. Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford; Billet, Bishop of Bangor. The Archbishop unites two churches in the county of Lincoln. Licences granted on divers occasions. Sends the names of such as had been preferred to benefices. A new platform of discipline. The Archbishop is made a Privy Counsellor. A mock communion. Penance enjoined for it by the Archbishop. P. 453.

CHAP XVI.

Anno 1586. Travers silenced by the Archbishop. He writes his case to the Lord Treasurer. And sues to him for his liberty to preach. His exceptions to Mr. Hooker's sermon. Hooker's account of Travers's controversy with him. And his vindication of his doctrine. The Archbishop excepts against Travers's taking Orders at Antwerp. Travers's reasons for the lawfulness of his ministry. The Archbishop's animadversions thereupon. Forbids Cartwright to answer the Rhemists' English translation of the New Testament. The Archbishop's favour to Samuel Fox, for his father's sake, the Martyrologist. P. 474.

CHAP. XVII.

A Parliament. The Puritans bring in a bill and book. The opposition it met with. Two notable papers of arguments to this purpose; supposed of the Archbishop's drawing up. The House petition the Queen for the new model of discipline. Her notable answer. Matters transacted in the Convocation. Their benevolence; and subsidy. The province of York granteth the same. Their petition to the Queen. The Clergy's address to her Majesty; with a tract against the new model. Puritan Ministers engage themselves by subscription to the Discipline. Observations upon it. Of the resolution to set it up by force. P. 487.

CHAP. XVIII.

Examination of Ballard, the Priest, in the Tower. What his judgment was of Archbishop Whitgift's book, and of the Puritans. The Archbishop and Bishops charged to be promoters of Popery. The Archbishop's judgment in the Star-chamber against Secretary Davison. Divers tracts set forth about the

laws for Papists. A discourse, or speech, about the falling away to Popery. A cautious licence from the Archbishop for bringing in of Popish books. A form of prayer and thanksgiving prescribed by the Archbishop for the use of his province. P. 505.

CHAP. XIX.

The Lord Treasurer's secret letter to the Bishops, to inform him of the Justices of the peace. A metropolitical visitation of Bath and Wells. Visits Saltwood and Hith hospitals. Digby, a Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, expelled by Whitaker the Master. Appeals to the Archbishop; who, with the Lord Treasurer, restore him. Is concerned about the expulsion of a Fellow of Bene't college, one Hickman. Reports his case to the Lord Treasurer. Writes to the Bishops for the Clergy to find men and arms: and for prayer and fasting. His dealing with divers Popish gentlemen in Wisbich castle. P. 514. Ann. 1587. 1588.

CHAP. XX.

Letters to the Bishops from the Archbishop, for the observation of certain articles. A Parliament. The disaffected to the Church stir. A bill against pluralities. The Clergy address the Queen about it. The state of the Clergy. The Convocation. Matters transacted therein. Their subsidy granted. Orders for the Clergy. The Archbishop's letter to such as were backward in their benevolence. A writing to prove the Queen's power in matters ecclesiastical. P. 530.

CHAP. XXI.

Hackington vicarage augmented. The conditions for the Vicar, by the Archbishop's instrument. The see of York vacant by the death of Archbishop Sandys. His deserts towards that Church. His character; and testimony to this Church of England. Succeeded by Piers, Bishop of Sarum. Confirmed at Lambeth. Martin Marprelate's libels. The secret printing press. A letter from some of the Council to the Archbishop, to search for these books and the authors. Expressions against the Bishops in those books. Cases and questions proposed and resolved by the Puritans, at their *classical* and *provincial* assemblies. Superiority of Bishops asserted in a public sermon, by Dr. Bancroft. A syllogism framed against it. Answered by

him. Another syllogism, to charge the Archbishop with tyranny. Answered by him. Penry's book. Cobler's book. Proclamation against seditious books. Seditious preaching at Cambridge. Dr. Perne labours for Fulborn rectory to be laid to Peter house. P. 542.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1589. Expressions in Marprelate's book against the Bishops in general. Foul language there given the Archbishop. The Bishop of Winton's book against the libel; wherein that Bishop is foully abused. He vindicates some expressions in his sermon. The Archbishop slandered in that libel. His particular answer to the charges against him there. P. 570.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbishop visits Peterborough and Canterbury. His articles of inquiry. Mr. Treasurer offended at them; and at the Bishops' assumed superiority. Argued against by letters. Two questions propounded about it: and resolved. Martin Marprelate's press taken. The Archbishop's letter thereupon to the Lord Treasurer. Letters of Beza to the Archbishop. Seminaries and others brought to the assizes at Oxon: and condemned. Mr. Davers and Mr. Cope, two gentlemen of that county, of different principles, contend. A private receptacle of Jesuits and Romish Priests discovered. P. 593.

CHAP. XXIV.

The soldiers furnished by the Clergy required to be in a readiness. Letters of the Council to the Archbishop: and of the Archbishop to the Bishops, for that purpose. Public prayers appointed by the Archbishop. Consults about the decay of learning in Oxford. Positions vented in Cambridge against the magistrates. Bishop Hutton's discourse with the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham concerning episcopacy, &c. The sees of Bristol and Oxford filled. The Archbishop unites two churches in Northampton. Dr. Perne dies. Robert Brown, the Separatist, returns to the Church. Some account of him. His tables. P. 605.

THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The introduction. Whitgift's name, stock, and family. His birth, education, and removal to the University of Cambridge. Made Fellow of Peter house. His danger in the visitation under Queen Mary. The rigour thereof. Dr. Perne, the Master of the college, his favour towards him. Whitgift's gratitude.

IT was the Queen's care and resolution to preserve the Church of England on the same foot it was at first in the beginning of her reign, reformed and constituted, both in respect of the *doctrine* and of the *government* of it. The Papists endeavoured more clandestinely to overthrow the former; but a rank of Protestants, that required a further reformation, more openly and violently struck at the latter, both by many books and libels published, and diligently dispersed abroad; and also by frequent bills and addresses in Parliament against the established hierarchy by diocesan Bishops: and therein also finding much fault with many things in the Liturgy and Offices prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Queen therefore (the metropolitical see of Canter-

BOOK I.

bury being now void by the death of Archbishop Grindal) carefully sought out for an active, as well as pious and learned person, as highly requisite to place in that see, who might, by his diligence and watchfulness, preserve and maintain the present constitution of the Church, and check and quell these *innovators;* who by this time indeed became formidable to the State, as well as the Church. And of all her Divines, she looked upon none so fit for this high office on this account, as Dr. John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester. By the experience she had of whom, and of whose government, both in the Church, and in the marches of Wales, (whereof he was for some years Vice-President,) she knew him to be both wise and stirring in the management of both ecclesiastical and civil affairs. And by his book, written some years before, against this disaffected set, in vindication of the present establishment of religion, he appeared to all that were unprejudiced, to be a Divine of a clear head, well seen in ancient ecclesiastical history, and versed in the Fathers of the Church, and also a man of excellent temper and moderation. For though Sandys, Archbishop of York, and
2 Aylmer, Bishop of London, were both very stout and learned men, and as tight to the present establishment of this Church, and his elders in years; yet their tempers were somewhat hot, and also both married men, a thing which the Queen disliked in the Clergy. As were likewise Horn, Bishop of Winchester, and Cox, Bishop of Ely; though otherwise they also his seniors, and excellently qualified in respect of learning and conduct.

The Queen resolves upon Whitgift for Archbishop.

I purpose, as much as I can, by the help of records, registers, and other original and authentic papers, to retrieve the memory and acts of this Archbishop, (as I have done the two former,) the third and last of that most venerable rank, that presided over the Church of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of happy memory. In the writing whereof, I humbly implore the assistance of the good Spirit of God. Archbishop Whitgift may be considered in his birth and younger years; in his flourishing state in

What to be considered in this Archbishop's life.

the University; and in his advancements and usefulness there: and then, (after his removal thence,) in the high trusts committed to him in the government and care of the Church.

Whitgift's name gave occasion once to the Queen to make a descant upon him, expressing her value of him, calling him her White Gift. And Hugh Broughton, the most learned Hebrician in Europe in those days, but an humourist, in a good mood, called him Archbishop Leucodore, by a Greek denomination, answering his name in English. And so I find did others affect (in intended honour) to style him. So Thomas Newton, of Cheshire, a poet in those times, in a copy of Latin verses dedicated to him, which I will here offer to the reader.

Whitgift's name descanted upon.

Called Leudodore by some.

Ad maximè reverendum in Christo Patrem, D. Johannem Whitgiftum, Archiepiscopum Dorovernicum, totius Angliæ Primatem et Metropolitanum.

Qui populo instillas nectar cœleste, gubernans
Commissum rará dexteritate gregem:
Contortos Stygii gryphos Cacodæmonis, arte
Qui solida retegis, (maxime Præsul) ave.
Sic λευκοδῶρον te præstas, nomine, réque;
Candorem gestans ore, animo, ingenio.
O! utinam hæc plures tales produceret ætas:
Non ita ineptires, fæx malesana virúm.
Per Thomam Newton, Chestreshyrium.

He was (as an historian in those times, and an herald, writeth) by kindred and blood, related to the Fulnetbies, and to Goodrich, sometime Lord Chancellor of England, and Bishop of Ely. The family of the former being descended from an ancient race, and had its being in Lincolnshire. And that a Fulnetby, towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, was living, and endowed with fair possessions there. And the other, *viz.* Bishop Goodrich, being a man as learned as honourable, having obtained a perpetual remembrance for both among posterity: not de-

Related to good families. Fran. Thynne.

BOOK I.

generating from the Saxon etymon of his name, (saith the forsesaid author,) signifying both *good* and *rich;* being virtuous in his life, and honourable in his calling.

His pedigree.

The name and family was ancient in Yorkshire, from a town in that country in the West Riding, called Whitgift. And I have seen in an old ledger-book of St. Peter's in York, and St. Bee's in Cumberland, two religious houses, some of this name mentioned, benefactors to those ancient foundations.

John Fitz-Adam de Whitgift.

One of these was John Fitz-Adam de Whitgift, who in the year of our Lord 1308, gave and granted to John de Gilling, Abbot of the monastery of St. Mary's in York, and to the rest of the convent for ever, *quinque tofta et quatuor bovatas terræ, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, in villa de Stamburn, or Staynburn.* Which grant, or charter, was dated the year above; as appears by a letter of attorney, signed at York, and dated the second day of January the same year, by the said John Fitz-Adam, to two persons, to grant and deliver full seizin of the said lands to the said convent. The charter I have exemplified in the Appendix to this history. And whence we may conclude the family of the Whitgifts to have been very ancient.

Number I.

3 Our Archbishop's grandfather was John Whitgift, of the county of York, Gent. as appears by a visitation book of Surrey, anno 1623, in the Office of Heralds. Whose son was Henry Whitgift, a merchant, of Great Grimsby, (anciently called Grimundsby,) in the county of Lincoln. Another of his sons was Robert Whitgift, who was Abbot de Wellow, or Welhove juxta Grimsby, in the said county of Lincoln, being a monastery of Black Canons, dedicated to the honour of St. Augustin: a man memorable, not only for the education of our John Whitgift, his nephew, but also for his remarkable sentence and prediction concerning the corruption of the Church in his time; which is recorded by Sir George Paul, and which his young nephew had often heard him say, *viz.* "That he had read the holy "Scriptures over and over, but could never find there, "that their religion was founded by God;" and therefore

Robert Whitgift.

Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

he foretold that it could not long continue: grounding it upon that saying of our Saviour, *Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* As indeed it happened not long after, in the time of King Henry the VIIIth, and Edward the VIth; and never but once after (for four or five years only) could that corrupt religion take place in this kingdom. The foresaid John (besides his two sons before mentioned) had a daughter, named Isabel, who was married to Michael Shall, or Shaller, a verger of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London.

Henry Whitgift.

Henry, the merchant, had six sons, (whereof our John was the eldest,) by Anne Dynewel, a virtuous young gentlewoman, of good parentage in the said town of Grimsby. The names of the other five were William, George, Philip, Richard, and Jeffrey; and a daughter Alice, married to Henry Cuckson, without issue.

William Whitgift.

William was styled of Curleis at Clavering, in the county of Essex. Which Curles, or Crulles, was a manor descended to the said William, from his brother, our John Whitgift; whereof he was possessed, anno 7 Elizabeth. Which William of Curles married Margaret, daughter of ——— Bell, of the county of Norfolk: by whom he had issue, John Whitgift of Curleys, son and heir to his father, and cousin and heir to our Archbishop. Which John married Anne, daughter of John Goodman of Cumberlew Green, in the county of Hertford, Gent. He had issue, John, his son and heir apparent, of Borom (Boreham) in the county of Essex: which John married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Aylmer of Ackenham, in the county of Suffolk, Esquire: whose son and heir was Aylmer Whitgift, who was aged about five years, anno 1634, when the visitation of the county of Surrey (whence this pedigree is taken) was made. The said William (besides John his heir) had issue, Isaac, two Alices, Elizabeth, Jane, and Bridget: which Bridget married to Robert Collingwood of Hetton on the Hill, in the county palatine of Durham,

Offic. Armor. Visitat. Sur.

Visitation of Durham and Northumberland.

BOOK I.

fourth son to Sir Cuthbert Collingwood of Eslington, Knight.

George Whitgift.

George, the third son of Henry, and brother to our Archbishop, was an officer in his family, whose name I meet with often in his register, and lived to the year of our Lord 1611, dying without issue, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Faith's under St. Paul's; where he had upon his gravestone this inscription; "Here "lieth the body of George Whitgift, Esq. one of the na- "tural brothers of John Whitgift, late Lord Archbishop "of Canterbury; which George deceased the 19th of "April, an. Dom. 1611."

Stow's Survey, p. 355.

C. 21. Essex, fol. 149.

How many of the Archbishop's brothers survived, may be seen in a volume belonging to the Heralds' Office, where the Archbishop's coat of arms is exemplified by letters patents to him, to William, George, and Richard, his brethren, and to their descendants for ever; by Sir William Dethike, alias Garter, Principal King of Arms, dated the 4th of July, 1588.

Anno 1530. John Whitgift born anno 1530.

JOHN, the eldest son of Henry, (the subject of our history,) was born at Grimsby aforesaid, in the year 1530, (or, according to Francis Thynne, anno 1533,) and was in his young years bred up with his uncle, the Abbot, who had several other young gentlemen under his care for their education; and there (as was usual in those times) trained up in some petty skill in song. St. Anthony's, a religious house, situate between Broad street and Threadneedle street, London, had an eminent school belonging to it, famous for education of children in good learning. His uncle observing his forward parts towards learning, sent him at length thither for his better improvement. It was a school of great fame in those days, and long before. And in an old statute of Parliament, wherein care was 4 taken about the regulation of the schools of London, this school of St. Anthony is mentioned with those of St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Thomas of Acons, and

St. Anthony's school.

CHAP. I.

one or two more. In this school, John Stow tells us, he remembered three persons of great families brought up, *viz.* Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, the learned Lord Chancellor of England under King Henry the VIIIth; Dr. Nicolas Heath, Archbishop of York, and likewise Lord Chancellor of England under Queen Mary; and our Dr. John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno 1530. Stow's Survey, p. 65.

The comptroller of his household, that wrote divers memorials of his life, hath recorded two passages of remark concerning him, when he was a scholar here, and lodged at his aunt's in St. Paul's Churchyard: one was, that he was bedfellow with another schoolboy that had the plague, and died of it; and by a mistake, being thirsty, drank of his urine, thinking it had been beer, and yet had no harm or infection: as though the divine Providence, by this preservation, had intended to reserve him for some great services in his Church afterwards. And the other passage of him that deserves our notice is, that he was a Confessor even in those young years of his; for (whether by conversation in London, or before he came thither, by the good instructions of his pious uncle, the Abbot) having imbibed a liking of the Gospel, he cared not to be present at Mass. So that though his aunt had often urged him to go with her to morrow-mass at St. Paul's, and procured also some of the Canons of that church to persuade him, he still refused her motion: whereby at last she changed her good opinion of her nephew, and took such a displeasure at him, perceiving his small stomach to the Popish superstitions, that she was resolved to entertain him no longer under her roof; reckoning him a young heretic, and verily thinking her harbouring of him to be the cause of certain losses and domestic misfortunes that had lately happened unto her: and at parting she told him, "that she thought "at first that she had received a saint into her house, but "now she perceived he was a devil." So he

Remarkable passages of him while a boy.

Life of Whitgift, by Sir G. Paul.

Returned thus home to his father in the country; and having attained to a good degree of grammar learning, his father, by the advice of his uncle, sent him, about the

Anno 1548. Goes to the University.

BOOK I.

third year of King Edward, anno 1548, or 1549, to the University of Cambridge, and placed him in Queen's college.

Anno 1548.

But not easy there, and observing probably more profession and favour of the Gospel in Pembroke hall, the Master of that college being Bishop Ridley, and Bradford and Grindal, Fellows, he was transplanted thither; where Bradford, that holy man, and martyr, was his tutor. And upon the recommendation of him by his said tutor, and Grindal, President of the college, to Ridley, the Master, shewing his good deserts, and the meanness of his circumstances, by reason of his father's great losses at sea,

Scholar of the house.

he was made Scholar of the house, and chosen Bible Clerk. And then Mr. Gregory Garth became his tutor, Bradford being now domestic Chaplain to Bishop Ridley, (having received holy Orders from him, anno 1550,) and not long after, burnt to death in Smithfield, for persevering in the profession of the religion reformed.

Anno 1553, 1555. Bachelor of Arts. Fellow of Peter house. Regist. Dom. S. Peter's, Can. tab.

He commenced Bachelor of Arts in the year 1553-4, elected Fellow of Peter house, by the consent of all there, anno 1555. The last day of May, he, with John Atkinson, and Thomas Turner, being admitted perpetual Fellows of that college, by Thirleby, Bishop of Ely. And the same day they took a corporal oath before the Fellows of the college, (as customary,) of obeying all the ordinances and statutes of the said college, as much as in them lay. And besides this, of not making appeal against their removals, according to the form and manner of the said statutes; and of preserving the chest of Mr. Thomas of Baynard Castle, and John Holbroke, as much as in them lay. And

Rev. Washington. Col. D. Petri Soc.

this oath was signed by his hand, as appears by the register of that college; Dr. Andrew Perne, then Master: who was his very great and constant friend and favourer, as will appear by what I am going to relate.

Falls sick at Peter house.

Soon after his remove to Peter house, he had a very dangerous fit of sickness: but the Master took special care of him, and gave charge to the woman, to whose house he was removed out of the college, to see he wanted for no-

5 thing, and that she should not spare any cost for his reco-

very. And withal telling her, that if he lived, she should be repaid by him; if he died, he, the Master, would see her fully satisfied; and during his sickness, often visited him himself; a kindness which the grateful man would never forget: but ever after, in his preferments, and even then especially, when he was advanced to be Archbishop, had a great respect for him. For Dr. Perne was often entertained, and that with all kindness, at Lambeth; and there he died, in the year 1589, and was from thence (by the Archbishop's order) decently buried in Lambeth church, and lieth under a gravestone, with an inscription, which now, I think, is gone; but was in these words:

CHAP. I. Anno 1555.

His gratitude to Dr. Perne.

D. O. M.

Andreæ Perne, S. Th. Doctori, Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Eliensis Decano, collegii Petri in Academia Cantabrigiæ Magistro, munifica bene merendi virtute insigni, literarum Mecœnati optimo; hoc monumentum pietatis et amoris ergô, Richardus Perne nepos posuit. Obiit 26to die Aprilis, anno 1589.

Offic. Armor. Vol. Vincent. Sur.

Scientia inflat:
Charitas ædificat.

Some character of this Doctor was given, not long after his death, by an author in those times, in answer to a book written by Gabriel Harvey of Saffron Walden, who had writ abusively of him, in respect of his compliance in Queen Mary's reign. Wherein is hinted the esteem the Archbishop had for him. "Dr. Perne is casked up in "lead, and cannot arise to plead for himself: therefore I "will commit this to ink and paper in his behalf. Few "men lived better, though, like David and Peter, he had "his fall: yet the University had not a more careful father "this hundred years. And if on no other regard, but that "a chief father of our commonwealth loved him, in whose "house he died, he might have spared and forborne him. "His hospitality was great, as hath been kept before, or "ever since, upon the place he had; (being Master of Peter

Dr Perne's character.

Have with you to Saffron Walden.

BOOK I.

"house, and Dean of Ely:) and for his wit and learning, "they that mislike, want the like wit and learning, or else Anno 1556. "they would have more judgment to discern it."

A visitation of Cambridge.

I add, further, another and greater favour shewn to young Whitgift, by the same Dr. Perne. There was to be a visitation of that University, by authority of Cardinal Pole, (now Archbishop of the Church of Canterbury, and the Pope's Legate,) in the year 1556, in order to the suppressing of pretended heresy, that had taken no little root there, by the means of Bucer and Fagius, late public Readers in Cambridge; and for the urging of Popery upon the Fellows and Scholars, and obliging such as were qualified, to take the first tonsure. Whitgift was one of these, being this year, 1557, Master of Arts: and foreseeing his danger, not only of expulsion out of the University, but further of his life, since he could not comply with what would be required; he resolved with himself to leave the college, and depart abroad, and sojourn (as well as he could) among the faithful exiles in Strasburgh, Frankfort, or other places in Helvetia, or elsewhere. It was the visitation that was so famous for that inhuman act, (agreeable only to Popish barbarity,) namely, the digging up the dead bodies of those two excellent pious men of the reformed religion, and public Professors, mentioned before, and burning them in the market-place: but Dr. Perne, the Master, understanding Whitgift's purpose, and observing him fixed in his religion by the many good arguments he used, (which the Doctor would often speak of afterwards,) he bade him keep his own counsel, and by no means utter his opinion, whereby he might be brought into question, and he would conceal him, without incurring any danger to his conscience in that visitation, nor being forced to leave his studies. Which kindness of the Master (who set a high value on him for his parts,) made him change his resolution, and stayed him in the college.

He thinks of flying beyond sea; but stayed by the Master.

Cardinal Pole, the visitor, bigoted towards Popery.

And the consideration, how severe the inquisition and search was like to be after the professors of the Gospel

CHAP. I.

Anno 1556.

here, and of the probability of dealing very rigorously with them, might justly create a dread of this ensuing visitation in our Whitgift: for it is to be noted, that Pole returned into England zealously affected towards Popery, being wholly *Italianized* in living abroad. Look upon him beyond the seas, in his journey homeward. When he came to Brussels, Immanuel Tremellius, the learned converted Jew, (whose godfather Pole was, when he was baptized into the faith of Christ,) repaired to him, and begged a little of this Cardinal's benevolence to help his present necessities, and begged it earnestly for the sake of that Christianity which he had received by his means. But was inhumanly repulsed by the Cardinal, without the least charitable gift; and had nothing from him but reproaches and threats. The reason, it seems, was only because Tremellius had joined himself with those of the Reformed Church. And while the said Cardinal was in Brussels, or somewhere else in the Low Countries at this time, several pious men, and such as were favourers of the Gospel, and with whom he had formerly familiar converse and acquaintance, came to wait upon him in the way, and besought him to have a regard to the Church of England, (meaning as it stood then, or lately reformed,) they found his temper altered, shewing little regard of them. And he told them, "that he would rather suffer all inconve-"niencies whatsoever in the Church of England, than "schisms, and desertion of the Romish unity." His chief retinue and attendants were now observed to be Italians, clerks and scribes of the Court of Rome; and he hardly admitted an Englishman into his service, except only such whom he saw were like to prove the cruellest towards such as embraced the Gospel. And those only he made account of to be faithful to him. Such an one (saith the author who writ his life, and lived in those times) did Pole return into his own native country, endued with a nature foreign and fierce; and the very *butcher and scourge of the English Church.* And therefore what rigours must needs be expected from the visitation of the

6

Antiq. Brit. Reginaldus.

Antiq. Brit.

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ carnifex ac flagellum.

BOOK I.

University, instituted by such a person; and for such ends as the overthrowing the Reformation, and the introducing of submission to the Pope, under the pretence of *unity?*

Anno 1556.

The persons commissioned for this visitation.

It must be added, that to render this visitation the more to be dreaded by Whitgift, and all others of the University, that made a conscience of religion, the persons commissionated by the Cardinal to visit, were Scot, Bishop of Chester, a zealous Papist, and two other new made Popish Bishops; and Cole, newly made Provost of Eaton; and an Italian named Ormanet, the Pope's creature and spy here. These visited every college; and if any there were reported or suspected of heresy, (that is, of the reformed religion,) he was particularly taken notice of and censured, unless he would renounce and subscribe. For besides the general commission to these men for this visitation, there was another special commission sent from the Cardinal, (who was now also Chancellor of the University,) which was to inquire diligently for all that were suspected of heretical pravity. And in pursuance of this, the Masters of every college were required by the Commissioners to bring in an account of every student's books; what they were that they read and studied, whereby they might the better find, how each Scholar and Fellow stood affected. And many of these books, which they disliked, were brought forth and burnt, with the dead bodies of Bucer and Fagius, in the market-place. And before they departed, some days were spent in suspending several of these suspected members of the colleges, and restraining others from the benefit of taking pulpits, for fear of their infusing ill principles into them; and taking away from others all privilege of voting; and in giving orders for stopping the preferment of others; and lastly, in amercing and wrongfully punishing others.

Their rigours.

Anno 1557.

Notwithstanding, through this severe visitation young Whitgift escaped by the secret connivance of Dr. Perne, who was this year Vice-Chancellor, and shewing himself active in the present transactions, was the less suspected to favour any but thorough devotees of Rome.

But however kind and beneficial he shewed himself to Whitgift, it was a falsity and a slander of Penry, vented in his Martin Marprelate, out of malice to the Archbishop, that "he was Dr. Perne's boy, and bore his cloak-bag "after him." Which one of the answerers of that foul-mouthed, lying book confuted, saying, "That he was never "Perne's boy, nor under him at any time, but as Fellow "of the house where Perne was Master. Neither did he "ever carry his or any other man's cloak-bag: although if "he had," as the writer adds, "it had been no disgrace to "him, but rather would have redounded to his commenda-"tion, that he had, by his industry and studies, advanced "himself from so low an estate."

Anno 1558, 1560.

Slandered to have been Perne's boy. Mart. Marprel.

Admonition to the People of England. Printed 1589.

CHAP. II.

Whitgift takes holy Orders. Preaches before the University. His degrees, and preferments. Made Chaplain to Cox, Bishop of Ely. His public lectures. Concerned about University affairs. Made Master of Pembroke hall; and of Trinity college. Clears himself in a letter to Cecil from some imputations. His benefaction to Peter house. Is made Regius Professor. Commissioned by the University to examine a Lady Margaret Preacher, complained of for his doctrine preached at Leicester.

WHITGIFT therefore obtaining this favour, (not without some special providence towards him and this Church, and the University of Cambridge,) continued in the college throughout the dangerous reign of Queen Mary; having the advantage of plying his studies, and improving himself in good useful learning, and especially of examining more narrowly the controversies between the Romanists and the Reformed. And so confirmed himself more in the true religion, still keeping himself reserved, and his opinion within his own breast, and lamenting silently the

Whitgift continues safe in the University.

BOOK I.

unchristian persecutions practised every where about him, against pious men and women, only because they could not believe *transubstantiation*, nor would communicate with the present relapsed Church of England in its gross errors and corruptions; waiting with faith and patience till better times came, which God in mercy sent not long after.

Anno 1558, 1560.

Takes holy Orders.

And then Mr. Whitgift began to be more taken notice of, his learning and worth soon advanced him. He entered into holy Orders in the year 1560; and soon after preached his first sermon at St. Mary's, before the University, upon those words of St. Paul, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*, &c. So suitable to the ministry of the Gospel that he had lately devoted himself unto. And this task he performed with general and great approbation.

Anno 1563.

Becomes M. A. and B. D.

He continued his studies in that college (where he proceeded orderly to the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity) by the space of twelve or thirteen years. And his profitable travels in the tongues and sciences, appeared in his lectures and other exercises, and disputations abroad; but especially at a Commencement, wherein he was father of the act at the Bachelors' proceedings. His progress in his studies, and knowledge of divinity, (making the same his centre,) was not only made apparent by his learned readings, when he read the Lady Margaret's Lecture, and after the Queen's; (as we shall hear by and by;) but by his continual godly and deeply learned sermons in the University, in Latin; and English, in the city of London, in Court, and elsewhere. And with his science and knowledge, he joined great humility, virtue, uprightness of will, constancy both in matters of religion and private friendship. Here also he bestowed some of his time and abilities in the instruction of ingenious youth, sent to the college for education, in good learning and Christian manners. And among such his pupils, were two noblemen's sons, viz. the Lord Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke; and John, son and heir to the Lord North. Dr. Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, became

His exercises in the University. Fran. Thynne.

Regist. Elien.

acquainted with Whitgift's worth, and made him his Chaplain; and December 5, 1568, conferred on him a prebend in that church, having before given him the rectory of Teversham, in Cambridgeshire. In the year 1562, or (rather according to the University register) 1563, he commenced Bachelor in Divinity. And in that year he succeeded Matthew Hutton, D. D. Fellow of Trinity college, in the Lady Margaret's Lecture of Divinity, the said Dr. Hutton becoming the King's public Professor in that faculty. And July 5th, 1566, for Whitgift's sake, the salary was augmented by the University from twenty marks to twenty pounds per annum.

Anno 1563.

His preferment.

The subject of his readings was the book of Revelations, and the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, which he expounded through. Which readings, upon the importunity of many of his friends, both of great learning and judgment, were prepared by himself, being written out fairly, for the press. And Sir George Paul signified that they were like shortly, for their excellency and worth, to be published for the common benefit; but whatever was the reason, they have not to this day appeared in public. I remember I have seen, many years ago, this manuscript of Whitgift's own hand, in the possession of Dr. Pain, Minister sometime of Whitechapel, London: which after his death was intended to be purchased by the late learned Dr. Moore, Lord Bishop of Ely. But where that manuscript now lies, I know not, unless in the treasure of the aforesaid right reverend Prelate. In this volume of his lectures was also his Thesis, when he kept his act for Doctor in Divinity, *viz.* that *the Pope is that Antichrist.*

Catalogue of the Lady Marg. Professors by Rev. T. Baker, B. D.

In this year, *viz.* 1563, I find him now concerned among the Heads in the public affairs of the University. And there having been great contention and party-making, for the election of officers for that body, the younger Regents endeavouring to overpower the Heads, and to put in place whom they pleased, against the governors, their elders and superiors; these now applied to Sir William Cecil, Knight, Secretary of State, and their Chancellor, for a

Concerned about choosing University officers.

BOOK I.

seasonable remedy: and that order might be taken for the more regular election of the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, and the Taxers: for the preventing of heats and divisions in colleges, and for the future avoiding of factions, which were now risen among them, occasioned by these tumultuous elections: and lastly, for the credit of the Gospel, which suffered scandal hereby. And these were the contents of their letters to their said Chancellor, to which were subscribed the names of Hawford, Vice-Chancellor, Pern, Beaumont, Pilkington, Stokes, the two Professors, *viz.* Hutton and our Whitgift, Kelk and Longworth.

Anno 1563.

The Heads write to their Chancellor for regulating the same. MSS. Cecil.

"That that honourable place, wherein God had set him, "and the great pleasures that he had already shewn to "their University, did embolden them, for the quietness "and commodity of the same, presently to crave his Ho"nour's help; since, as there had of late manifestly ap"peared, not only ambition in seeking the Vice-Chancel"lorship, and a known and confessed faction about it, but "also bitter contention and displeasure, rising of impor"tune and untimely labouring; which things in such a "place sorely blemished the Gospel, and the preaching "thereof. That they, feeling these and sundry other in"commodities in their several colleges, with grief were con"strained to seek remedy for the same. And that therefore "they did most humbly beseech his Honour, to procure "by the Queen's Majesty's bills assigned, that yearly from "henceforth, three days afore the election, two ancient "and fit men being named by the Heads of colleges, the "Regents should choose the one of them.

"And that this was no new device. For that factions "growing about the Vice-Chancellorship, in Queen Mary's "time, the above named orders, by her visitors authority, "were appointed. The copy whereof they had sent to his "Honour therewith.

"Also, that upon factions growing, a composition was "made for the yearly choosing of the Proctors. And that "to avoid contention and strife, the Heads of colleges, by "prescribed orders, named six yearly; out of the which the

"Regents yearly chose two Taxers. And that seeing "then the most ancient sort was thought meetest to order "the election of under-officers, how could the youngest "men be thought meet to have the whole election of the "highest officer of all, under his Honour? That experi- "ence did persuade them, that this remedy obtained, "would work through the whole University much quiet- "ness, love, and concord, further good letters, the which "by this contentious labouring were greatly hindered, "would bridle the untamed affections of young Regents; "who now came to that place with fewer years than in "time past they did; and would cause that more skilful "and ancient Vice-Chancellors might be chosen hereafter, "to his Honour's contentation, the worship and good re- 9 "port of the University, and their singular comfort, who "were members of the same.

"That in consideration of the premises, they besought "his Honour, as he had hitherto been their singular and "gracious patron, so in this necessary thing, (which would "bring so much quietness and commodity to them all,) "they might comfortably find his present help; and they "should not only, as they had great cause, (the Lord "knew,) most heartily to pray for his Honour's preserva- "tion, but also to be ready to do what service they might "to their lives end. And so subscribed themselves his "*Honour's most bounden and humble Orators.*" This let- ter bore date January 18, 1563.

He, with other Heads, write in be- half of some that scrupled conformity.

I find Whitgift again, a year or two after, (*viz.* 1565,) with divers of the Heads, in another request to Cecil, their Chancellor, in the behalf, as they judged, of the good estate of the University, and of religion. For the better providing for uniformity and good order in the University, especially for wearing the surplice in every college, (which many scrupled, and chose rather to leave their colleges and studies than to comply with,) orders and statutes were preparing above, to be sent thither. This some of the grave Heads (and among the rest our Whitgift) did ob- serve would be very unacceptable to a great many of the

BOOK I.

members, and be in danger of affrighting several (otherwise hopeful) persons from the University, and become an hinderance to the preaching of the Gospel, which now began much to flourish there. Moved with these considerations, Beaumont, Vice-Chancellor; Hutton, the Regius Professor; Kelk, Master of Magdalen college; Longworth, Master of St. John's; and Whitgift, address a private and earnest letter to the said Cecil, to stop (if it might be) the sending down these orders: such was the temper and care of these Heads. Though this was very ill taken, and Dr. Beaumont very severely chidden for it, as moving a matter very unseasonable and injurious to the state of learning there: and Whitgift was fain to make his apology; and so that business (howsoever by them well intended) was dashed. The letter by them sent to their Chancellor, and this matter more at large spoken of, may be found in the Life of Archbishop Parker, and in the Annals of the Reformation.

Anno 1565, 1567.

Life of Archbishop Parker, lib. iii. cap. 3. et Annal. p. 445.

The fame of him for a preacher brought him up to Court, to preach before the Queen, by the honourable motion of the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Cecil. The Queen heard him with so much complacency and satisfaction, that she caused him presently to be sworn her Chaplain; and afterwards made him Master of Trinity college, as we shall hear by and by.

Preaches before the Queen.

The year 1567, he commenced Doctor in Divinity, according to the University Register, and the catalogue of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellors, &c. at the end of the British Antiquities. And he is styled Dr. Whitgift this year by the University records, in several graces; which I the rather take notice of, to correct the error in Sir George Paul's Life of this Archbishop, who fixeth his taking that degree to the year 1569, and as some others have done. For the new statutes were not yet in force, that require a greater distance from the time of commencing Bachelor in Divinity, to that of Doctor in the same faculty. And then (according to the Register) was appointed to keep the Commencement Act, out of the esteem the

Commences Doctor in Divinity, anno 1567. T. Baker, B. D.

Magist. Johannes Whitgift admissus ad incipien-

University had of his learning. The position he chose to maintain in his Divinity Act was, *Papa est ille Antichristus.*

Anno 1566, 1567.

And this year also, being President of Peter house, under Dr. Perne, the Master, April 21, he was chosen Master of Pembroke hall, his old college. For he was well esteemed by those of that house, and they had their eye upon him, to choose him to succeed Dr. Hutton their last Master, that was now to be preferred to the deanery of York. And they were confirmed in their purpose, when Grindal, Bishop of London, (sometime their Master, now their patron, and whom they dearly affected,) had, by his letters, recommended Whitgift to them. For so they write in their answer, dated soon after the election of him, that he became the more acceptable to them, from the love and good-will of Grindal. In their said answer "they "expressed their great grief for the departure of their for- "mer Master from them; who was ever very dear to "them, for his notable learning, holiness of life, and great "love to them. And that they could not have parted so "easily with him, but that his Lordship's authority, that "might do any thing with them, had interposed: that he "had revived them, by propounding to their choice such a "person; for whom they would have, of their own accord, "addressed to his Lordship with their prayers; and that "he, whom the Bishop had said, he hoped he should obtain "from them, was a person they themselves wished to "have, and whom being so worthy they could scarce hope "to have. And therefore they did extremely congratulate "themselves and their studies: and above all, gave their "thanks, that the Ridleys were not so wholly rooted out "from among them, but that Grindal, one fibre of that "root, still remained: whence Hutton sprang, under "whom they recovered considerable strength: and whence "also after him Whitgift arose; whom also they wished "for, and desired above any else." This letter may be preserved among other original papers in the Appendix Number II.

dum in Theologia, sicut respondeat in proximis comitiorum vesperiis. Regist. Acad.

Made Master of Pembroke hall. MS. de Custod. Pembroch.

Et illum ex Dom. Grindalli amoribus acceptiorem nobis factum fuisse. Epist. Aul. Pemb. D. Grindallo. MS. de Custod. Pembroch.

But though Whitgift departed now from Peter house,

BOOK I.

he forgat not that college, and upon all occasions shewed his good-will towards it. And two or three years before he departed thence, in gratitude he founded in that house a Scholar's place, called a Bible Clerk, and endowed it with four marks yearly: to which gift one Mrs. Margaret Fulnetby of Teversham joined. Which scholarship was to be paid out of a manor called Curles, situate in the county of Essex; an estate which I find afterwards was the Archbishop's and his heirs: which grant bore date October 4, anno Eliz. 7, 1565. The deed whereof may be found exemplified in the Appendix.

Anno 1566, 1567.

Settles a Bible Clerk in Peter house. R. Washington, D. Petri Dom. Soc.

Number III.

And in the Commemoration Book of Peter house is mentioned the said gift in these words: *Reverendus Pater Dom. Johannes Whitgift Archiepiscopus Cant. et Socius hujus collegii, dum adhuc erat Rector de Teversham, juxta Cantabrigiam, unâ cum Margareta, relicta Bartholomæi Fulnetby de eadem villa, dederunt nobis quatuor marcharum pensionem annuam, exeuntem de manerio de Curles, in Essexia, ad sustentationem unius Bibliotistæ.*

And in grateful memory of this great good man, sometime Fellow and benefactor of this house, his picture is still preserved in their parlour, with this distich, descanting upon his name:

Quòd paci, Whitgifte, faves, studiisque piorum,
Dat tibi pacis amans candida dona Deus.

Hath the University licence to preach. Rev. T. Baker.

In the year 1566, June 10, he obtained licence from the University, under their common seal, to preach throughout the realm; which licence was recalled anno 1571: the reason whereof will be shewn under that year, when he was made one of the University Preachers.

Becomes Master of Trinity college.

It was not above three months that Pembroke hall enjoyed Whitgift for their Master, being removed to be Head of Trinity college. For he was well known by this time, and taken notice of in the University, for one of the considerablest men, for his piety and learning, and the great expectations of what use hereafter he would be in the Church. And among the Bishops, he was especially

esteemed by the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Ely, and Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury: as among the courtiers, he was dear to Cecil, the Queen's principal Secretary, and High Chancellor of the University. So that when the mastership of Trinity college became void by the death of Dr. Beaumont, the said Cecil presently cast his eye upon him for that place. But some had objected against him, to that great man, his youth and want of years; (being now some years under forty;) and further, that he was of the party of such as liked not the present constitution and usages of the Church of England. Anno 1567.

He clears himself from some imputation.

Which Whitgift coming to understand, took care as soon as might be to clear himself, and satisfy Cecil, by a letter which he wrote, dated in the month of June, which gave him good content therein; in an humble, grateful sense of God's mercy, he mentioned Cecil's singular goodness to him, and his earnest desire to do him good. "For which he praiseth his merciful God, and gave humble "and hearty thanks to his Honour. For what and who "was he (as he expressed himself) that his Honour should "be so careful for him?" Then he proceeded to vindicate himself from the misreports that were brought to him, now at this time, when Cecil had thoughts of getting him preferred to the place before mentioned. "This created him, "he said, much lamentation, as the other (namely, his "good-will) had rejoiced him. He added, that he took "much to heart the scandalous reports of him brought to "his Honour, saying, that God knew, and he himself "knew, what harm they did him, and what grief they "fixed in his heart. And he desired, and that for God's "sake, that he might be judged what he was by his do-"ings, and not by unjust reports. That as to his non-"conformity, he offered himself to be judged by the Arch-"bishop, the Bishop of London, his Honour, and the "Dean of York, who knew his mind in that matter more "than any man beside. That he had never encouraged "any man to withstand the Queen's laws in that behalf, "but had by all means persuaded men to conform them-

His letter to Cecil.

BOOK I.

Anno 1567.

" selves, and still did so. For it grieved him, he said, that " any should cease from preaching for the use of these " things, that were in their own nature indifferent.

" That as for his age and discretion, that he committed " to his Honour's judgment. That he did not ambitiously " seek for that which he was unmeet for. But if he should " be called to that function, he trusted God would give " him his spirit of wisdom and discretion." Then he proceeded to shew, how small an income his present preferments brought him; " that he was in debt: that God " had moved Cecil to love him, and had hitherto by him " provided for him. And prayed him, that no reports might " dissuade him from doing for him that which God should " put into his heart. And that he trusted he had not so " behaved himself, that his Honour should repent him of " any thing that he had already done for him. And that " the day should never come, wherein he should have cause " to say, *I would I had not done this for him.*" This whole letter, writ with his own pen, will be found in the Appen-

Number IV.

dix, that we may preserve as much as we may the writings of so great a person.

His condition but mean till now.

This preferment was very seasonable for him, being in debt, not through any prodigality of his own, (as he signified to Cecil,) but that mere necessity had brought him into it; whencesoever that necessity sprang, whether from his sickness at Peter house, or his maintenance of himself before any emolument happened to him as the reward of his studies, or the poverty of his relations. Nor was his present living and lecture able altogether to put him beforehand. For (as he wrote to the Secretary) his mastership of Pembroke was but four pounds a year, and eighteen pence a week for commons; his benefice, one of the least in the diocese, (some small thing, I suppose, before he had Teversham,) and his lecture, he added, was the whole stay of his living.

Succeeded in the mastership of Pembroke by John Young, B.D.

He was made Master of Trinity college July the 4th, 1567, as appears from the register of that college: and was succeeded in the mastership of Pembroke hall by John

Young, B. D. Bishop Grindal's Chaplain, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, anno 1577. CHAP. II.

This year also he went out Doctor in Divinity, (as was said before,) and kept the Divinity Act at the Commencement: he was made Regius Professor of Divinity now also, in the room of Dr. Hutton: and was succeeded in the Lady Margaret's lecture by William Chaderton, B. D. of Christ's college, who soon after was Master of Queen's college, a worthy and learned man, afterwards Bishop of Chester. After whom followed in that chair, Thomas Cartwright, that commenced this year Bachelor in Divinity, Fellow of Trinity college, the known Puritan: in whose dislike of the established government of the Church by episcopacy, and other ecclesiastical offices, and of several usages in the Liturgy, (against which he earnestly both preached and read,) were founded great discords and disturbances in the University first, and soon after incurable schisms in the whole Church. Whereupon he was suspended and deprived, as we have shewn elsewhere more at large.

Anno 1567.

Goes out Doctor: made Regius Professor.

Chaderton and Cartwright, Margaret Professors.

Annals of the Reform. ch. 57.

The University now committed a considerable matter of theirs to Dr. Whitgift's care and management. The occasion was this: one Mr. William Hughes of this University (who had obtained to be the Lady Margaret's Preacher became a preacher at Leicester, sent there, as it seems, to preach among them: where his doctrine (whether it relished of Popery, or Puritanism, I know not) gave great offence, and created a controversy between the inhabitants of the town and him: insomuch that they made a complaint of him to the University, and desired to be released of him. Whereupon a grace was granted to Whitgift, May the 31st, 1567, that he should be sent to Leicester about that scandal given by their preacher, as it ran in the University Register. Nor was this business yet adjusted. For July the 7th, the same year, "It was decreed by the "Senate, that the controversy between them of Leicester "and Mr. Hughes, in the matter of religion, and also of his "continuance among them, should be examined and decided

Appointed to examine a Lady Margaret Preacher.

12

Ut ibi scandalo occurrat, per prædicatorem vestrum dato. Regist. Academ.

BOOK I.

" by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Stokes, Dr. Whitgift, and " some others." So that Mr. Hughes shall be bound to Anno 1567. their determination, without appellation, [to prevent his appeal (as it seems) to the ecclesiastical Commission, or any other foreign Court; which the members, when censured by the Heads, were apt to do; but by no means allowed by the Heads, as a thing infringing their statutes,] " upon pain of disobedience, and also perjury; except he " shall allege just and lawful causes to be by them al- " lowed." Thus was our Divine esteemed, and made use of for his learning and judgment, by the University in their affairs.

It appears also in the University Register, that soon after, in the same month of July, the inhabitants of Leicester applied themselves to the great Earl, that bore the title of that place, (and so the rather perhaps upon that account,) complaining to him of this public Preacher of the University, for preaching among them certain insincere and unsound doctrines of religion: which the Earl imparted to the University; and added, that they having not yet come to a determination of this matter, it might be left to him, Sir William Cecil the Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury: which the University accordingly yielded to.

Hughes's subject was, the descent of Christ into hell.

One of the doctrines which this Preacher delivered so offensively, was his sense of that article of the Creed, *He descended into hell:* whether he explained it the Popish or the Calvinistical way, it is uncertain. But the offence taken was so great, that as it appeareth by some letters in the University Register, and the Paper Office, it reached not only to Cambridge, but further, to the Court, and at length to Lambeth. For it being doubtful how to proceed with him, Archbishop Parker advised to restrain him from preaching: and he being to preach his sermon ere long at St. Paul's Cross, should by this means either run into perjury, or else give up his office. And by occasion of the same offence, there was a draft of an order made by the Chancellor of the University: wherein he ordered and de-

Paper Office. Rev. T. Baker, D. Joh. Col. Soc.

creed, "as much as in him lay, that no manner of person "there, should in any sermon, open disputation, or read- "ing, move any question or doubt upon the article *de* "*descensu Christi ad inferos*." It was the wisdom of the famous Synod at London, 1562, to set down this article barely, without the explication that went with it in the articles, as it stood under King Edward the VIth, 1552; on purpose to avoid, as it seems, all caviling and disputation, and to allow a liberty to men's judgments and understandings in such disputable points, wherein the essence of faith was not concerned. Anno 1567.

CHAP. III. 13

His conscientious care of the college statutes. Obtains a prebend at Ely. Endeavours a regulation about sending Westminster scholars to Trinity college. Resigns his Divinity Lecture. His letter to Cecil, recommending a Master for St. John's college. Is one of the Commissioners for visiting King's college under a Popish Provost. Dr. Goad by them confirmed Provost.

BEING now Master of Trinity college, he shewed his care of that house, by requiring due observation of the statutes of it. And whereas there had been a custom to forbear the reading of the King's Lectures, in the quarter between Midsummer and Michaelmas, there ought to have been no such intermission of reading, by the statutes of their founder, King Henry the VIIIth. Though the King's Readers had been heretofore allowed by the Heads of the University to cease their readings that quarter; partly for the refreshment of the Readers themselves, and their auditors, and partly to prevent any peril of infection, by too great assemblies in that most dangerous time of the year: yet this omission, being contrary to the statutes of the college, Dr. Whitgift, the Master, together with the Anno 1568. The King's Readers called upon by the Master of Trinity college to observe the statutes.

BOOK I.

Fellows, now would not suffer, but called upon the Readers to do their duties, according to the statutes. This was looked upon as too severe a task upon them: who applied themselves therefore to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads: and so it became an University business. And now a royal dispensation was laboured to be obtained, for the qualifying of this college statute; and which perhaps the Master was not averse to, it tending so much to the preservation of the University and town in health, and the prevention of the inconveniencies aforesaid. This motion then of the Readers was so approved, that the Vice-Chancellor, and several of the Heads, despatched a letter to Sir William Cecil, their Chancellor, to solicit the Queen to send down her dispensation with that statute, for the King's Readers, to the Master and Fellows of that college in that behalf. It was signed by Longworth, Vice-Chancellor, Perne, Hawford, and Chaderton: which motion, it seems, Cecil approved well of: for he got the form of a dispensation drawn, which I see in the minutes is corrected by his own hand. It imported, that from year to year, in the vacation time, between Midsummer and Michaelmas, licence and liberty should be granted them to forbear their readings. The reader may see, if he pleases, both the letter of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, and the minutes of the dispensation, in the Appendix.

Anno 1568.

Number V, VI.

Made Prebendary of Ely. Regist. Elien.

By the favour of the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift had, December the 5th, this year 1568, a prebend in that cathedral church conferred on him, in the room of Thomas Styward, Clerk, deceased: which prebend he held till the year wherein he was made Bishop of Worcester. And then the Queen, by her privilege, promoted Hugh Booth, S. T. B. unto the same prebend, October 8, anno 1577.

Anno 1569. Trinity college complains of Westminster scholars.

The next year, *viz.* 1569, the college found themselves aggrieved by scholars sent to them from Westminster school: who took up so many places, that there was no room almost for any other deserving young men to be preferred among them: which caused the college to complain of the inconveniencies thereof, addressing a letter to

that intent to Cecil, in the month of June: therein they entreat him to interpose with the Queen to deliver them of that burden. This was put on by Dr. Whitgift, their Master. And the occasion now given was, that lately at an election of Westminster scholars to Trinity college, there being but two places void, they would have no more, though there was a third that laboured hard by provision, to be admitted and elected for the next place that fell: but this the college withstood. Hereupon the scholar, or his friends, got Sir William Cecil to write his letter to the college to receive him: which kind of favours the form of the letters patents had allowed, as he urged. But the college in their answer shewed him, that in the letters patents that concerned the Westminster scholars, in their remove to Trinity college, there were two clauses that hindered this third scholar's admittance. The one was, *Si tot idonei reperiantur;* and the other, *Si tot loca vacare contigerit.* Now when they elected last, there were but two vacant places, how well qualified soever this third was. Anno 1569. 14

The discouragement of learning in that house by reason of them.

Those that were on this third scholar's side had urged, it seems, what had been formerly done: namely, that the former Master had received supernumeraries against any place or places should fall void. To which our Master, with his seniors, answered in some warmth, that "no precedent could oblige them against the statute." And when mention was made of Dr. Bill, late Dean of Westminster, who seems to have persuaded such an admission of a scholar; they shewed, that on the contrary there was a time (when he himself was Master of Trinity college) that he admitted only one scholar, and no more. Then in their epistle they descend to a general complaint against these elections: as, "that they were injurious to "the study of the arts, and cut off all hope almost from "many, of making progress in their learning: for that "there were many in their college of very good learning "and ingenuity; some of three years standing, some Ba- "chelors of Art; that having no hope of reward or encou- "ragement, were forced to depart the college for want of

BOOK I.

Anno 1569.

"maintenance. Or if they stayed, they were discouraged, "and so grew slack in their studies, *desperatione præ-miorum*; seeing freshmen and scholars newly come from "a grammar-school, to be preferred before them. And "that they who were the Master and seniors, had not "a power of rewarding scholars and students, according "as they saw them most deserving; but were forced some-"times to prefer unworthy men before those that were "more worthy." Another inconvenience of this Westminster election was, that in the very Commencement time, some of them, and particularly the Master, must be absent of necessity from the University, to be present at this election, [both being at the same time.] In conclusion, they desire Cecil to prevail with her Majesty to deliver them from this extreme burden; meaning those inconveniencies of the said school. This their letter was dated the third of the calends of July 1569, and signed by Whitgift the Master, and these seniors, Nicolas Shepherd, Thomas Cartwright, William Bingham, Robert West, Nicolas Brown, Edmund Chapman, John Cook, Isaac Barro. But such as are minded to read the very letter itself, so very well penned, and especially Whitgift having the chief hand in it, I have, for their satisfaction, reposited an exact copy of it from the original, exquisitely written.

Another inconvenience of this election.

Number VII.

The numbers of scholars to be sent to Trinity college regulated.

And accordingly, when certain statutes were made afterwards for the college of St. Peter's church, Westminster, Dr. Whitgift did obtain, that only two scholars (and not three) should be sent yearly from that grammar-school to each University; and three every third year only: which, by the means of Secretary Cecil, (who had been, as before was shewed, applied unto,) taking advice with Grindal, Bishop of London, about it, was ratified a statute. But long after, when the said Whitgift was Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Goodman, Dean of the said collegiate church, procuring Dr. Bill's old statutes for the college to be confirmed, laboured to bring back the old custom of sending three scholars every year to Trinity college, for the better encouragement of her Majesty's scholars, though the day of

the election were altered, that it might not be the same day of the Commencement at Cambridge. This I collect out of a petition of the said Dean, made to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, about the establishing of those statutes for the said collegiate church. Which petition I have transcribed from the original, and put into the Appendix, where this matter of the school is more particularly mentioned. [Number VII.]

Anno 1569.

About November this year, Dr. Whitgift resigned his place of the King's Professor of Divinity; and Dr. William Chaderton, Master of Queen's college, having read the Lady Margaret's Lectures, came into his place; the Vice-Chancellor, and the Heads of the colleges, applying themselves to their Chancellor to allow the same person, whose letters ran to this tenor, "that Master Dr. Whitgift was "minded by his Honour's licence and grant, for divers and "necessary considerations, to resign and give over his "Lecture in Divinity. And forasmuch as it was very ex- "pedient in the behalf of their University, and the stu- "dents in that faculty, to have a learned, godly, and pain- "ful man, to supply the place with like diligence; they "thought good to commend unto his Honour, Master Dr. "Chaderton, who had with commendation, by the space "almost of three years, read the Lecture founded by the "Lady Margaret, as one most fit, in their judgments, to "succeed in his place: most humbly desiring his Ho- "nour to certify, as well the said Master Dr. Whitgift, "as also others, the Masters of colleges there in Cam- "bridge, of his pleasure and liking therein; that they "might all frame themselves accordingly: and thus wished "him health, with the aid of Almighty God in all his af- "fairs, and took their leaves." It was dated from Cambridge, November —, 1569, and signed by the hands of Mey, Vice-Chancellor, Perne, Hawford, Harvey, Ithel, Young, and Leeds.

Resigns his Divinity Lecture.

MSS. Cecilian. 15

The same month and year, Dr. Whitgift was concerned about a Master for St. John's college, the mastership being now void upon the removal (however it happened)

Concerned about a Master for St. John's.

BOOK I. of Longworth, favouring a faction in that college, that affected not the habits: whereby great disturbances were
Anno 1569. continually among the Fellows.

But to relate this cause more particularly. Mr. William Fulk, Fellow of this house, of good learning, and of interest in the college, had a mind to make himself Master, and laboured by his friends here for that purpose, to undermine Longworth, (late Master, but whether now Master or no, uncertain,) but these two parties made great divisions in this society: insomuch that at length several of the Fellows of the graver sort, in the month of August, wrote a letter to their great patron, Sir William Cecil, "complaining of the degeneracy of their college, and de- "siring his assistance. And that during Longworth's go- "vernment, their house went more and more into decay of "good learning, which once flourished so much among "them. And that things were now come to that pass, that "they were ashamed of themselves; using those words in "their letter, *Qua fronte hominum vultus nos intueri pos- "sumus?*"

The Bishop of Ely visits the college. At length the Bishop of Ely found it necessary to visit the college; and having for that end caused a citation to be set up upon the chapel door, when the Master first saw it, in a contumelious manner, he caused it to be pulled off. Notwithstanding the visitation went on; and Longworth, seeing in what danger he was of expulsion, departed: which was looked upon as his resignation of the mastership, or voluntary leaving of the house. Upon this the Fellows begging Cecil's advice how they should proceed in their election of a new Master, promised, if he would shew the way, they would obediently follow. But when it came to an election, Longworth denied that he had left the place; and that it was upon a force that he departed for a time. It was now the month of November, and the Fellows that wrote the former letter to Cecil, did now again beseech him to consider the equity of their petition, and the authority of the Bishop of Ely, who had pronounced sentence of deprivation against Longworth: and that if

the college were restored to its dignity, the Fellows and members would soon be pacified.

An election then was resolved upon and allowed. And the two heads of the two present factions in this election, were the said Longworth and Fulk. The Bishop of Ely, their Visitor, persuaded them both for peace sake to resign and give over their interests and pretences: which Fulk quietly did. Longworth, a far unfitting man, for a number of causes, (as the Bishop in his letter to Cecil styled him,) promised by a certain day to do it. But when the day came, would not, but made a fond broil in the house. So the Bishop of Ely was forced to expel him out of his mastership.

Anno 1569.

Expels Longworth.

A new election.

And the college being to go to a new election, the said Bishop advised the Fellows and seniors, by a letter, to be well advised, not to choose any man that might appear to incline to either of the factions. But he in his mind much approved of Dr. Roger Kelk, Master of Magdalen college, to be removed to St. John's, as a fitting man for the place; being indifferent to either side, zealous and not unlearned, and that had no inclination towards these hot dislikers of the habits: and him the chief of the Heads did much approve of. And especially our Doctor, who penned a letter to Cecil, recommending him to this mastership. To which were set the hands of the Vice-Chancellor Mey, Perne, Hawford, and Chaderton. But behold his letter, writ all with his own hand.

Recommends Dr. Kelk.

16

"Understanding, Right Honourable, that the mastership "of St. Jhones college in Cambridg is like very shortly to "be void; and being desirous to have such an one placed "there, as may be most mete and profitable for the col- "lege, wee are bowld to commend unto your Honour, "such an one as we be fully perswadyd, both for his ex- "perience in that howse, indifferencie toward all parties, "and other aptness in government, most meet for that "place. Yt ys Doctor Kelk, who, when Dr. Longworth "was admitted, was by the consent of the most part of the

Whitgift to the Lord Treasurer, in behalf of Kelk, to be Master of St. John's.

BOOK I.

Anno 1569.

"Fellows electyd. And yet, understanding your pleasure "for the other, content to relinquish his interest. Hys "mynde ys, to continue with them: of those that be "talkyd of emong the Fellows of that college, and those "also that be unprovided in the University, we think him "one of the meetest. Wherefore yf yt shall please your "Honour, either by writing your letters unto the com- "pany, or by any other means, as you think best, to pro- "cure the place for him, we dowte not but you shall do "the college a great pleasure; and have cawse yourself "(whose affection to that college we partly know) to like "well of it. Thus with our hearty prayers unto God for "your Honour, we commit you, and all yours, to his tui- "tion. From Cambridge, the 18th of November, anno "1569.

"Your Honour's at commandment,

"John Mey, Vice-Chancellor, John Whitgift,
"Andrew Perne, William Chaderton,
"Edward Hawford."

Mr. Shepheard elected Master.

But notwithstanding this solicitation, Kelk was put by, and Nicolas Shepheard, B. D. now one of the seniors of Trinity college, (but first, as it seems, of St. John's,) got the place by unanimous election. Of this man, Bishop Grindal took occasion in one of his letters to Cecil, soon after his election, to speak favourably; *viz.* "That he was "one of whom he had conceived good opinion; and that "he trusted by his providence, indifferency, and good go- "vernment, he should restore that house to the ancient "fame it had in both their days: praying that the said "Shepheard might have his patrociny in all his lawful "suits; as he [the said Cecil] had always been, and ever "must be, patron of that house, and the governors there- "of." This for St. John's college.

December 31.

Bishop Grindal's character of him.

Things out of order in King's college, by reason of a Popish Provost.

Things had been very much out of order also in King's college, in the same University, for some years past. For the Provost, Dr. Philip Baker, being a secret Papist, not only discouraged as much as he could the propagation of

religion in that house, but endeavoured to enrich himself with the revenues thereof; so that the Fellows were justly disgusted with their Provost. This occasioned, in the year 1565, or thereabouts, a visitation by the Bishop of Lincoln, their ordinary Visitor. And after that, another special visitation appointed by the Queen; who nominated for that purpose the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Mey, Dr. Ithel, and our Dr. Whitgift, her Commissioners. And because I find him concerned in this business of that college, and the matter thereof being so weighty, I shall take some more particular account of it. The report of this contest in the college, between the Provost and Fellows, had spread itself even to the Court. So that the Fellows, to give a fair representation of themselves, and that no opinion prejudicial to them might be taken up there for their opposing the Provost, they seasonably wrote a letter to Sir William Cecil, to inform him aright of the reason of their present controversy, that they might prevent any surmises concerning them, as though it were for the *habits*, which at that time blew up such flames in the University, but that indeed it was for the cause of true religion, and the real interest of the college. Which they declared to him in these words:

CHAP. III.

Anno 1569.

The college visited.

Controversia ista vestiaria (quæ veremur, nè nostræ causæ callidis nonnullorum susurris sit inimica) nihil hercle quicquam hac tempestate nos torquet; sed cum non solum privatis ac domesticis hac in re statutis, verùm augustissimæ etiam Principis edicto libentissime subjiciamur, ab ejus suspicione sumus quàm remotissimi: majora apud nos geruntur, et graviora. Quæ duæ res in omni non solum rep. sed etiam civitate ac domo, solent esse momenti maximi, de iis a nobis summo labore ac studio contenditur; religione videlicet, et civili rerum administratione, &c. That is, "we are not at all concerned at this time with "the controversy of the *habits*, which we fear may preju- "dice our cause, by the cunning whispers of some persons. "But we most willingly are subject, not only to our pri- "vate and domestic statutes in this matter, but also to

MSS. Cecil. 17

BOOK I.

Anno 1569.

"the decree of our sovereign Prince; and are far from any "suspicion of that: greater and weightier matter lie be- "fore us. What two things are wont to be reckoned of "the greatest moment in every commonwealth, nay in "every city and private family, concerning them we are "earnestly contending; namely, religion, and the civil ad- "ministration of affairs. For our care is for the promoting "of religion; which of a long time hath been of little or "no account with us: and our own private domestic con- "cerns are now become in so bad and difficult state, that "the safety of the whole college is in danger." But these matters they would not trouble the Secretary with any large relation of, when by their statutes (as they tell him) the whole affairs of their college were committed to the Bishop of Lincoln. This letter was written the 16th of the calends of January, [December 17.] 1565, from King's college. To which these persons of that college subscribed their names; Michael Brysley, William Ward, John Tayler, Roger Goade, Thomas Hatcher, Roger Browne, James Cole, William Hannam, Hugh Blithe, Abraham Hartwel, Nicolas Colpots.

Articles of accusation against the Provost.

These had appealed to their said Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln: and these were the heads of their crimination of their Provost. I. That being bound by the Visitor's statutes, to make exhortation to his company thrice in the year, in commemoration of the founders and benefactors, he never did any part of this duty, either by himself or his substitute. Neither yet, being a Doctor in Divinity, had at any time preached in any place elsewhere, that could be known; [though he were incumbent also of St. Andrew's Wardrobe, London.] *Item*, That he had no regard of divinity in others; had used no kind of exhortation, or encouraging of any thereto, but rather the contrary; had not caused the Fellows to divert their studies to divinity in such times as the statute required, as well appeared by the number of Ministers in the house at that present, being not above five. And many other such like, which may be read in the Life of Archbishop Grindal.

Book i. chap. 14.

Upon the said Bishop's diligent inquiry and examination into these matters, he left certain *injunctions* with the Provost to be observed; and that, as it seems, upon pain of his deprivation. But little amendment came of it: so that in the year 1569, upon a fresh complaint of the college, the Queen sent a commission to Whitgift and several other persons, as was said before, to make a full reformation of these corruptions in the Provost, to the so great damage both of religion, and the good estate of the college. Then did several of the college present a great number of articles to these Commissioners. As, that he was guilty of all the articles of complaint presented to the Bishop of Lincoln before in the last visitation, especially those that concerned the cause of religion; and that he contumeliously refused that Bishop's *injunctions*. They will be found in the book above mentioned. These were subscribed by Alan Par, T. Preston, Richard Bridgewater, and several more.

Anno 1569.

More articles against him.

Page 144.

The college writes to the Queen upon the Provost's departure.

These articles touched the Provost so close, and Dr. Whitgift, with the rest of the Queen's Commissioners following their business so well, that the Provost found himself in great danger; and therefore never appeared, but at length betook himself to flight, and so left the college destitute of a governor. Upon this, the Vice-Provost, and the rest of the society, address a letter to the Queen, dated the last of February; wherein they gave her great thanks for this royal visitation; and then desired a liberty, according to the statutes of their college, to elect one of their own society for a new Provost. And the great satisfaction they had in these her Commissioners, they expressed in these words; "that her Majesty testified her "good-will towards King's college to the whole world, in 18
"such a manner, that they could not have hoped for
"greater blessings from God, much less have wished for
"them. That when they felt themselves oppressed, she
"sent them such as took the burden off; when they were
"afflicted, she sent them such as comforted and refreshed
"them; when they were sick, both in their head and

BOOK I.

" members, she sent them such as applied wholesome me-
" dicines to both."

Anno 1569. Goad, the new Provost, confirmed by the Commissioners.

This favour of electing one of their own members Provost was granted them. For however I find James Calfhil, D.D. of Christ's Church, Oxon, (yet once of that foundation,) had endeavoured to obtain the place, by his application to Cecil; yet it appears by a letter from the Vice-Provost and society to the same Cecil, dated at the college February 28. that they had all set their minds upon Roger Goad, B. D. of their own house, to succeed in the government there; " whom they knew (as they wrote) both
" for his piety, prudence, and equity, to be such, that
" among many, (and they worthy persons too,) he alone
" surpassed the rest. That this purpose of theirs towards
" him was due to his virtues, and accommodated to their
" wounds, [that they had received by their former gover-
" nor,] and very necessary for religion, the warmth of
" which their other Provost had cooled; and profitable
" also for the goods of the college, which had been so dis-
" sipated and embezzled; and safe for many of them, who
" had been wrongfully dealt with: and in a word, most
" safe for the allaying all former quarrels among them.
" And therefore they desired, that he would approve of
" their purpose, and give his aid and assistance for the
" bringing it to a good issue." It succeeded according to their desire, and Goad became their Provost. And her Majesty's commission to the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. Mey, and the rest before mentioned, being still in force, Goad was confirmed by them, by virtue of the Queen's letters: though a Popish party there was then in the college (whereof Vaux and Atkinson were two) that laboured to elect one Shaw. Goad being now fixed, the said Commissioners, together with him, made a reformation of many abuses in the college; and especially removed away all the Popish relics which were so carefully preserved before by the Provost Baker; as mass-books, legends, couchers, and grails, copes, vestments, crosses, pixes, paxes, and the brazen rood itself.

CHAP. IV.

Whitgift procures new statutes for the University. Cartwright deprived of his lecture. Whitgift shews Cartwright's assertions to the Chancellor: and to the Archbishop: and answers them. Judicial proceedings against Cartwright. Shews his dangerous principles. Whitgift offers him to dispute. On what terms. Which he refuses. Treats Whitgift with opprobrious speeches.

OUR Doctor was the main instrument of another good piece of service to the University, in the year 1570, namely, first in moving for, and then in compiling, a body of new statutes for the University. Of the old statutes, some were altered and corrected, and some new ones were added. For so it was found very necessary for the better government of the members; and particularly, for the curbing many of the younger sort of Fellows and Scholars, that were disobedient to the Heads, and refractory to the orders for wearing the habits enjoined both by the Church and University. Dr. Whitgift had lately acquainted Cecil, the University Chancellor, how needful it was the statutes should be reviewed and amended, together with some new supplements. The matter was approved by the said Chancellor, who referred the consideration of this weighty business to him, with the other Heads; and that having finished a draught thereof, he required them to send it up to him to peruse and get ratified.

Anno 1570.

Procures new statutes for the University.

19

Upon which he, with the Vice-Chancellor, and some of the ancient and chief Heads, applied themselves to the work; and being done, our Doctor acquainted the Chancellor therewith, and propounded the Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker, and some other, well acquainted with the University, to review what was drawn up by them; and so to report to him their judgment of the same, in order to the establishing them for standing laws of the University. This was done in August. See the issue and conclusion of this good work, in the Life of Archbishop Parker.

Sends the draught thereof to the Chancellor.

Book iv. chap. 4.

BOOK I.

Anno 1570.

But the Puritans, and those that were disaffected in the University, seeing by these new statutes their licentious liberty restrained, and the Heads furnished with more power to keep them in order, were much displeased. Edward Deering, sometime Fellow of Christ's college, and that now took much upon him, took the freedom to pass very uncharitable censures upon our Doctor for this work; and the Chancellor for allowing them; in a letter of his written to the honourable person himself. Wherein, after having given characters disparaging enough of the rest of the Heads concerned in these statutes, *viz.* Perne, Harvey, Hawford, Ithel, Mey, and Chaderton, he comes to Dr. Whitgift, "who was a man, he said, that he had loved, "and yet he was but a man that God had suffered to fall "into great infirmities: so froward a mind against Mr. "Cartwright and others; such as bewrayed a conscience "that was full of sickness: that his affections ruled him, "and not his learning, when he framed his cogitations to "get more statutes." Of the abovesaid Cartwright, which is here so favourably spoke of, I shall proceed to the next place, to give some more particular relation.

Dr. Whitgift censured hardly for them.

Vide Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 380.

About the same time, he, and the rest of the Heads, discharged the University of the great ringleader of disorders and disturbances there, namely, Thomas Cartwright, B. D. the Lady Margaret's Reader of Divinity; who both by his readings and conversation had infected the minds of the scholars, of the younger sort, with mighty prejudices against the episcopal government and Liturgy established in the reformation of this Church. His reading any more his lectures was forbidden by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, without some satisfaction given them; lest the permitting thereof should seem to give some credit to his new opinions; with which Whitgift acquainted the Chancellor, in a letter, and had his approbation for what was done. Whitgift also, because the Chancellor seemed not so perfectly to understand Cartwright's principles, and the consequences of them, in the same letter, written in August, set them down in several particulars: that upon the reading where-

Tho. Cartwright discharged by Whitgift and the Heads.

Whitgift sends his principles to Cecil.

of, it might appear, how dangerous and destructive they were, both unto religion, and the settled constitution of this Church. The letter is worthy the reading; and therefore I have put it among other papers of remark in the Appendix. But Cartwright still kept his fellowship, till the year 1572.

Anno 1570.

Number VIII.

Dr. Whitgift now became the more noted in the University, and indeed throughout the whole nation, for his seasonable opposition of this man of his own college. It became a public quarrel, wherein both the University, and all the Bishops of England, and their officers were concerned; being all boldly struck at by him; openly condemning both the orders of the University, and the calling of Bishops. And therefore this our learned Doctor was to do service to both, by entering the lists with him; in disputing and writing against him as a Divine, and in punishing him as an unruly member of the University, and a chief schismatic in the Church, as became the Master of the college, and a Head of the University: and he was seconded and encouraged both by the University and the Bishops. A great deal of this matter between him and Cartwright will be found in the Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, and in the Life of Archbishop Parker: which I will not here repeat. But what hath been omitted there, or more briefly related, I shall now supply.

Whitgift serviceable to the public in undertaking him.

Annals of Reformation, p. 587. Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 419.

Whilst Cartwright was a Fellow of Trinity college, our Dr. Whitgift, the Master, had divers private conferences and debates with him about his Placita: and afterwards called upon him, and desired him to set down in writing his reasons for them; but he would not do it: yet his doctrines and tenets, delivered by him by word of mouth, and known well enough to our Doctor by frequent discourse with him, were deemed of such dangerous consequence, that he drew up (especially at Cecil's motion) a confutation of some of them, and his judgment of the rest; with an intention to make them public; that all might be armed, especially the younger sort in the University, against such novelties.

Answers Cartwright's assertions.

BOOK I.

But first, as it was fit they should pass the eye and judgment of the chief overseer of the Church, so Dr. Whitgift sent these his papers to the Archbishop with his letter dated December 29. thereby acquainting his Grace, "that he had sent him certain notes which he had gathered, touching Mr. Cartwright's assertions. That he had earnestly put the said Cartwright upon setting down his reasons for those assertions of his, in writing; but that hitherto he could not obtain it of him. But that so many of them as in private conference with him he had heard, he had answered; and had declared his judgment of the rest of his opinions; which he said, Cecil, the University's Chancellor, had required him to do, at his last waiting upon him at London, [having been sent from the University, concerning Cartwright's business.] That he was bold to trouble his Grace with the reading of them; that if any thing were amiss, it might be amended; if any thing too much, it might be detracted; if any thing omitted, (as there were divers,) it might be added. That the doctrine was plausible, especially to such as were delighted with the spoils of the Church: and therefore convenient, he said, that something should be prepared to resist the same. And so beseeching his Grace to take this in good part, and to let him have his advice and judgment in it, he committed him to the tuition of Almighty God." I am sorry I cannot present the reader with these answers of our Doctor to those assertions and reasons, having not any where met with them. But undoubtedly the substance of them is contained in his excellent books, afterwards printed, against Cartwright: but as for the assertions, they may be seen in the Annals of the Reformation; being chiefly against the government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, and other Church officers, and the ordination of Ministers in the Church of England.

Anno 1570. And sends them to the Archbishop.

Annal. Refor. chap. 57.

Judicial proceedings against Cartwright.

The judicial proceedings against him follow. The Vice-Chancellor Dr Mey, Dr. Whitgift, and the other Heads, stayed him from reading his lectures. And then by their letters to their Chancellor, prayed him that nothing might

be done among them to the encouragement of such as affected to be the authors of strange opinions and new devices: and that Cartwright's assertions and doctrines were such, Whitgift shewed the Chancellor more particularly in the letter above mentioned, written in August: as that there ought not to be in the Church of Christ, Archbishops, Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters; and several other tenets by him held point-blank contrary to the practice of this Church. Cartwright persisting in these his heterodox principles, and refusing before the Heads to renounce them; he was in the next place deprived of his lecture, and of the University, by Dr. Whitgift, now Vice-Chancellor, in the month of November, as he had been, the month before, of his fellowship, as turbulent, and seditious, and party-making in the college; and likewise for breach of certain college-statutes. Anno 1570.

His pleas for himself upon his expulsion.

As to his expulsion, what he said for himself may be seen in his own letter, which he soon despatched to the Chancellor of the University, dated from Cambridge the 16th of the calends of November, [*i. e.* 17th of October.] That whereas he was lately expelled the college, the causes they assigned were, "that he was accused of sedition, and an endeavour of making parties: that he was born to contention: that he never was quiet: that he was the captain and ringleader of unquietness and jarring to others; who excited by his voice and encouragement, as by a sign given, wholly gave up themselves to contentions. Then he complained, that after they had expelled him the college, which he took quietly, then they preferred grievous accusations against him; whereof he prayed the said Chancellor to suspend his belief, till he should hear his vindication of himself: making the true cause of the Master's proceeding so rigorously against him to be his fear, that while he continued Fellow, he [the said Master] should not be safe, nor honourably respected in his place: and that it was altogether arbitrarily done by him, without the consent of the Fellows."

There is one particular passage more between our Doc- 21

BOOK I.

tor and him, that must not be omitted. There was great boasting by him and his party, that he had offered to dispute with any, for the justifying of his assertions, and that he was refused. The bruit whereof run abroad in the University and elsewhere; though it was not true: nay, so far from truth, that he had been offered public disputation by divers, and especially by Dr. Whitgift, in case he would set down his reasons, and argue by writing; which certainly is the best and fairest way of argumentation. This he reminds Cartwright of, two or three years after, publicly in print in these words: "I doubt not of the answering of my book; neither do I fear it: you know that "I have offered you divers times this kind of conference, "though not in this public manner." But this way of arguing he would not be brought to, but utterly declined. Seeing then that he was for nothing but a verbal disputation, that was also yielded to him; and that too upon his own conditions: which were to know who should be his opponents, and who his judges. Only it was thought necessary in such a public matter, and in a disputation of such a nature, (*viz.* against the established government,) to have a licence for it from the Queen or Council. And afterwards, for the public testification of all this, divers of the Heads, together with the Vice-Chancellor, (who now was Dr Whitgift,) set their hands. And all was confirmed by a public notary, *viz.*

Anno 1570. Cartwright's pretended challenge to dispute with Whitgift.

Defence of his Answer to the Admonit. p. 779. Whitgift offers him disputation; which he refused.

"Whereas it was reported, that Mr. Cartwright offering "disputation and conferences, as touching his *assertions* "uttered by him, and subscribed by his hand, and that he "could not obtain his request therein; this is to testify, "that in the presence of us, whose names be here under-"written, and in our hearing, the said Mr. Cartwright was "offered conference of divers, and namely of Mr. Dr. Whit-"gift: who offered, that if the said Mr. Cartwright would "set down his assertions in writing, and his reasons unto "them, he would answer the same in writing also. The "which Mr. Cartwright refused to do. Further, the said

Testimony of the Heads concerning this. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

CHAP IV.

Anno 1570.

" Dr. Whitgift, at such a time as Mr. Cartwright was de-
" prived of his lecture, did in our presence ask the said
" Mr. Cartwright, whether he had not both publicly and
" privately, divers times offered the same conference unto
" him by writing, or no. To the which Mr. Cartwright an-
" swered, that he had been so offered, and that he refused
" the same. Moreover, the said Mr. Cartwright did never
" offer any disputation but upon these conditions, *viz.* that
" he might know who should be his adversaries, and who
" should be his judges: meaning such judges as he him-
" self could best like of. Neither was this kind of dis-
" putation denied unto him; but only he was required to
" obtain licence of the Queen's Majesty, or the Council,
" because his assertions be repugnant to the state of the
" commonwealth: which may not be called into question
" by public disputation, without licence of the Prince, or
" her Highness' Council.

" Jhon Whitgifte, Vice-Chancellor.	John Mey.
" Andrew Perne.	Henry Harvie.
" Edward Hawford.	Thomas Ithel.
" William Chaderton.	Thomas Bynge."

Ego Matthæus Stokys, Sarum Dioc. in Artibus Magister, publicus aucte. legitimâ Notarius, quia interfui deprivationi dict. Cartwright, factæ 11° *Decembr. anno* 1570. *Et tunc et ibid. audivi Doctorem Whitgift, interrogantem Magistrum Cartwright, de præmissis allegatis, et Magistrum Cartwright, eadem confitentem: ideo in fidem et testimonium præmissorum nomen meum requisitus subscripsi, an. Dom.* 1570. *Concordat cum Registro.*

In short, the whole judicial proceedings with Cartwright by the Heads are extant in the University Register, and may be read in the Appendix, as they were favourably transcribed, and sent me by a learned member of that University.

Number IX. T. Baker, B. D.

This brisk (but necessary) opposition which Dr. Whitgift made to Cartwright, filled the man with a secret hatred of him, mixed with a mighty scorn, appearing in the

Cartwright's opprobrious words of Dr. Whitgift.

BOOK I. many opprobrious words used by him against the Doctor, though he was Master of that college, whereof Cartwright
Anno 1570. was Fellow; and in that regard owed a greater deference
22 to him. Which therefore Whitgift occasionally, two or three years after, gave him a remembrance of. For whereas, in his Reply to Dr. Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition, he had, to conceal himself, set only *T. C.* in his Epistle Prefatory to that book, (*T. C. wisheth mercy and peace to the Church of England,*) he hath these words; "That by these "two initial letters only, he could easily have conjectured, "by the haughtiness of his style, and his contumelious "speeches, who had been the author of the book. So well "was he acquainted with his modesty, and such experience "he had had of his mildness. But what would his friends, "(added the Doctor,) that thought he had been *sine felle*, "think, if they should compare his oath which this *T. C.* "took, when he was admitted Fellow into Trinity college; "viz. *Item, me huic collegio fidelem et benevolum futurum "ei, et omnibus sociis et discipulis: atque etiam* MAGISTRO "*ejusdem, non solùm, dum in eo vixero, sed etiam postea, pro "virili, cum opus sit, benevolentiam et opem præstiturum;* "compared with his good-will uttered throughout the "whole book?" But enough at this time of Cartwright. We shall hear more of him hereafter in the process of this story.

Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift's Answer.

CHAP. V.

Dr. Whitgift Vice-Chancellor. A parsonage and prebend granted him. Preaches before the Convocation. Made Prolocutor. Interposes in a controversy between the Heads of colleges and the Proctors. Thinks of leaving the University. But upon the Heads' intercession with the Chancellor, he is prevailed upon to stay. Is arbitrator in a case between the Master and Fellows of Magdalen college.

Anno 1571. Whitgift Vice-Chancellor. THIS year Dr. Whitgift was Vice-Chancellor of the University, (as was hinted before,) succeeding Dr. John Mey,

Master of Katharine hall, the last year's Vice-Chancellor. And as an honour done him in his year, these several persons of great note and quality were received in full Congregation, *per gratiam*, into the degree of Masters of Art of this University, March the 30th, Lord William, Marquis of Northampton, Knight of the Garter; and August the 30th following, Edward, Earl of Hertford; Lord Thomas Buckhurst; Sir George Carew, Knight; Charles Howard, Esq. (afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and Lord High Admiral,) Thomas Cecil, Esq. (eldest son to the Lord Treasurer Lord Burghley,) afterwards Earl of Exeter; and Thomas Wylson, Master of Requests to the Queen, was then incorporated Doctor of Laws, (having commenced in that faculty at Padua, in his exile under Queen Mary,) who was after Master of St. Katharine's near the Tower, and Secretary of State; and Richard Master, Doctor of Physic, Physician to the Queen, then likewise incorporated.

Anno 1571.

Noblemen take degrees.

An order was made and concluded by the Archbishop and Bishops, that for the preventing of false doctrine and schism, all those that had obtained faculties to preach, should surrender them before the 3d of August 1571; and that upon their subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and likewise other constitutions and ordinances agreed upon by the said Archbishop and Bishops, new licences should be given them. This they signified to the University of Cambridge, requiring the Heads to call in all the faculties they had before that time granted. Whereupon Dr. Whitgift having given up his former faculty, granted him anno 1566, received another from the University; and moreover constituting him one of the University Preachers, with ample commendations of him for his modesty, gravity, honesty of life, and doctrine agreeable thereto, under their seal, dated September 17, 1571. Which faculty, as transcribed from the University Register, may be found in the Appendix. 23 [Number IX.]

Dr. Whitgift has a new licence, and made University Preacher. R. Tho. Baker, B. D.

He was now Parson of Teversham, and had a prebend in the church of Ely. Which parsonage and prebend was granted him by Cox, the Bishop of that diocese; to whom

BOOK I.

Whitgift's good deserts and piety towards the established reformation made him dear. And the Archbishop of Can-

Anno 1571. The Archbishop granteth him a dispensation.

terbury, as a reward of his learning and pains, in defending the present constitution of the Church of England, gave him a dispensation, dated October ult. 1571, that with these preferments, together with the mastership of Trinity college, he might hold a third benefice, with the clauses of *changing* and *residing*. And Whitgift in grateful requital, (let me insert it here,) when he became Archbishop of Canterbury, answered this favour of Archbishop Parker, by several grants to his son, John Parker, when he was dead and gone; *viz.* the parsonage of Reculver, and chapel of Hern, and rectory of Hoath, granted anno 1587. And the next year, 1588, he gave him the grant to be steward of his household, and the lease of the manor of Boughton.

Dr. Whitgift preaches at a Convocation.

Towards the end of this year, a new Parliament coming together, there was a Synod or Convocation of the province held: at the opening whereof, after the singing of the Litany and hymn, according to custom, a Latin sermon was preached before both Houses, by Dr. Whitgift, upon those words, *Convenerunt Apostoli, et Seniores videre de verbo hoc.* Actor. xv. wherein he learnedly treated of the institution and authority of Synods; of the enemies of the Church, *viz.* Papists and Puritans, of the use of garments and ornaments, so much objected against of late: and afterwards, mentioning many things, he recommended them to the Synod to be reformed.

Extract of Convocat. Rev. Fran. Atterbury, D. D. nunc Rev. Pat. Ep. Roff.

Anno 1572. Chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation.

And the year following, *viz.* 1572, the second sessions of Convocation, May the 14th, the Clergy of the lower House presented him, being now Dean of Lincoln, for their Prolocutor, by Dr. Pern, Dean of Ely, and Dr. Humfrey, Dean of Gloucester: this latter making the speech to the Bishops concerning his worth, and their election of him. The Prolocutor being confirmed, the Bishop of London, in the absence of the Archbishop (being then ill at ease) called him, and his two presenters, ordering them, that they should go and choose among themselves some learned, grave, and fit men, and such as were best qualified; and by them, what

they should think of and devise worthy reformation, to cause to be reduced in writing; and the next session to present the same to the Archbishop or his deputy. But by reason of various continuations and prorogations, the Convocation did no business, till the year 1575; when the Archbishop (who now was Grindal) recommended to them in effect the same thing; namely, to devise and consider with themselves, if any things were necessary to be reformed, which concerned the state of the Church, and Christ's religion. This they did, and reduced it into writing. And the effect was, the framing of several articles for the regulation of the Clergy. Wherein we may conclude Whitgift, the Prolocutor, to have a great hand. Which articles are noted in the Life of Archbishop Grindal; and are exemplified at length in the Appendix there, from Whitgift's own copy, these words being set on the back-side thereof with his own hand, *Articles of Convocation* 1575.

Anno 1572.

Book ii. chap. 5.

In the month of May 1572, a contention arose between the Heads of the University and the Proctors: wherein our Doctor was concerned; not only as an Head, but as deputy to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Kelk, then absent at his living: whereas the ordinary Lectors were to be nominated by the Heads near about this time, there being but few Heads now resident in their colleges, the Proctors took this advantage against them in their absence, to require the Presidents of the colleges in their steads to nominate. Beacon, one of the Proctors, went up to their Chancellor, the Lord Burghley, about this business; and made complaint against some of the statutes; those new ones, as it seems, lately sent down; as though they gave too much power to the Heads, and withdrew from the liberties and privileges of the rest. The Chancellor had desired two Bishops, *viz.* the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London, to take the hearing of the matters in controversy. But Dr. Whitgift, that was now in the Vice-Chancellor's stead, not knowing how two (when there were no more to consider this great affair) might be biassed or mistaken; therefore he, together with Dr. Perne, Dr. Mey, and Dr. Caius, prudently required of

The Proctors move a controversy against the Heads.

24

Upon some statutes called in question, Whitgift deputy Vice-Chancellor interposes.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

the said Chancellor, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Ely, Winton, and Lincoln, might be desired by his Lordship to join themselves, with the former two, in the said conference; who were not only (as they urged) brought up in the said University, but also had good experience sithence of the estate of the University of Oxford; being visitors of some of the colleges there. "They "did think (as the letter ran) that as they should be "able to have the better consideration of any quarrels or "objections made against the said statutes, and to inform "his Honour of the same accordingly: so their judgment "and consent might make more, for the better liking of "the said statutes hereafter. Otherwise, as they pro-"ceeded, they should be most ready and willing to shew "their reasons and considerations, to whom, and to as "many of them as should please his Honour; to the full "answering, as they trusted, of any cavillation or quarrels "pretended against the same statutes."

I do not find what the judgment and direction of the Bishops were; but I find, that both the Proctors lately come from London repaired to Dr. Hawford, then deputy to the said the Vice-Chancellor, (as Whitgift had been before.) This was a little before the time of the nomination of the said Readers. Then Beacon, the senior Proctor, told him, that it was the Lord Burleigh's pleasure, that at the nomination of the Lectors, the Presidents of colleges should be called, in the absence of the Heads, and to give their assents in such nomination. Dr. Hawford then asked them, if they had any letter from the said Lord to him, to testify this that they said? To this they answered, that he had such business, that he could not write. Then said Dr. Hawford to them, that their bare assertion was not a sufficient warrant for him to break a statute. They said again, that they ought to be credited herein, because they were public persons: and in fine they told him, that if he would not call the Presidents in the absence of the Heads, they would do nothing at the Congregation of the next day. The said deputy, the same

The Proctors require, that the Presidents give assent in the absence of the Heads.

day, acquainted Dr. Chaderton, another Head, with what had happened, and asked his advice; because they were in danger to have no election. His answer shewed his judgment to be the same, *viz.* that a bare report of private men was not of sufficient force to alter any statute established; unless they could shew his Lordship's determination in writing: and therefore that he thought good, that the order practised should be observed; against which, if the Proctors should do any thing, the attempt would be at their own peril. Anno 1572.

When the day came, (which was the 10th of July,) a full congregation of Regents and Non-regents assembled, for the election of the four ordinary Readers. Then Mr. Beacon spake openly to this effect, "that it was the Lord "Burghley's pleasure, that the Presidents of colleges, in "the absence of the Masters, should be called in, to the "nomination of the Lecturers; to make up the number of "fourteen, [being the number of colleges:] and that he "had signified the same unto Mr. Vice-Chancellor his "Deputy, the day before, saying also, that my Lord "Burghley had said, that it was *anima legis*:" and then he made his protestation of the nullity of that nomination of the Lecturers, then made by the Heads. And that notwithstanding, he did openly denounce the said nomination. And afterwards being called to stand in the scrutiny, by the Vice-Chancellor's deputy, for the election of those that were nominated by the Heads, did refuse openly to do the same: and thereupon the Congregation was broke up, and no election made. A Congregation for electing the ordinary Readers.

The Chancellor, it seems, was misreported by the Proctor: and therefore gave order, by his letters, to his Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Kelk, (who by this time was come to Cambridge,) to examine what Beacon had said and done. Accordingly the Vice-Chancellor caused divers, both Heads and others, to be examined, who all in effect attested, as is above related. And then he sent up the depositions, and his letter to the Chancellor, which was to this tenor: "that he had sent unto him enclosed, an examination Wherein the Proctor misreports the Chancellor.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

" and depositions of certain grave men, touching the re-
" port, which Mr. Beacon was judged to have reported of
" him, [the Chancellor,] both privately and openly; as his
" Honour might well discern in the perusing of them.
" And that because there was a nomination of the ordi-
" nary Lecturers at the time, by foundation appointed,
" (though with protestation published by the Proctor;
" because, he said, the statute was not observed,) he [the
" Vice-Chancellor] had declared the election, till he had
" heard more from him [the Chancellor.] Although he
" took it, he said, to be a great inconvenience, either for
" one or both Proctors to quarrel, make troubles, or raise
" up doubts, from time to time, and in matters whatso-
" ever, contrary to the doings or judgments of all the
" Heads present, or resident; which sometimes were more,
" sometimes fewer, as occasion served: yet never so few,
" but at all times able to countervail with them, and to
" be preferred before them. That this disorder therefore
" must needs grieve any good man, and give occasion of
" great inconvenience, unless by his Lordship's wisdom it
" were suppressed. He added, that he was resident upon
" his cure in all the late disorders, and could not at that
" time be resident upon his office. But your Honour (as
" he concluded) understanding all contentions, doth not
" sleep, in bridling all rash attempts of any party, or in
" stirring up and in pricking forward negligent minds
" and careless dispositions. Thus I leave off, &c. And so
" humbly requiring him to make some speedy stay; and
" to certify his pleasure, as he should think most conve-
" nient." Dated from Cambridge the 12th of July.

The power of the Heads struck at.

The bottom of this contest set on foot by the Proctors, about the nomination of the Readers, was undoubtedly to abridge the power of the Heads as much as they could; and to enlarge the authority of the Fellows of colleges, to be able to control them in elections. For the University ran now much divided into two factions, whereof the younger sort, which were the majority, was much for innovations, and such were followers of Cartwright's prin-

ciples; which the graver sort, especially the Heads, laboured to restrain. CHAP. V.

These ordinary Readers (the election of whom caused all this stir) were four, *viz.* of Rhetoric, Logic, Philosophy, and Mathematics, who were chosen customarily on St. Barnaby's Day, and therefore called Barnaby's Lecturers. These were, and are still nominated by the Heads, and chosen by the body, who were obliged to read: but their places are now become *sinecures*. Anno 1572. The four Readers.

Dr. Whitgift was by this time found by experience so useful an Head of the University, that upon a particular occasion, divers of the chief of the Heads made an especial address to the Lord Burleigh, their Chancellor, for him, saying, that "they could not want him." The occasion this: as he was an impartial executor of the statutes of the college; so he had hereby raised the stomachs of some of the Fellows against him, who contended unkindly with him: they had treated him with so much slander, and such reviling terms, as wholly discouraged him to tarry any longer among them; and so was thinking seriously, for more quiet and ease, to depart from the University: and especially since he required more ease of mind and leisure hours; being now writing an answer to the Admonition, which shall be related by and by. What statute he had executed now, I cannot tell, unless it were his pressing a due observance of uniformity; an ill-will to which not a few in that house had, where Thomas Cartwright lately bore such sway: but Pern, Byng, Harvey, Chaderton, and other Heads of colleges, were so apprehensive of the great loss the University should sustain, if Dr. Whitgift should withdraw from it, that they knew no other way now to prevent it, than by engaging that Lord's interest with him to change his mind; whose words alone could inspire him with comfort and courage. And because of some of their slanders and false reports of him, (with which they treated him, not only privately, but publicly also,) he was not without fear, that they might reach even to the Court, to his prejudice: they therefore prayed his Whitgift discouraged, thinks of leaving the University.

BOOK I.

Lordship, that nothing of the reports might be credited, without just proof.

Anno 1572. The Heads apply to the Chancellor to prevent it.

In their letter they shew him, "how contention and "trouble had been moved of late against him, for execut- "ing the statutes of the college; and that it had grown "to that degree, that some had been impudently bold, "openly, as well as privately, to rail upon him, to despite "and slander him, to his great grief, and to discourage his "continuance in the good government of that college. "That they were sorry to perceive this: and that because 26 "they well knew, and assured his Honour, that if the "Doctor, by these means, should turn his mind from that "house, and leave it, the whole body of the University "would lament it; since he was well known to be wise, "learned, and wholly bent to the execution of good laws "and statutes; to the repressing of insolence, and the "maintaining of learning and well-doing; which was the "cause, they say, of their advertising his Honour hereof. "And that for his love of the University, their humble "suit was, that his countenance and favour might appear "so to continue towards him, as it had done always here- "tofore. And that the Fellows of the house, his adversa- "ries and others, without cause, might not insult and "triumph over him. And that their close biting and slan- "derous reports might not be further credited, than just "proof thereof could be made. And that he might so be "used by his wisdom, that they [the Heads] might not "lose him, whom they could not want." It was dated from Cambridge, Sept. 28, 1572, and signed by Pern, Hawford, Chaderton, Harvey, Ithel, and Byng.

A controversy between the Master of Magdalen college, and some Fellows, referred to Whitgift.

I find him employed again this year, as an arbitrator in a college controversy, which happened in Magdalen college between Dr. Kelk the Master, a wise and worthy man, and some of the Fellows; occasioned by his expulsion of one of them. He had now been fourteen years Master, and in all that time that college had been a *virgin*, free of all contention, (as he expressed himself to the Lord Treasurer, their Chancellor,) till now: that two Masters of

Arts, and two Bachelors, took occasion to charge him with certain articles of accusation. And one of these was one Newcomen, who came not into his fellowship legally and statutably, and so seemed to continue there by favour and connivance: him therefore, by his power and authority, as Master, (which in that college is considerably great,) he deprived: and the next morning opened the matter to all the Fellows, shewing them the causes thereof to be neither trifles nor toys, (as Newcomen had pretended,) and that his dealings with him was orderly and according to statute. Newcomen upon this appeals to the Chancellor, who referred the whole matter between them to his Vice-Chancellor and our Doctor. What Dr. Kelk had to say for himself, may appear by this letter, which on this occasion he sent to the said Chancellor; "that the Queen "had the nomination of two fellowships in that college, "the Master appointing two unto her; of which she no- "minated one." Now it seemed there was this irregular practice got in among them; that when one of the fellowships fell, some would run to Court to obtain of some friends there letters from the Queen to the college, to accept of such an one, to fill that room so vacant, being her right to nominate two. Now this he shewed was contrary to the statutes of the college; which was, that the Master upon such a vacation should appoint two to the Queen; and then she to name one of them. Newcomen getting into a fellowship, but not in this legal method, had been discharged by the Master; "who, in his said letter to the "Chancellor, desired therefore this abuse to be redressed: "and that whensoever there should happen such a vacancy, "the foundation might be kept, and their suit stayed, [who "should sue to the Queen, without giving any knowledge "of it to the Master, or without his consent and approba- "tion,] until the Master, according to the foundation, "might be certified thereof. But that their number being "so few, such creeping in, without his consent, might "make much contention." This whole matter the Chancellor left to Dr. Whitgift and his Vice-Chancellor: and

Anno 1572.

Dr. Kelk declares the cause to the Chancellor. Epist. Acad. int. MSS. Burghlian.

BOOK I.

these at last ended the contention between them, with their consents and agreements thereto. At which conclu-

Anno 1572.

sion, the Chancellor declared to them his satisfaction, and "that he was glad that Mr. Kelk had accepted his penitent Fellow with his submission."

27

CHAP. VI.

Admonition to the Parliament, a dangerous book. Some account of it. Whitgift undertakes to answer it. Dissuaded. His resolution; and reasons. The matters treated of therein. Shews the magistrates the danger of these men, by the example of the Anabaptists in Germany. Warns them to be circumspect. Sets before them the Donatists. The compilers of the Liturgy commended. A writing of Bishop Jewel, concerning Bishops and Archbishops. He is vindicated by Whitgift. The Archbishop of Canterbury traduced in the Admonition. Beza, and other foreigners, their judgments of this Church. Reasons of the Second Admonition, considered.

Whitgift made choice of to answer the Admonition to the Parliament.

AND as he was thus useful to the University, so the Church had need of his parts and learning. Archbishop Parker (on whom lay the chief burden of the government, and defence of the Church of England, under God and the Queen, against all its enemies) made choice of him of all the learned men of the realm, for the answering of a dangerous book, which this year riseth up openly and insolently against the Church, reformed and established by law. It was written with much bitterness, and designed quite to overthrow the present state and government of it, and to introduce another in its room. The book was called *An Admonition to the Parliament*, (first and second part,) though it never was offered to them. It was composed in the midst of the heats concerning wearing the habits; and

whilst some ceremonies enjoined were pressed upon the neglecters, that upon certain pretences took a great dislike to them; several persons had assembled privately together in London, (as Dr. Bancroft was informed,) namely, Gilby, Sampson, Lever, Field, Wilcox, and some other; Cartwright very likely among the rest: and then it was agreed upon, that an Admonition should be compiled, and offered unto the Parliament approaching. And it is to be remarked, that Beza's letter to a great man in England [perhaps the Earl of Leicester] was writ about this time, as a proper season, for and in behalf of the chief contents thereof; namely, for the setting up the discipline of the Church of Geneva here in England: for they upon occasion used to write or send messengers to him, to take his opportunities to interpose for them with great persons here.

Anno 1572.

The compilers of the book. Survey by Bancr. p. 54.

Beza's letter.

This Admonition was the more dangerous, in that it utterly condemned the present Church, and the ministry of it. "That we had neither a right ministry of God, nor "a right government of the Church. That this prescript "form of service in this Church of England maintained "an unlawful ministry; bitterly speaking against the Book "of ordering Ministers and Deacons:" which they called the *Pontifical*, to render it the more odious, as altogether Popish; and agreeing with the Papists Pontifical. "That "we were so scarce come to the outward face of a Church, "that although some truths were taught by some preach- "ers, yet no preachers might, without great danger of the "law, utter all truth comprised in the book of God; it was "so circumscribed and wrapt up within the compass of "some statutes, such penalties, such *injunctions*, such *ad-* "*vertisements*, and such *articles*; such *sober caveats*, and "such manifold pamphlets; that in a manner it did but "peep out from behind the screen. That there were in- "tolerable abuses in the Communion Book. And that the "Sacraments were wicked, mangled, and profaned; and "that the word of God was negligently, fantastically, pro- "fanely, and heathenly preached, and the Sacraments

Admon. fol. 34, 35, 36, &c. fol. 57.

Defence, p. 38.

Second Admon. p. 6. fol. 38, 42, 43.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

"wickedly ministered." Insomuch that Dr. Whitgift, the answerer, added, "that every line of that book was almost "nothing else but such intemperate speeches of the whole "Church of England, and every thing therein used. And "as for our *Reformation*, that they called a *deformed Re-* "*formation*."

The second part of this Admonition was, upon the subscription to the articles required by the Commissioners, to give a view of such causes as withheld many Ministers from subscribing; which were called *Popish abuses* yet remaining in the English Church. For the which, godly Ministers, they wrote, had refused to subscribe.

The strain of the book.

In what strain this whole Admonition ran, may be understood by the Preface to it, which began thus: "Two "treatises ye have here ensuing, (beloved in Christ,) which "ye must read without partiality or blind affection. For "otherwise you shall neither see their meaning, nor re- "frain yourselves from rash condemning of them without "cause. That there were certain men of great counte- "nance, which would not lightly like of them, because "they principally concerned their persons and unjust "dealings; whose credit was great, and their friends "many. They meant the lordly Lords, Archbishops, Bi- "shops, Suffragans, Deans, Doctors, Archdeacons, and "Chancellors, and the rest of that proud generation: "whose kingdom must down, hold they never so hard: "because their tyrannous Lordships could not stand with "Christ's kingdom. And that it was the special mischief "of our English Church, and the chief cause of backward- "ness, and of all breach and dissension. For that they "whose authority was forbidden by Christ, would have "their stroke upon their fellow servants: yea, though "ungraciously, cruelly, and Pope-like, they took upon "them to beat them. And that for their own childish "articles, being for the most part against the manifest "truth of God. That by experience their rigour had too "plainly appeared ever since their wicked reign; and "especially for the space of five or six years last past

"together. And that of the enormities, which with such "rigours they maintained, these treatises did in part "make mention, justly craving redress thereof."

Second Admon.

And in another place of the book, speaking of the Bishops, thus it treats them; "Take them for better who "shall, they are no other but a remnant of Antichrist's "brood: and God amend or forgive them: for else they "bid battle to Christ and his Church; and it must bid "defiance to them till they yield. And I protest before "the eternal God, I take them so; and thereafter will use "myself in my vocation. And many more too, no doubt, "which be careful of God, his glory, and the Church's "liberty, will use themselves against them, as the pro-"fessed enemies of Christ, &c."

The design to root out Bishops.

So that it appears hence abundantly, that the grand design of these Admonitions was to undermine and overthrow (if not the Reformation itself, yet) that great part of it, *viz.* the ecclesiastical government by the Bishops. And thereby perhaps (many self-designing men joining with those new reformers) they had their eye upon the revenues of the Church, rather than acted by a zeal of setting up a new order of Church governors.

The book answered by Whitgift.

The answering of this book Dr. Whitgift undertook, and most successfully performed this year, when his book came out in quarto; and was printed soon after a second time, with some notes taken from Zuinglius, and other foreign Divines, in favour of this Church.

Whitgift dissuaded from publishing his answer to the Admonition.

But while Whitgift's book was in a readiness, and however hitherto the writing of it was privately carried on, the report of it now began to spread; and among the rest came to the ears of one Mr. Norton, a learned Clergyman. But whether he somewhat favoured some positions in that Admonition laid down, or only (as he avowed) reckoned it a better course to let the libel sleep of itself, without taking any further notice of it; he set about to dissuade our learned man against publishing any answer to it. He acknowledged he disliked that book, and saw, how thereby occasion was given to Papists, to rejoice to see the

BOOK I. professors of the reformed religion so angry one at another. But yet he doubted whether an answer, that must Anno 1572. fall into every man's hands, might do more harm than good; and by widening the differences, rather hurt than 29 edify the Church. He was sure, as he further told him, the Popish party would egg him on eagerly to it; and, as though Whitgift had preferment in his eye by this undertaking, he suggested, he might be disappointed by taking this course towards it, as one he mentioned to him was. These and such like arguments did Norton use to persuade the other to desist. The whole letter (dated in October) may be worth perusing, to see the various tempers and persuasions of men in these times: and that occasion hereby may be given, to let into our history another excellent letter of our Doctor, in answer to the former, having so many periods of prudence and piety in it, and some further particulars relating to the reason of his composing this book. The said letter was as followeth.

Norton's letter to Whitgift. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" Good Mr. Doctor, after my hearty commendations " and thanks; it is commonly said, that you are in pub- " lishing a book of answer to the late unhappy book, " called, *An Admonition to the Parliament.* Surely the " book was fond; and with unreasonableness and unsea- " sonableness, hath hindered much good, and done much " hurt: and in nothing more than in increasing the Pa- " pists' triumph against our Church. For Papists, you " know, be common enemies to all sides of Christians; " and are glad of this question, and be loth it should die. " But, Sir, I doubt whether it were best policy to let the " matter die quietly, or to rub up the question publicly. " For I am not certain, whether it shall edify or hurt the " Church. Herein would be some regard to good discre- " tion. It is good to contain controversies within schools, " and not to carry them to Paul's Cross, and elsewhere " abroad. For besides that, as I hear, it draweth the " youth among you from learning, and applying their " books, to faction; it abateth many good men's liberality

" to scholars, which is great pity. You know what the " division of Lutherans and Zuinglians hath done. And " hereby the greatest hurt arisen, that oft arguing of the " matter in writings, hath exasperated affections. And " while the Christians were distracted, the Papists have " abused the one against the other: now as it were hissed " them together, and destroyed both. Germany and the " Low Country have too many examples. Anno 1572.

" Mr. Elmer's unseasonable paradox, though true, hath " hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment " so much as he hoped. I pray God, that God raise not " another Queen Mary to accord both sides, and give oc- " casion to such reconciliation as was between Ridley and " Hooper. Let us do *quod nobis, non quod illis dignum* " *sit:* and covet, that our brethren's infirmities might be " healed or covered. Vid. Life of Bishop Aylmer.

" I know all Papists will set you on eagerly, and Dr. P. " will clap you for it; and perhaps minister you matter to " furnish your book, without care on which side the shame " do light. Sir, you know that not he that giveth the " first blow, as they have done, but he that giveth the " second, as you shall do, maketh the fray: which among " us, the Papists would fain see and laugh at. I would " make them no such sport, if I were as you: neither would " I be trumpeter, much less a captain of civil wars among " Christians. I would rather make vanish the forces on " the other side, with driving them soberly to cease, or " vainly to fight with their own shadows, for lack of an " enemy. I mislike much these men's course and fancies, " and matters contained in their books. But I would fain " have that remedy followed, which might best help the " peace of the Church: and as a dangerous fire, to with- " draw *fomenta*. And sith it cannot be presently quenched, " let it *deflagrare*, without adding more stuff unto it.

" Whether this be a right opinion or no, I cannot tell. " For so I should prejudicate your wisdom too much: and " therefore I will not stiffly hold it. For perhaps so to do " might be more dangerous than to be a Papist: or for a

BOOK I. Anno 1572.

" Doctor to have meddled with the Pope's bull. But yet " I thought it honest and friendly to put you in mind of " it; praying God to inspire you the best. But this one " thing I would seriously advise you, before you go any " further in your book, to confer with some grave, wise " men; and especially such as have been rather beholders, " than actors in this tragedy; and so do come to the cause " with less troubled affection; as the Dean of Paul's, the " Dean of Windsor, and other such as your wisdom can " choose; and especially, if you can, with some counsel- " lors; who, as you know, are the best judges of policy " and discretion: as, my Lord Treasurer, my Lord of " Leicester, Mr. Treasurer, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Rafe " Sadler, and the rest; (which all, as you know, be fit;) and " to hear their opinions; not for your doctrine, (for there- " in, I doubt not, you believe that God guideth you; and " that you are rather to teach them, than they you,) but " for the policy; whether it be good for the Church at " this season, to exagitate this question, or rather to sup- " press it.

" Good Mr. Doctor, take my friendly meaning in good " part. For I am loth to have the Church take hurt, or " you (for our friendship's sake, which is unfeigned) to be " an author of it; neither would I have you to contend " with them, who shall be the verier fool, or who shall " most trouble the Church. Fare ye well. At London, " the xxth of October 1572.

" Yours heartily to his power,

" Thomas Norton."

And then, by way of postscript, he added, " *Non est* " *melius amicos perdere, quam verba.* Dr. Chaderton hath " preached [as it seems, at St. Paul's] upon a good text, " *Circumspectè agatis,*" [intending by the mention thereof, to put Dr. Whitgift in mind to *walk circumspectly* in this affair;] " the matter is almost dead. And now to kindle " the Queen's displeasure against Protestants, for an error " or oversight in some of them, is not best. And one

" thing I would have you learn in Mr. Elmer's example: " that his hurting of the Church hath raised him some " such secret mislikers, as that his success hath not answered his hope." Anno 1572.

And now what should our Divine do, upon all this counsel of his unfeigned friend and grave monitor? He was naturally of a quiet peaceable disposition, and held the peace of the Church sacred: which made him very unwilling to enter into this controversy. But he had before now maturely deliberated this matter with many wise men, and especially with the Archbishop of Canterbury. And the reasons he gave of his undertaking this task, and his consideration of Norton's objections against it, in his answer sent a few days after, are so satisfactory, that though it be somewhat long, I must have leave here to insert it; especially communicating so much insight into these affairs of this Church, and one sort of the adversaries thereof.

Whitgift's letter in answer to Norton. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" *Salutem in Christo*, &c. I most heartily thank you, " good Master Norton, for your letters: which as I take " to come of good-will, both to the state of religion and " to myself, so do I accept the same: and I desire you to " accept my answer, as written to my very friend; and " proceeding from a mind wishing the same that you do.

Shewing his reasons for writing his book.

" It is true, that I am purposed to publish an answer " to that book, called, *An Admonition to the Parliament*. " The reasons that move me thereunto be these: I. Be- " cause that the book defaceth the whole state of religion, " the whole order of service, the whole ministry, the whole " kind of government, used and allowed in this Church of " England: the which, I think no sound Protestant, or " favourer of the State, can willingly suffer. II. Because in " the same book, the very steps and degrees to Anabap- " tism is contained, wherein the Anabaptists of Germany " walked, before the broaching of their heresies. III. Be- " cause these books be now in every man's hand, and are

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

" thought to be such as cannot be answered: and not the " common people only, but many others be deluded by " them. IV. For that it is every faithful man's part to sup- " press errors, to convince heresies, and to maintain the " truth, so much as lieth in him. For in such cases to " hold a man's peace, is to betray the truth, to neglect his " duty, yea, to deny his faith, and to sin against his own " conscience. V. Last of all, because I myself am slan- " dered, to use nothing against such kind of men, but
31 " violence, bitter words, and affection only; that I have " refused conference: which I have indeed sundry times " offered, and they have refused. That none of us have " any thing to say in our own defence: these be the chief " and the principal reasons that have moved me to take " this matter in hand.

" Your reasons, wherein you would seem to move me " to the contrary, be these. First, you think it would " quietly die of itself, if no answer were made thereunto. " Secondly, the Papists will rejoice, if this contention " should be continued; and they will set me eagerly on. " And Dr. P. &c. Thirdly, you doubt whether it shall " edify or hurt this Church. Fourthly, you would have " it kept within the schools, lest it should draw our " youth from learning to factions, &c. Fifthly, you will " me to consider, what hurt the divisions of Lutherans " and Zuinglians have done. Sixthly, that Mr. Elmer's " unseasonable paradox, though true, hath hurt the " Church; and yet not advanced his preferment as much " as he hoped. Finally, you advise me to confer with " some grave, wise men, &c.

" To your first reason thus I briefly answer: That there " is no likelihood that the matter should die; seeing their " book be once again printed, and in every man's hand " and mouth. Indeed, that which you wish, were to give " the victory, and to acknowledge the truth of their cause. " *Nam qui tacet*, &c.

" To the second this I say, that you cannot please the " Papists better, than to suffer that book abroad unan-

" swered. For it overthroweth the grounds and founda-
" tions, which they also seek to shake: that is, our Book
" of Common Prayers, our sacraments, our ministry, and
" the authority which we give unto our Prince in eccle-
" siastical matters. Besides all these, it would not have
" the Papists compelled to communicate with us. More-
" over, it alienateth the minds of the subjects from their
" Prince. For how can they heartily favour her, whom
" they think to maintain a false religion? And whereas
" you say the Papists will eagerly set me on; surely in
" that point you speak too well of them, and too basely of
" me. I have as little acquaintance with Papists, and
" have given unto them as small occasion to provoke me
" forward in any matters that pleaseth them, as some
" others have done, that would be accounted the greatest
" enemies unto them. I am verily persuaded, that my
" answer will much less please the Papists, than doth
" their Admonition. As touching Dr. P. your surmises be
" most untrue. For he hath neither ministered unto me,
" neither have I received of him in this case, as you sup-
" pose. Although I would not have refused so to have
" done, if it had been necessary: for I know him to be a
" wise and learned man. And howsoever the world un-
" charitably judgeth of him, and of me, for using his fami-
" liarity, (being by sundry means bound unto him, and
" knowing him very well,) yet the day will come, when
" both they and we shall be known, as we are.

" To your third I answer, that I doubt not but it will
" edify. For it cannot be, but that the confounding of
" error, and confirming the truth, should edify.

" In your fourth reason you wish that which cannot be.
" For you see that these matters be published abroad in
" books, preached in pulpits, talked of at tables, by such
" as know little what the schools mean. And as they
" never began in the schools, so it is now unpossible to
" contain them within the schools. And one of the chief
" causes why our young men in Cambridge, and elsewhere,
" so embrace factions, and these new-invented opinions,

BOOK I. Anno 1552.

" is because no man taketh upon him the confutation of " them. For how can you blame the multitude for em- " bracing of that, which is neither by learning confuted, " nor by discipline restrained?

" Touching the contention of the Lutherans and Zuin- " glians, I doubt whether it did harm or no. For not- " withstanding it is the usual practice of Satan, in the " time of external peace in the Church, to make *schisms*, " and to stir up contentions; yet this commodity cometh " thereby, that the truth is the more confirmed, and more " commonly known. It was to be wished, that Luther " and Zuinglius had both agreed in one. But seeing that " could not be, Zuinglius had not done his duty, if he had
32 " not against Luther maintained the truth of the cause. " When Anabaptism did first begin in Germany, if no " man had set himself against it, but suffered it for quiet- " ness' sake to have proceeded, had it not prevailed and " overthrown those Churches?

" Mr. Elmer's doctrine was neither unseasonable, nor " yet a paradox; but a common true received opinion, " grounded on the express words of the Scripture, and " received without doubt of all learned writers, both old " and new; and in most seasonable time taught, men's " minds and hearts being so far from due obedience, and " so inclinable to the contrary. And I am fully persuaded, " that he had all the advancement that he looked for. " And it is great lack of charity, to judge men to do that " for advancement, which they do of conscience and duty. " And because you use that example for my advertise- " ment, this I profess to you, that in this my doing, I am " so far from seeking advancement, that I look to be hated, " to be reviled, to be slandered, to be most miserably de- " faced for the same, of the most part. But I am at a " point; and if I should lose my life for it, I would, and " will discharge my conscience and duty. And at that " point, I think Mr. Elmer is, howsoever the wicked world " doth wickedly judge.

" To conclude, as I have not of myself taken upon me

"this labour, but by the provocation of others; so in pub- "lishing the same, I do not follow mine own fancy, but "the authority of such as be of the wisest, godliest, best "learned, and most zealous (none dispraised) in this land, "among the Clergy. Neither I trust shall the Queen's "Majesty, by this my doing, be persuaded to mislike "Protestants, but clean contrary. For surely her Majesty "might think herself little beholden to all the learned "Protestants in this realm, if none of them would take in "hand the defence of religion by her established, and of "her authority and government. Anno 1572.

"I beseech you, take this my short answer in good "part, and persuade yourself that I have conceived a "very good-will in you towards me, that you would so "friendly in this matter write unto me. Continue your "friendship, I pray you, and whatsoever is reported, yet "try before you trust; and use both your ears. Fare you "heartily well. The xxvth of October, 1572.

"Your very friend in Christ,

"John Whitgift."

The effect of this correspondence was, that Mr. Norton seemed fully convinced by his friend's letter; and so he shewed himself to be by a letter which he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon occasion of a report brought to him, that Norton was writing against Whitgift. That since he saw, as he told the Archbishop, that the adverse party would not be quiet, but still were thrusting more of their books upon the world, he had sent to Dr. Whitgift his judgment, that he found they exagitated the matter, and kept up the difference, and therefore the fault was theirs, and not his. Norton's whole letter to the Archbishop may be found in that Archbishop's Life. Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 364.

In the writing and publishing of this his book, he all along made use of the advice and instruction of the Archbishop: who also knowing his abilities, chiefly recommended the work to him; and held a correspondence with Hath the advice and instruction of the Archbishop in this work.

BOOK I. Anno 1572.

him from time to time for that purpose. And even in the printing of it, when it was ready for the press, he desired the Archbishop would permit him to appoint his printer, who was one Toy; to whom, he said, he was greatly bound. And also that he would order his Chaplain, Mr. Grafton, to have the correction of the print; whom he knew to be very good in that point. He desired also the Archbishop's direction about the Dedication; and that he would gladly know whether his Grace would have him to dedicate his book to any, or no; and to whom. And therefore, when we see it dedicated to the Church of England, we may conclude it to be by the Archbishop's own suggestion.

Account of the answer to the Admonition.

The method he used in answering this Admonition was very fair, that all readers might impartially judge, both of the one and the other. For the whole text of that book was first set down in paragraphs, and then followed Whitgift's answers to each. Thus, after the Preface to the Admonition mentioned above, Whitgift subjoined his Answer, to this effect, *viz.* "That those two treatises, contained in "the Admonition, as they were void of sound learning, so "were they full of blind affection, and stuffed with un- "charitable and unchristian terms and phrases. Where- "fore it was to be feared, that they proceeded not out of "love, but of hatred; not of zeal, but of malice; not of "humility, but of arrogancy; not of minds desirous to "*reform*, but of stomachs seeking to *deform* and confound "that which was in due form and order, by lawful author- "ity established. For what charitable, zealous, and hum- "ble spirit would so spitefully and slanderously speak of "their brethren; whose doctrine was pure; whose zeal "was fervent; whose sufferings for the Gospel had been, "in time of trial, comparable with any man's that then "lived; who had all painfully taught the word of God in "this realm, and did at that day; and by whose ministry "the Gospel had taken root, and was come to that in- "crease, that then (God be thanked) appeared? And that "surely, these opprobrious terms, *proud generation, ty-*

33

" *rannous Lordships, ungracious, cruel, Pope-like, wicked* " *reign, proud enemies,* &c. applied to brethren, proceeded " not from the humble and mild spirit of Christ; but from " the proud and arrogant spirit of Satan. And that there- " fore by this unseemly Preface it might appear, from what " spirit the rest of this Admonition sprang, &c."

This excellent book, containing a very learned and satisfactory vindication of the Church of England, and the usages thereof, (and especially for the government of it by Bishops,) the author distinguishes in divers tracts, which I will here set down, for the instruction of the reader in the subject of this work.

The divers tracts contained in the Answer.

The first tract is, whether Christ forbade Rule and Superiority unto his Ministers? II. Of the Authority of the Church in things indifferent. That some things may be tolerated in the Church touching Order, Ceremonies, Discipline, and the kind of Government not expressed in the Word of God. III. Of the Election of Ministers; and of the Trial of Ministers, both in Learning and Conversation. IV. Of Ministers having no pastoral Charge. Of Ceremonies used in ordaining Ministers. Of Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets. V. Of the Residence of Pastors. In this tract there is a chapter of Pluralities, or having more benefices than one. VI. Of Ministers that cannot preach; and of giving Licences to preach. VII. Of the Apparel of Ministers; and the cause, why some refused the Apparel, examined. VIII. Of Archbishops, Metropolitans, Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. IX. Of the Communion Book. The general Faults examined, wherewith the Public Service was charged by T. C. In this tract is an examination of the particular pretended faults, either in matter or form, wherewith the Book of Common Prayer is charged. X. Of Holy Days. And of Holy Days in general, that they may be appointed by the Church: and the use of them. XI. What kind of Preaching is most effectual. XII. Of Preaching before the Administration of the Sacraments. XIII. Of reading the Scriptures. A Comparison between reading the Scriptures and Preaching. XIV. Of Minister-

BOOK I. Anno 1572.

ing and Preaching by Deacons. XV. Of Matters touching the Communion. Of the Orders and Ceremonies used in the Celebration of the Communion. Of shutting men from the Communion. And of compelling to communicate. XVI. Of Matters touching Baptism. Of Interrogatories ministered to Infants. Of God-fathers, and their promise. Of Fonts, and Crossing in Baptism: and of the Parties that are to be baptized. XVII. Of the Seigniory, or Government of Seniors. Whether there were such as the Admonition called *Seniors*, in every Congregation. Whether the Government by Seniors ought to be perpetual. XVIII. Of certain matters concerning Discipline in the Church. Of Excommunication: and in whom the Execution thereof doth consist. Of Bishops' Courts, and their Officers. XIX. Of Deacons and Widows. XX. Of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters. XXI. Of subscribing to the Communion Book. Certain general Faults, wherewith the Book is charged by the Admonishers. Of reading of Homilies and the Apocrypha in the Church. Of the Name *Priest*, given to the Ministers of the Gospel. Matters concerning the Solemnization of Marriage. Of the Confirmation of Children. Of Burials, and Matters thereunto appertaining. And other particular Matters, for which they refuse to subscribe to the 34 Book. XXII. Of Cathedral Churches, &c. XXIII. Of Civil Offices in Ecclesiastical Persons. A Trial of the Places alleged by the Admonition, against such Civil Offices as are exercised by Ecclesiastical Persons in this Realm.

Dedicates his book to the Church of England.

Dr. Whitgift dedicated this his Answer, *To his loving nurse, the Christian Church of England*, in these words: "J. W. a Minister and member of the same, wisheth "peace in Christ, and continuance of his glorious Gospel, "even to the world's end." Here he shewed divers things that deterred him from meddling in this business: one was, "that he did, with all his heart, hate contention and "strife, and especially in matters of religion, among such "as profess the self-same Gospel. And another, that he "feared greatly, that some slander might redound to the "Gospel by this open contention; seeing God is not the

" author of contention, or confusion, but of peace. Besides, " he doubted whether this kind of dealing by writing " might minister matter to the common adversaries of the " Gospel to rejoice, and glory, and flatter themselves the " more in their damnable errors. That he also greatly " suspected the slanderous reports of backbiters, and of " unlearned tongues; whereof he had, he said, great ex- " perience; having been most unjustly slandered by that " viperous kind of men: and the other sort, being not " able to judge of controversies, according to learning and " knowledge; and therefore ruled by affection, and carried " headlong with blind zeal into divers judgments. And " lastly, that he knew sundry in all respects worthy men, " much more able to deal in such matters than he.

" But that when he considered his duty towards God, " his Church, and to his most gracious Lady and Sove- " reign, Queen Elizabeth, by whose ministry God had " given the Gospel free passage unto the people of this " land; he thought that duty ought not to be omitted; " seeing God, and not man, should be his Judge. And " that he was not the author of contention, which de- " fended the truth, and confuted error; but he that im- " pugned the truth, and spread sects. He remembered, " that it was no new thing to have contentions, sects, and " schisms in the Church of Christ; especially when it en- " joined external peace: and that we had manifest exam- " ples thereof from time to time. As first between Peter " and Paul; afterwards between the Oriental Church and " the Occidental, touching Easter. And so he was satisfied, " that this could be no slander to this Church, which, by " the malice of Satan, had been practised in the Churches " ever since the ascension of Christ. And further, that " when he perceived these men, against whom he wrote, " did agree with the adversaries, in defacing the state of " religion, the order of common prayer, the ministry, the " sacraments, the kind of government, &c. used and al- " lowed in this realm of England; and that in as oppro- " brious a manner as the adversaries did; and likewise,

These men agreed with the adversaries, *i. e.* Papists.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

"that they sought to overthrow the self-same pillar of "this Church with the adversaries, though not with the "self-same means; he thought the confutation and over- "throw of the one, would be the confutation and over- "throw of the other. That against backbiters, slanderers, "and ungodly tongues, he would, by God's grace, arm "himself with patience; seeing their talk was no suffi- "cient cause to abstain from doing his duty.

"And to conclude, he, though the unworthiest of a "great number, took upon him this enterprise, partly to "shew, that the book called The Admonition, was not "such but that it might easily be answered: and espe- "cially, to satisfy his own conscience. For that he consi- "dered, that if no man had taken upon him the envy of "the common sort, in withstanding the enterprises and "proceedings of the Anabaptists in Germany, Anabaptism "had overthrown their Churches, and utterly destroyed "them." These reasons satisfied his foresaid objections. And herein he satisfied his own conscience. And forasmuch as the matter touched the state of the whole Church of England, he thought it most meet to *dedicate* this his book rather unto the same generally, than unto any one particular member of the same; protesting, that if he had affirmed any thing therein, that by learning and good reason might be proved erroneous, he would reform the same. For he wholly submitted it to the rule of God's word, and the judgment of those that were learned, discreet, and wise. And so he ended; praying the Lord to bless her, the dear spouse of Christ, with the continuance of his Gospel.

Dr. Whitgift to the governors of the Church.

Dr. Whitgift also, by way of Preface, made a seasonable exhortation to such as were in authority, and had the government of the Church committed unto them, whether civil or ecclesiastical, with respect to these disaffected persons, and the dangers accruing from them. "That because "the common sort of persons, especially where the Gospel "was preached, were so apt to embrace new-invented doc- "trines and opinions, though they tended to the disturbing

"the quiet of the Church, and the discrediting such as "were in authority, and the maintaining of licentiousness "and lewd liberty; he thought good therefore to set be- Anno 1572. "fore their eyes the practices of the Anabaptists, their The Anabaptists in Germany set before them. "conditions and qualities, the kind and manner of their "beginnings and proceedings, before the broaching of their "manifold and horrible heresies: to the intent, that they, "the Magistrates, might the rather in time take heed to "such as proceeded in like manner: lest they being suf- "fered too much, might burst out to work the same effect. "That he accused none, but suspected the authors of this "Admonition." And then from Bullinger, and other famous and learned men, that had experience of them, and wrote against them, he gave this character of them: "That "they bitterly inveighed against Ministers and Preachers "of the Gospel; saying, that they were not ordinarily and "lawfully called to the ministry, because they were called "by the Magistrates, and not by the people; that they "preached not the Gospel truly. That they were Scribes "and Pharisees, &c. That they did not those things that "they taught unto others. That they had stipends, and "laboured not; and therefore were ministers of the belly. "That they could not teach truly, because they had great "livings, and lived wealthily and pleasantly, &c. That the "sacraments were not sincerely ministered. Things were "not reduced to the apostolic Church; excommunication "not rightly used; no amendment of life appeared since "the preaching of the Gospel. That therefore the Church "then reformed was no more the true Church of Christ, "than was the Papistical Church."

He shewed further, "That these Anabaptists had their They separate themselves from the Church. "private and secret conventicles, and did divide and se- "parate themselves from the Church; neither would they "communicate with such as were not of their sect, either "in prayers, sacraments, or hearing the word. They "counted all them as wicked and reprobate, that were "not of their sect. They pretended in all their doings "the glory of God, the edifying of the Church, and the

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

" purity of the Gospel. They earnestly cried out against " pride and gluttony, &c. They spake much of mortifica- " tion: they pretended great gravity: they sighed: they " seldom or never laughed: they were very austere in re- " prehending: they spake gloriously, &c. Thereby they " won authority among the simple and ignorant people. " If they were punished for their errors, they greatly com- " plained that nothing was used but violence: that the " truth was oppressed: that innocent and godly men, " which would have all things reformed according to the " word of God, could not be heard, nor have liberty to " speak. They found great fault with the baptizing of " children, and ceremonies used in the same; and after- " wards did utterly condemn it. They taught, that the " civil magistrate had no authority in ecclesiastical mat- " ters; and that he ought not to meddle in causes of re- " ligion and faith: that no man ought to be compelled to " faith, or to religion: that Christians ought to punish " faults, not with imprisonment, or corporal punishment, " but only with the sword. They complained much of " persecution; and bragged, that they defended their " cause, not only with words, but with the shedding of " their blood.

" Their whole intent was to make a separation and a " schism, and to withdraw men from their ordinary " churches and pastors; and therefore most odiously in- " veighed against such pastors; and sought by all means " to discredit them. There was no stay in them; but " they daily invented new opinions, and did run from er- " ror to error. They were very stubborn and wilful; which " they called *constancy*. They were wayward and fro- " ward, without all humanity, judged and condemned all " other men. They sought to overthrow commonwealths " and states of government. They gave honour and reve-
36 " rence to none. And they used to speak to such as were " in authority, without any signification of honour. Nei- " ther would they call men by their titles; and answered " churlishly: they attributed much unto themselves, and

"pleased themselves very well; but other men they con-
"temned." Further, he shewed concerning these men, Anno 1572.
"that they went not to preach in such places, where the
"Gospel was not planted; but insinuated themselves into
"those places, wherein the Gospel had been diligently
"preached, and where there were godly and quiet men:
"there they made a stir, raised up factions, and bred dis-
"cords. They sought to be free from all laws, and to do
"what they listed. They were animated by crafty and
"subtle Papists, who sought the overthrow of the Gospel,
"and [by these means] the restoring of Papistry. The
"people had them in great admiration, because of their
"hypocrisy and straitness of life. And such as were of
"contentious natures joined with them. These were the
"manners, conditions, practices, of the Anabaptists in
"Germany, whereby they uttered their seditious and mon-
"strous heresies."

Their doings at Munster. Lanquet's Chron. fol. 297.

To which may be added their doings in Munster, the chief city in Westphalia: where, getting the upper hand, they appointed new senators, invaded, wasted, and spoiled their neighbours, forced all others to their wickedness. And such as would not join with them, they took their goods, and thrust them out of the city. And a great while it was, and after a dreadful siege, (wherein they eat dogs and cats, mice, and other vile beasts,) before the Bishop of Munster could recover his city again.

He warns the magistrates hence, to be circumspect.

And of all this preceding account of these seditious wretches, our Doctor averred that he had not writ one word, which he had not his authority to shew for, having learned them in the writings of such learned men, as had themselves experience of them when they first began in Germany, and did personally reason with them, and afterwards writ against them. And then at length addressing to the magistrates, left the application hereof to their wisdom; who could easily conjecture what kind of men they were that came nearest to these steps: and only beseeched them to be circumspect, and to understand, that Anabaptism (which usually followed the preaching of the Gospel)

BOOK I. Anno 1572.

was greatly to be feared in this Church of England, and almost plainly professed in that Admonition; the authors whereof, he said, agreed with them in those forenamed practices and qualities.

Propounds the Donatists to the Magistrates' consideration.

As our author had thus set before the Magistrates these Anabaptists of more modern times, so he proceeded further to desire them to consider the conditions and practices of the Donatists long before them: "who divided themselves from the congregation, and had their peculiar "churches, or rather conventicles, in Africa. Who taught, "that all other Churches were spotted and impure, because "of their Ministers: and that there ought to be no compulsion used in matters of religion, &c. And to conclude, that these Admonishioners flatly joined with the "Papists; and with the self-same assertions bended their "force against this Church of England. As the Papists "affirmed, we were not the true Church; no, that we had "not so much as the face and shew of a true Church:

These men agree with the Papists against this Church.

"and so did these men say. The Papists said, that we "had no Ministry, no Bishops, no Pastors; because they "were not rightly and canonically called to these functions: and so did these men. The Papists said, that "our Sacraments were not rightly administered: so did "these men say. The Papists wholly condemned our "Book of Common Prayer, and the whole order of our "service. In this point also did these men join with them; "for they condemned it wholly too. The Papists would "not have the Scripture read in the Church to the people: "no more would they; for they said, reading was not feeding. Thus the author of the Admonition wrote further; "The Papists denied the civil Magistrate to have an authority in ecclesiastical matters: and so did they. In "short, the Papists refused to come to our churches, to "communicate with us in the Lord's Supper: and these "men would not have themselves by laws and punishments compelled thereunto.

37 "Hereby in a word it was manifest, that the Papists "and they did jointly seek to shake and overthrow the

" self-same foundation, grounds, and pillars of our Church; " although not by the self-same instruments and engines. " Therefore did Dr. Whitgift address to the Magistrates, Anno 1572. " that it was time to awake out of sleep, and to draw out " the sword of discipline: to provide that laws made for " uniformity, as well of doctrine as ceremonies, might be " observed, boldly to defend the religion and kind of go- " vernment in this kingdom established: or else, if they " could, to reform and better the same. For it could not " be, but that this freedom given to men to obey and dis- " obey what they listed, and where they listed, to broach " what opinions and doctrines they listed, must in the end " burst out into some strange and dangerous effect."

In the Answer itself, I shall observe a few things gathered here and there out of it, of more special remark.

Of the first compilers of our Book of Common Prayer, (to reconcile the greater esteem thereof,) Dr. Whitgift gave this character, that they were singular learned men, zealous in God's religion, blameless in life, and martyrs at their end. For either all, or the most part of them, had sealed this book with their blood. And this was the book (saith the answerer) the authors of the Admonition now contended against; though hitherto they themselves had used it. But now, when by virtue of the Act of 13. Elizabeth, they were required by subscription to give their consent to it, and that it was not against the word of God, they refused and poured out bitter words against it. They cried, "It was an imperfect book; that it was culled and " picked out of the Popish dunghill, the Mass; and that it " was full of all abominations. For that some, nay, many " of the contents thereof were such, as were against the " word of God. Though heretofore, as they said, they " had at all times borne with that which they could not " amend in the book; and had used the same in their min- " istry, so far forth as they might; reverencing those " times and those persons, in which, and by whom it was " first authorized; being studious of peace, and of the " building up of Christ's Church." From which words

The compilers of this Liturgy, their character.

Answer to Admonition in quarto, p. 148.

BOOK I.

Whitgift, among other things observed, that they confessed themselves to have allowed of this book by using it, which afterward they said was against the word of God.

Anno 1572.

A writing of Bishop Jewel concerning Archbishops, communicated to Whitgift.

Another thing in this Answer of good remark, was a paper of the learned Bishop Jewel's composing, for the use of Dr. Whitgift, in that place where he was to confute the great clamour of the authors of that Admonition, and of T. Cartwright, against the office of Archbishops, Archdeacons, &c. as Antichristian, and by all means to be thrown out of the Church; and against which, many in great assurance preached and read in the University. Now Jewel being so well versed in the ancient constitutions of the Christian Church, and the primitive government of it; his assistance and authority was thought very convenient to be made use of in this matter. Their *thesis* and their reasons, with the said Bishop's answers, are worthy the setting down, especially being one of the last things he wrote before his death, which followed soon after. And therefore I recommend it to be read in the Appendix, being the judgment of that reverend Father, avouched by his own hand, upon that *thesis;* which was Cartwright's: and the first of those propositions which he set down and subscribed with his hand, before the Heads of the University; viz. *Archiepiscoporum, et Archidiaconorum nomina, simul cum muneribus, et officiis suis, sunt abolenda.*

Number X.

Annals of Reformation, p. 588.

Cartwright reflects upon Bishop Jewel.

The platformers were so displeased at the good Bishop for this confutation of their principal assertion, and their reasons; as also for calling them *novices* (as he did in the margin of his paper) and *children*, and their doctrine *wantonness;* that Cartwright in his Reply reflected unworthily upon him, being now deceased. First, they doubted whether this half sheet were his own, or framed for him. Then he called the Bishop's words, *biting and sharp words:* then he charged him to have called the doctrine of the Gospel, *wantonness.* "But that being now dead, he "added, it were against all humanity to dig or to break "up his grave; only that he would leave it to the consi-

"deration of the readers, upon those things which were "alleged, whether it were a *wantonness* or *novelty:* which "was confirmed by the grave testimonies of the ancient "Church of God." 38

But earnestly vindicated by Whitgift.

Whitgift could not forbear on this occasion to take notice of, and earnestly to reprehend, the ill-will of this party of men against that Bishop, in his last sermon he had preached at St. Paul's but a little before his death; confirming the doctrine which had been before preached there, by a famous and learned man, [unknown, perhaps Dean Nowel,] touching obedience to the Prince and laws: which angered them so much, that they spake openly against him with great spite and virulency. Insomuch that Whitgift in some earnestness professed, "That it was "strange to him to hear so notable a Bishop, so learned a "man, so stout a champion of true religion, so painful a "Prelate, so ingratefully and spitefully used by a sort of "wavering, wicked, and wretched tongues. And that if "their learning were but touched, they would not stick to "deface any other: nay, even the notable Jewel; whose "both labour and learning they did ever, and among themselves, deprave, as Whitgift said he had heard with his "own ears, and a number more besides. And as a proof "thereof, he referred to the report, that by that faction "was spread of the Bishop, after his said sermon at "Paul's. Nor did that holy Bishop call the doctrine of "the Gospel *wantonness*, as T. Cartwright slanderously "writ and reported; but their own doctrine [which they "would have to be the doctrine of the Gospel] he called "so; speaking only, saith Whitgift, of their childish and "fantastical devices of a new church-government. And "after such like words, excusing his earnestness, he added, "that it was in behalf of a Jewel, that was contemned "and defaced by contentious and ingrateful persons. And "that if it had pleased God to have suffered him to have "lived to that day, in answering that Reply [of T. C.] he "would no doubt have proved his *biting and sharp words* "[as he called them] most true. But seeing he was at

Laments the death of Jewel.

Defence, p. 422.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

"rest, and not there to answer for himself, though in re-
"spect of him, he was far unmeet to intermeddle in his
"doings; yet in respect of the cause and adversary, he
"would justify his answers. And lastly, that if he doubted
"whether the Bishop of Salisbury were the author of that
"half sheet, he declared they were free to come and see
"his own hand-writing."

The Archbishops traduced by the Admonit. Their characters. Answer to Admonit. quarto, p. 228, 229.

In that book of the Admonition, the Archbishop of Canterbury, (the chief governor of this Church under the Queen,) was very contumeliously treated. In one place he was called "petty Pope, Metropolitan, and Primate of all "England." And in other places, he and the other Archbishop also, viz. Grindal, Archbishop of York, were very rudely handled: which Whitgift justly taking notice of, gave them a truer character, *viz.* "That they were men to "be reverenced, not only in respect of their years and au-"thority, but of their singular wisdom, gravity, learning, "and sound religion also."

Beza, and other foreigners' judgments of our Church, considered.

Where they in that book insisted much upon Beza, and other learned men of the foreign Protestant Churches, as though they condemned the government of this Church, and the proceedings here in England; Dr. Whitgift answered, that he thought they had abused Mr. Beza with their false reports, which had caused him to write otherwise than he would have done, had he known the whole state of the controversy. And that so they had abused other notable learned men, [as Bullinger, and Zanchy, and Gualter of Helvetia,] and caused them to write according to their fancies. Who since that time (having been thoroughly informed of these matters) had, by their letters, (which were to be seen,) both condemned their contentiousness, and their own too much credulity. And yet, as our Doctor added, that as for our faith and Church, they depended neither upon Mr. Beza, nor any other man. Neither did they [those foreign Divines] look for any such prerogative, as belonging to them. And particularly, as for Mr. Beza's mind, Whitgift referred the reader to a learned epistle, which he wrote unto Grindal, Bishop of

Beza's letter to Bishop Grindal.

London, about these matters. Which letter may be seen in the Life of that Bishop, under the year 1566, and that Bishop's answer thereto. And thence may be seen what little cause they had to boast of Beza.

Anno 1572.

Life of Grindal, p. 113, 117, 118, 126.

For the writing of the second Admonition (which nevertheless was printed with the former) they gave these reasons, *viz.* That it was a petition to the Parliament, (that sat anno 1572,) upon the subscription to articles required by the ecclesiastical Commissioners, authorized by the Parliament; and for non-subscription to lose their places and livings: and some, beside the loss of their livings, were pretended to be unbrotherly and uncharitably treated. On this reason the petition ran, that it might therefore please that honourable and high Court of Parliament, in consideration of the premises, to take a view of such causes as then withheld, and still did, the foresaid Ministers from subscribing and consenting unto those foresaid articles, by way of purgation, to discharge themselves of all disobedience towards the Church of God and their Sovereign, and by way of most humble entreaty for the removing away and utterly abolishing of all such corruptions and abuses as withheld them.

39 The reasons of the second Admonition considered.

It is convenient to justify those that were concerned in these transactions; and particularly, from that charge of their *unbrotherly* and *uncharitably* treating: hence our answerer told them, "That they were as gently entreated "as might be; no kind of *brotherly* persuasion omitted "towards them. Most of them, as yet, kept their livings, "though one or two were displaced. They were offered, "as he added, all kind of friendliness, if they could be con- "tented to conform themselves; yea, but to be quiet and "hold their peace. But that they, on the contrary side, "most unchristianly, and most unbrotherly, both publicly "and privately, railed on those that shewed those human- "ities towards them; slandered them by all means they "could, and most untruly reported of them, seeking by "all means their discredit."

Answer in quarto, p. 145, 146.

The refusers of subscription gently used.

I am the larger in the relation of these passages, the

BOOK I. books now being out of the hands of most readers; and that those that have them might not be interrupted in Anno 1572. their reading, by searching into the places and passages whence these periods are taken.

CHAP. VII.

Other pamphlets accompanied the Admonition. The contents of them. Answered by Whitgift. The Bishops called Pharisees: retorted. Whitgift's judgment of the new platform; and of the Church of England. Whitgift's book before it was printed, viewed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops. Of public use to the Church. But oppugned in the University; and particularly in St. John's college. Endeavours to redress these seditions there. Chark, of Peter house, his Clerum against Bishops. Is expelled by the Heads. Their letter to the Chancellor, declaring his case.

Three other pamphlets backing the Admonition, answered by Whitgift.

I HAVE not yet done with this memorable controversy, managed by our Doctor against the insults of these Admonitioners. Their book soon after the publishing of it became backed with three other pamphlets; sent to him, as it were a challenge; which he briefly answered toward the end of his Answer to the Admonition. The first was a Preface to the other two. The second was called, *An Exhortation to the Bishops, to deal brotherly with their Brethren.* The third, *An Exhortation to the Bishops, and their Clergy, to answer a little Book that came forth the last Parliament,* [*i. e.* The Admonition;] *and the other Brethren, to judge of it by God's word, until they see it answered; and not be carried away with any respect of men:* surmising, as though it could not be answered.

Defence, p. 806.

40 That first pamphlet, called The Preface, consisted of these points especially. First, by divers examples it was there declared, that the wicked and ungodly of this world

The contents of the first.

could never away with such as would reprove them for their manifest sins and ungodliness. Secondly, that this was the cause why these two treatises, [*i. e.* The Admonition, first and second part,] which were lately written and imprinted in the last Parliament time, &c. were of so many misliked; and the authors thereof so cruelly entreated, and straitly imprisoned. Thirdly, it railed on the Bishops and such as were in authority; comparing them unto false Prophets, and to Pharisees, &c. Last of all, it concludes with threatening, that if they go forward in their sins, their doings should be, with more bitterness of words and plainness of speech, thrown into their faces.

Anno 1572.

To the second point Dr. Whitgift gave this answer; "That it was false, uncharitable, and scandalous. For the "cause why those books were not esteemed, especially "among the wise and learned, was, the untrue doctrine "contained in them, maintained with untrue and unapt "allegations of the Scripture, and interlaced with oppro-"brious terms and railing speeches, tending to the dis-"quietness of the Church and overthrow of true religion: "and the authors thereof imprisoned, not for telling any "man of his sins, but for writing libels against this whole "Church of England; against the Book of Common "Prayer, against the Ministry, against the Sacraments: "finally, against the whole form and government of the "Church by the whole consent of this realm, established "according to the rule of God's word. The third point, "he said, came from the same spirit that the second did; "that is, the spirit of arrogance and malice: in that it "compared godly, wise, zealous, and learned Bishops, to "idolatrous Priests, and unto Pharisees. But indeed, "added he, the conditions and qualities of the Pharisees "did most aptly agree with the authors of these libels "and their adherents; as will more particularly appear by "and by."

Whitgift's answer.

The author of the second pamphlet, viz. *The Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly*, &c. pretended to excuse himself, for taking upon him the exhortation. He moved

The contents of the second.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

the Bishops to deal brotherly with the authors of the Admonition: first, because they were their brethren: secondly, because they ought first to have discovered unto the world, by the word of God, how true or false they have written: thirdly, because they did but disclose the disorders of our Church of England; and therefore only desired a reformation of the same, according to the rule of God's word: fourthly, that the Papists lay abroad in their dioceses untouched: fifthly, that many lewd, light books and ballads flew abroad, printed, not only without reprehension, but *cum privilegio*, &c. Likewise in the same book the author seemed to justify the Admonition, and to condemn the lordship and authority of Bishops; ascribing thereunto the stay and hinderance of their pretended reformation; and charging them after a sort with mangling the Scriptures, &c. These were the principal matters of the book.

Whitgift's Answer to it. Def. p. 809.

To which Dr. Whitgift briefly answered also; as, "That "notwithstanding they were *brethren*, they were not "therefore to escape punishment for their offences. Should "not the Prince, the Magistrate, execute laws upon such "as break them, because they be their *brethren* in Christ? "That affection in private men's causes must not carry "any headlong into public errors. That some of them, in "open speech and manifest signs, accounted not the Ministers of the Church their brethren, nor acknowledged "them to be such: that these men had been talked with, "and heard what they had to say for themselves; but "their haughty minds and good opinion conceived of "themselves would not suffer them to see their errors: "that if Papists went abroad unpunished, when by law "they might be touched, surely it was a great fault, and "could not be excused; and he prayed God it might be "better looked to: but this was no good and sufficient "reason for the impunity of others: that it was a fault to "suffer lewd ballads and books touching manners; but "that it was a greater fault to suffer books and libels, disturbing the peace of the Church, and defacing true religion."

The third scroll, called *An Exhortation to the Bishops and to their Clergy, to answer a little Book*, &c. [*i. e.* the Admonition,] which they termed, *a short and peevish pamphlet:* this our Doctor also had answered. And as for that little book, in his answer thereunto, he told them how he disclosed their double and corrupt dealing; their wringing of the Scriptures to serve their turn: and added, "that he had declared the true sense and meaning of "them; and that in plain and simple manner uttered his "judgment therein; not bombasted with rhetoric, mean- "ing, as they had done. That notwithstanding he had in "sundry places declared the use of the Church of Christ "in times past; and that he used the testimonies of an- "cient councils and learned Fathers, which those un- "learned men unlearnedly contemned; a thing not heard "of in any age or Church, nor allowed of any learned man, "but only of certain heretics, and especially Anabaptists. "And in short, that he had not answered the book by "pieces, [as Cartwright did Whitgift's Answer,] but "wholly: yet begging their pardon that he had not made "more speed with his Answer; their frivolous quotations so "troubled him, &c. that he could not sooner make an end "of it. And that in all the rest of that deriding pamphlet, "there was nothing of any moment worth answering."

Anno 1572.

The third pamphlet answered.

41

Def. p. 811.

In this pamphlet, all the Ministers of the Gospel, that were not of their sect, were called *Pharisees:* and the same terms were liberally bestowed upon the Bishops in the Admonition. In answer to which pamphlet, our Doctor proved, that this name *Pharisee* did much more aptly agree unto the authors thereof, and such like, than to the Bishops and other Ministers, whom they so often called by that name, and so odiously compared them together in that pamphlet: and how much these resembled the *Pharisees*, he shewed them in another place, "that the *Phari-* "*sees* did all that they did, to be seen of men, and sought "the commendations of the common people, as appeared, "Matt. vi. and xxiii. and so did they. The *Pharisees*, "when they fasted, disfigured their faces; and these,

They called the Bishops *Pharisees.*

The charge retorted.

Def. p. 807.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

" walking in the streets, hung down their heads, looked " austerely, and in company sighed much, and seldom or " never laughed. That the *Pharisees* strained out a gnat " and swallowed down a camel; and these men thought it " an heinous offence to wear a cap or a surplice, but in " slandering and backbiting their brethren, and in railing " upon them by libels, in contemning of superiors, in dis- " crediting such as were in authority; to be short, in dis- " quieting the Church and State, they had no conscience. " That the *Pharisees* separated themselves from the com- " mon sort of men, as more holy, and contemned the poor " *Publicans*, as sinners: and that therefore some learned " interpreters thought that they were called *Pharisæi* " *quasi segregati*, &c. *Pharisees as separated* and divided " from the common sort, in holiness of life; much like " unto the monks called *Carthusians*. That these men " also *separated* themselves from the congregation, and " would not communicate with us, neither in preaching, " hearing the word, nor in the sacraments: that they con- " temned and despised all those that were not of their " own sect, as polluted, and not worthy to be saluted or " kept company with," &c. And in short, our Doctor, to-

His judgment of the new platform.

wards the latter end of his Answer, gave his judgment of this new platform, (that such a stir was made to introduce,) set down by the authors in the second Admonition; where they prescribe the manner of electing Ministers; where they treat of their exercises, of their equality, of the government of the Church, &c. " This surely," writeth he, " being well considered, will appear, not only a confused " platform, without any sound warrant of God's word; but " also a fantastical device, tending to the overthrow of " learning, religion, yea, the whole state of the govern- " ment of the commonwealth." He reckoned it the overthrow of learning, as well as religion and government; because he observed, that in another edition of their Admonition, in the preface, to Archbishops, Bishops, Suffragans, and Deans, they added *Universities, Doctors, and Bachelors of Divinity:* whereby it seems they were for a con-

fusion of degrees, (which they call an *equality*,) as well in Universities as parishes. And this tended to the overthrow of Universities and all good learning.

And of the present Church of England.

And that I may add here what he said in his second book, concerning the present established Church of England he gave this testimony, (and undertook to maintain it,) affirming boldly, "that all points of religion necessary "to salvation, and such as touched either the mysteries of "our redemption by Christ, or the right use of the sacra- "ments, and true manner of worshipping God, were as "purely and perfectly taught by public authority, esta- 42 "blished in the Church of England at this day, as ever "they were in any Church, sithence the Apostles' times, "or now were in any reformed Church in the world. And Preface to the Defence. "likewise, that al heresies, al corrupt doctrines, al super- "stitions, Papistical opinions, had been and were, by the "Prince and the realm, banished, and by the learned Bi- "shops and Preachers, in word and writing, confuted, "who was so blind with malice (as he asked the question) "that he could not see?"

The Archbishop and other Bishops review Whitgift's Answer.

As Archbishop Parker was the chief person that set Whitgift about this work, so he gave him considerable assistance therein; and the several parts of the copy, as it was finished, were sent to him from time to time to review: and Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, another of our learnedest Bishops, together with other Bishops and learned men, were consulted withal; that the book might be a more complete vindication of this Church, and the cavils of the averse party most satisfactorily answered.

Sends the Archbishop both parts of his book to peruse.

For in the month of September 1572, the Doctor had made an end of his Confutation of the Admonition; and as soon as he had written out fair the first part of it, he sent it to the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Perne, and some other learned men, for them to peruse: and then afterwards, for the last perusal of it, it was by him sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied with his letter, dated from Trinity college, Sept. 21. And shortly after, having transcribed the second part, (which the Bishop of Lincoln had read

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

over,) he sent that also to the said Archbishop, with his letter, bearing date October 21. from Ely; desiring his Grace to peruse it also, and to correct it, as should seem good to him. In his letter he acquainted the Archbishop, that he had an epistle of Mr. Gualter, (the learned Divine of Zurich,) written of late to the Bishop of Ely, (a copy whereof he sent him enclosed,) which would be, he said, a very fit answer for the epistle of the same eminent foreigner, set at the end of the Admonition [by the compilers thereof, as favouring their cause]. He did not know the said Bishop's pleasure, whether he would have it printed: but he told the Archbishop, he would resort unto his Lordship for the same. And it appears he had that Bishop's leave, it being published in Latin and English at the end of his book; with his preface, "That forasmuch as the "authors of the Admonition, for their better credit, had "set down in print the epistles of Mr. Beza and Mr. "Gualter; so he thought good to set down an epistle of "Mr. Gualter, revoking the same, upon better informa- "tion: also another of Mr. Bullinger, [chief Minister of "Zurich,] concerning the same cause."

The use and authority of this book.

So that in his excellent book, taking in also his Defence, printed a year or two after, may be seen all the arguments and pleas, used in those times, for laying Episcopacy and the Liturgy aside, and all the exceptions to them drawn up to the best advantage; and herein also are subjoined a full and particular answer and refutation of the one, and vindication of the other: together with the favourable sense of the learned men in the reformed Churches abroad, as Peter Martyr, Bucer, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, Gualter, comprised in their letters, or other of their writings; and their approbation of this Church's form and discipline, and the government of it by Bishops. So that this book may be justly esteemed and applied to, as one of the public books of the Church of England, containing her profession and principles; and being of the like authority, in respect to its worship and government, in opposition to the Disciplinarians, as Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defence, in

respect of the reformation and doctrine of it, in opposition to the Papists.

Anno 1572.

When this book came forth, the admirers of Cartwright, and the new platform, were very angry at our Doctor; and many were employed in impugning the book. Dr. Byng, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge this year, in his letter to Cecil their Chancellor, giving him account (as was usually done by the Vice-Chancellors) of the occurrences of the University, tells him "of the grief that some among them "had, to see those that should preach God's truth and "maintain unity, sought occasion to quarrel against the "present state; and that they were much in oppugning "Mr. Whitgift's book; and yet the same, more with vehe-"mency of words, than with sense of reasons." And in the same letter he makes mention of a slanderous libel, set up upon the outward door of the schools, against Whitgift and Perne; whereof some were suspected, and not without cause; though the author was not then certainly known. Nay, and in the public pulpits Whitgift was not spared: the Communion Book and his book alike spoken against.

Some of the University oppugn Whitgift's book.

Letter of the Vice-Chancellor to Cecil. 43

For among articles drawn up by the Fellows of St. John's college there, against Mr. Shepherd, their Master, anno 1573, he was charged to have chosen a President out of his order and place; who had spoken openly against the Communion Book. That he chose another to be Dean, who for the like fantasies was in the town, among men of that profession, of most account. And that the said Master had committed the government of the youth to him; who, by his countenance, were so corrupt, that there was almost never a boy in the college, that had not in his head a platform of a church, as the articles expressed it. And that same person did openly in the pulpit pretend to confute Dr. Whitgift; and was therefore rebuked by one of the *seniors*. And that the Master rather justified him, than approved of the senior that reproved him. That another of that house did openly inveigh against the authority of Bishops. And finally, that the said Master suffered another of the house to proceed Master of Arts, who had been con-

And some of that sort in St. John's college, countenanced by the Master.

BOOK I.

victed of speaking against the Communion Book and the book of Dr. Whitgift. Other particulars concerning this memorable Answer to the Admonition may be found in the Life of Archbishop Parker.

Anno 1572.

Archbishop Parker's Life, book iv. ch. 12.

In fine, all the Doctor's pains and learning could not convince these gainsayers, nor satisfy these disaffected men. But the controversy still, from year to year, prevailed, to the breach of Christian peace, and danger of Church and State. Nay, and one of these that writ a considerable time after, had no more esteem of good books, written in defence of the Liturgy and government of this Church, and for clearing the prejudices against them, (and for this work particularly,) than, "that they were dealing a roving course: and "that they rather arose unto great volumes, than soundly "said any thing against the cause." And then instanced in Dr. Bridges, Dean of Sarum, and our Doctor; "who "both, he said, had given an evident example thereof. "And that none in these latter days had written more un-"learnedly than they, of any arguments of divinity."

A censure of Whitgift's learning and pains.

Demonstrat. of Discipl. to the Reader. p. 9.

Dr. Whitgift, with other Heads of colleges in Cambridge, laboured to restrain this faction, which spread much among the younger persons there. And their new Discipline-principles they eagerly declared, both in schools and pulpits. One of the forwardest of these now was one William Chark, Fellow of Peter house. Concerning whom the Heads informed Cecil, their Chancellor, in a letter signed with their hands; among which was Whitgift, as one of the chief. Chark was otherwise a man of parts, wrote a very good hand, and had an elegant Latin style, but haughty and confident. This man, in a sermon at St. Mary's, *ad Clerum*, December 3, 1572, asserted these two propositions: I. That those states of Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, [Patriarchs,] and lastly of Popes, were introduced into the Church by Satan. II. That among the Ministers of the Church, one ought not to be superior to another. For which tenets he was cited the next day after before Dr. Byng, Vice-Chancellor, Perne, Hawford, Kelk, our Whitgift, and several other Heads assisting. Before

Chark preaches in the University against Bishops.

whom, Chark owned these propositions; and acknowledged that he had uttered and preached the same; the former directly, the other implicitly. His business was put off till Lent following; having had a faculty and licence granted him, to confer with the Doctors of Divinity upon the premises. And after, appearing February the 5th, and then often required, admonished, and commanded to revoke those his errors, on some Sunday following, at St. Mary's, he utterly refused. Only he acknowledged, that he thought there ought to be some superiority among ecclesiastical Ministers, as to jurisdiction. Whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, with the assent of the Heads of the colleges, Perne, Hawford, Kelk, Chaderton, Harvey, Ithel, then present, and by the consent of Whitgift, Shepheard, Goad, and Aldrich, then absent, (but having committed their voices, suffrages, and assent to the Vice-Chancellor, January the 29th, to make an end of this business according to his discretion and the statutes of the University,) he pronounced the said Chark to have fallen into the penalty of the statute of the University, made in that behalf; and therefore to be excluded from the college, and to be banished the University. And so his sentence declared him accordingly excluded from his college, and expelled the University.

Anno 1572.

44

Banished the college and University. Ex Regist. Acad.

From which sentence Chark appealed, by the word *Appello* only. By the which, the Vice-Chancellor judged no appeal to be made; as well because the sentence was given against him that confessed [what was charged upon him,] nor was there any cause of appealing alleged by Chark; or any reason adjoined, and put to the appeal: as well because otherwise it was judged in the like case, *appellationi non esse deferendum;* as often as the sentence is given by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with the assent of his fellow-judges, *viz.* the major part of the Heads of colleges. For the Vice-Chancellor and Heads proceeded upon these two plain statutes of the University: I. *De Concionibus: Prohibemus, ne quisquam in Concione aliqua*, &c, "We do "forbid, that no person in any sermon to be handled, and "commonplace, or public readings, or otherwise, public-

From which sentence he appeals. The appeal null.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

" ly, within our University, teach, handle, or defend any " thing against religion, or any part of the same, received " and established by public authority in our kingdom; or " against any statute, authority, dignity, or degree, either " ecclesiastical or civil, of this our kingdom of England or " Ireland. Whosoever shall do the contrary, shall revoke " and publicly confess his error or rashness, by the com- " mand of the Chancellor, with the assent of the major part " of the Heads of colleges. But if he shall refuse, or shall " not proceed humbly after the manner it shall be prescrib- " ed him; let him be by the same authority for ever ex- " cluded from his college, and be banished the University."

II. *De Cancellarii officio: Quicquid*, &c. " Whatsoever is " judged by our statutes, that may be done by the Chan- " cellor of our University, let the same be done in his ab- " sence by the Vice-Chancellor."

His letter to the Chancellor. MSS. Burghlian.

Well, notwithstanding upon this sentence, Chark appli- eth himself unto the Lord Treasurer, the High Chancellor of the University, in an handsome well-penned Latin let- ter, desiring, that by his means he might be restored to his place, and to the University; promising to behave himself quietly and peaceably. He shewed his Lordship, first, the reasons of his expulsion; *viz.* " That he denied not himself " to be one, who, being led by argument taken from Scrip- " ture, and from the example of foreign Churches, thought " something to be wanting, [so mollifying his former pro- " positions,] whereby our Church, lately rescued from dark- " ness, might come nearer to the brightness, πρωτοτύπου χα- " ρακτῆρος, *i. e.* to the original pattern, (which, if God would " but once grant, and grant, he hoped, God would in his " own time,) it would be easy afterwards to preserve it " *sarta tecta*, i. e. safe and sure from harm-taking. That " when he was well aware how this opinion of his and " others might be with danger divulged among the un- " skilful multitude in sermons, because it had something " new to the common people, and different from the ordi- " nances of the state, he kept to himself the knowledge of " the truth; and ever studiously had abstained from the

"promulgation of it in his sermons. But that in a private senate, and in the Latin tongue, he thought he might use greater liberty. And therefore he had in the University, in a very learned and wise assembly, explained his opinion more freely in those matters. And that by this act he was ignorantly fallen under the crime of violating a law: and so was cited to appear in judgment. And that his judges had not only forbad him, by the sanction of the law, the use of water and fire, by which men live; but of learning too, by which we live well. He therefore appealed, and in that his letter did appeal humbly, to his equity and goodness. Wherein alone all his hope was left of recovering his place. Praying him to write his letter to the University, that they would restore him; and that hereafter he might be wholly rejected, should he violate either the peace of the Church, the State, or the University."

Anno 1572.

Such was the compassionate and tender regard this Lord had for all ingenious scholars of the University, that upon this application of Chark, he despatched a letter to the Vice-Chancellor concerning his case. Wherein he so expressed himself, as though he approved not fully of their proceedings with him; neither had sufficiently considered what a manifest and confident breach of statute he had been guilty of. So that about the beginning of the month of March, the Vice-Chancellor, and ten more of the Heads, (whereof our Dr. Whitgift was one,) sent a letter to him, together with Chark's case, and all the proceedings with him, taken out of their register, and likewise the two statutes they went upon: all which were written out and subscribed by Matthew Stokys, Public Notary, and the University Register; for the better justifying their doings to their Chancellor, and for the giving him full satisfaction.

45 The Vice-Chancellor and Heads vindicate their proceedings; Justified by Matth. Stokys, Notary Public.

The tenor of their letter was, "That his Lordship's letter, written in the behalf of Mr. Chark, had made them all not a little perplexed; partly, for the boldness of him, who for so notorious a fault, and manifest breach of statute, should attempt to procure his Lordship's favour;

In a letter to the Chancellor.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

"but most of all, that they were hereby brought into some "doubt of his good liking of their proceedings. Whereof, "to render a just account, and that his Lordship might the "easier judge what lenity had been used on their parts "towards the said Chark, contrary to his report, as it "seemed, they advised him of the whole matter from the "beginning:" so very notably and earnestly set forth by them, that it may deserve to be read. And I have accordingly transcribed their whole letter to the Lord Burghley, which will be found in the Appendix. Where may be seen, what great talk and expectation there was of this sermon a good while before it was preached; as though notice had been studiously given about in the town, how Archbishops and Bishops, and episcopal government, was ere long to have a terrible shock in St. Mary's pulpit: and that Chark having begun, divers others in the University followed his example, preaching to the same purpose, with little regard to their governors: who were greatly disturbed hereby, and feared to what at last this would come.

Numb. XI.

This Chark was Chaplain to the Lord Cheine, and afterwards entertained in the family of the Duchess of Somerset at Chelsea; and was with her when she died there. Such countenance did he, notwithstanding his expulsion, (and such as he,) find with some of the nobility.

CHAP. VIII.

Browning and Browne, Fellows of Trinity college, convented before the Vice-Chancellor for their doctrines. Dr. Whitgift pronounceth Cartwright no Fellow. Preaches at Paul's Cross. His character of Dr. Bartholomew Clerk, of King's college. Resigns Teversham. Milayn of Christ's college, his seditious preaching. The contents of his sermon at St. Mary's. Expelled. Whitgift concerned with the other Heads, in vindicating the University privileges against the ecclesiastical Commission. A case referred by them to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

BESIDES this Chark, in Dr. Whitgift's own college were two Fellows in effect of the same strain, *viz.* John Browning and Nicolas Browne, (different from Robert, of the same surname, and of this college, father of the sect of the Brownists:) who, for preaching unsound doctrine near about Christmas time, were convented before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads. For there was a great faction in Trinity college, as we heard before, of such as were disaffected to the present ecclesiastical settlement, which created the Master no small trouble and disquiet. Dr. Whitgift was with the Lord Burghley, having come up with Byng the Vice-Chancellor's letters, about these men, to consult with him what was to be done for the regulation of the University, in regard of these disorders. In which letters, the said Lord, their Chancellor, is informed, that about the time of Christmas, the former uttered in St. Mary's certain doctrines tending to the heresy of Novatus. For which [I transcribe out of the Vice-Chancellor's letter to the Lord Burghley] he was convented before the Heads, (Whitgift then being deputy Vice-Chancellor,) and charged to abstain from preaching, till his further purgation. Nevertheless, soon after he adventured to preach again, whereupon it was thought good for his contempt he

Anno 1572.

Two of Dr. Whitgift's college preach against Episcopacy.

46

Doctrines tending to the Novatian heresy preached by Browning.

BOOK I.

should be committed. For thus it is recorded in the University register, anno 1572. Jan. 27. *Johannes Brownyng, M. A. et Socius collegii S. Trinitatis, per D. Vice-Cancellarium, de assensu præpositorum, scil. D. D. Pearne, Hawford, Kelke, Mey, Whitgyfte, Chaderton, Harvey, Shepherd, Goad, Aldriche, committitur carceri Le Talbothe. Eo quod prohibitus per Doctorem Whitgift, deputatum D. Vice-Cancellarii, ne concionaretur. Quia accusabatur de suspicione corruptæ doctrinæ per ipsum prolatæ, eâ tamen prohibitione non obstante, conconatus est.* Regist. Academ.

Anno 1572.

And because among the articles objected against him, one chiefly sounded to the touching of great matters, he was bound in recognizance with two sureties, to be answerable for the same, when he should be called. Accordingly in February he gave a bond of two hundred marks: and two Fellows of the same college, *viz.* Booth and Studley, were bound in forty pounds apiece for Browning's appearance, to answer all such matters as should be objected against him, touching certain words uttered by him in two sermons: also to abstain from preaching, till he should be permitted.

He is bound by bond, with sureties, for dangerous words. Regist. Acad.

After this proceeding with him, what course the Chancellor took with him, and his judgment of his fault, appeared by what he wrote to his Vice-Chancellor; *viz.* "that "he took Browning with him, to place him in some law, "[that is, as it seems, to answer for his dangerous words,] "and so he would order him as the cause should require." And further adding, after his mild manner, "that consider- "ing how earnestly Browning had denied the words where- "with he was charged; and that there might be an inter- "pretation admitted, to make his words sound tolerable, "he thought best, as he was touched with some further "fear, to return him to receive his due punishment for the "rest (not denied) there in the University."

The Chancellor's judgment of his fault.

Brown, the other Fellow of Trinity college, mentioned before, immediately before Christmas, and also since, by way of refutation of Musculus, seemed to oppugn the order

The order of Ministers in this Church oppugned by Brown.

of our Church concerning the election of Ministers. He also was called before the Heads; and sufficient proof brought against him, that in his sermons he had uttered doctrine and reasons, to the infringing the order and manner of creating or electing Ministers; or the regiment now used in the Church of England, or tending to the confuting of Musculus's reasons; whereby he would establish the said order or regiment: and that he said, no Priests made in the Popish times, under King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, ought to have any function in the Church of England, except they were called again; or words tending thereunto. His retractation, and other particulars of the dealings of the Heads with him, may be read in Archbishop Parker's Life. The Vice-Chancellor referred the larger report of these University matters, and especially these sermons, tending to heresy and disorder, to Dr. Whitgift, who was the bearer of his letter to the Chancellor. With whom he desired his Honour to communicate, for the repressing of these and such like enormities there. This letter was dated from Clare hall, February 2, 1572.

Archbishop Parker's Life, book iv. ch. 18.

A few months before, *viz.* in September, the Master cleared the college of the head of this faction, Mr. Tho. Cartwright, senior Fellow, for breaking a statute of the college, (to which he was sworn, when admitted Fellow,) in not taking holy Orders upon him in due time; whereby he forfeited his fellowship, and was looked upon as perjured. Dr. Whitgift was the readier to take this occasion to rid the college of him, since there could be no peace, nor observance of good order, while a person of such principles, and so contentious, and infecting the rest, remained among them. Of this matter he acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter dated Septemb. 21, 1572, the rather, that he might, by his means, find favour at Court for his proceedings with Cartwright, who he knew would not be backward in making his application to the Lord Treasurer and other great men there. The tenor of his letter (whereby this matter will be understood) was as followeth:

47

Expels Cartwright out of the college, for breaking statute.

" My duty most humbly unto your Grace remembered.

BOOK I.

Anno 1572. His letter to the Archbishop, informing him thereof. Epist. Whitg. penes me.

"I am constrained sooner to trouble you than I had purposed: so it is, that I have pronounced Mr. Cartwright to be no Fellow here; because, contrary both to the express words of his oath, and plain statute of this college, he hath continued here above his time, not being ful Minister: which truly I did not know, until now of late; for if I had known it before, I might have eased myself of much trouble, and the college of great contention. Hitherto, I thank God, it hath been as quiet a college as any was at Cambridge. Now it is clean contrary; mervailous troublesome and contentious, which I can ascribe to no cause so much, as to Mr. Cartwright's presence here. I doubt he wil make some friends in the Court to maintain him; yea, though it be against statute: and I have some understanding, that he goeth about the same.

"I beseech your Grace, let me have your assistance, either by your letters to my Lord Burghley, or my Lord of Leycester, or both; or by any other means you think best. Their whole purpose is to make me weary, because they take me to be an enemy to their factiousnes and lewd liberty. If they may triumph over me once, peradventure the state here wil be untolerable: but I doubt not of your Grace's ful assistance. Mr. Cartwright is flatly perjured; and I am verily persuaded, that it is God's just judgment that he should, for not being Minister, be so punished; which hath so greatly defaced the Ministry, [God often so disposing, that the sin is visible in the punishment.]"

Preaches at Paul's Cross.

November 2. our Doctor preached at Paul's Cross, by appointment of the Bishop of London, who had sent to him to perform that office the second Sunday in the term: and being now in the midst of his labour, in preparing and setting forth his work, which required haste, he got his turn put off for a little longer, by the intercession of the Archbishop, to whom he wrote for that purpose.

I find our Doctor's hand, in December this year, set to a testimonial of a very memorable learned Civilian and writer, *viz.* Dr. Bartholomew Clerke, of the same Univer-

sity, but of another strain. Nicolas Sanders's book, *De visibili Monarchia*, that had thrown so much reproach upon this Church and nation, and particularly upon Queen Elizabeth, and her mother's marriage, it was thought necessary should receive a learned and substantial answer. For which purpose, the Lord Treasurer and Archbishop Parker consulted together for some able person or persons, well skilled in the civil laws, and of an elegant Latin style, to be sought out, and employed in this work. The Archbishop recommended this Clerk, Fellow of King's college, Cambridge, who had lately taken his degree of Civil Law, and was had in great reputation there for his learning, who was also known by the said Lord Treasurer; but yet he was desirous to have some testimonial of his commencing Doctor from the University, and particularly of his abilities and learning; whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Whitgift, Public Professor, gave him this ample character, in a letter to that Lord.

Anno 1572. Dr. Bar. Clerk's character, given by our Doctor to the Lord Treasurer.

"Our duties in most humble maner to your Honour "premised. Whereas this bearer, Mr. Bartholomew Clark, "being now lately admitted Doctor of the Civil Law in this "University, hath earnestly required our special testimony "to your Honour of that his degree; wee could do no less 48
"for truthes sake; but according to his petition, advertise "your Lordship of the same. Adding, moreover, that as "wel in replying as answering, he did so learnedly demean "himself, that he hath thereby not only much encreased the "good opinion long sithence conceived of his forwardness, "but also obtained right commendable report of those that "bear the chief name emong us in that facultie.

"Thus, with our prayers to the Almightie for the long "preservation of your honorable estate, we humblie com-"mend your Lordship to his blessed tuition. From Cam-"bridge the 6th of December, 1572.

"Your Lordship's most humblie at commaundement,

"Tho. Byng, Vice-Chancell.

"Jhon Whitgyfte."

BOOK I.

Anno 1572.

The book he was now employed in writing, and was published next year, was entitled, *Fidelis servi subdito infideli Responsio;* which book, that Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer had the diligent inspection of, sheet by sheet, before it went to the press; as also their occasional emendations and additions, which rendered it the more valuable, and to be depended on for an authentic history. But more of Dr. Clerk, and the troubles he met with, and of that book, may be read in the Life of Archbishop Parker.

Life of Archbishop Parker, book iv. ch. 16, 17.

This year he laid down his rectory of Teversham; for it appears by the Bishop of Ely's register, that August the 8th, this year, Bishop Cox collated that parsonage upon Roger Kelk, S. T. P. upon Dr. Whitgift's resignation: and after, [*viz.* anno 1575,] succeeded in the said rectory, by a famous man, Rich. Bancroft, M. A. afterwards Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury successively; becoming void upon the natural death of the said Kelk.

Resigns Teversham. Registr. Ely.

Seditious doctrine preached by Milayn of Christ's college.

To see further how strong and busy the *Disciplinarian* faction was in the University, it was little above half a year after, *viz.* in October 1573, another Master of Arts, and Minister, publicly preached at St. Mary's the like doctrines, notwithstanding the troubles the three former preachers underwent: his name was Milayn, Fellow of Christ's college. The sermon was very bold and seditious. Mr. Howland, (afterwards Head of Magdalen college,) who was present, thought fit that such errors should not pass without a speedy refutation; and so he came up in the same pulpit in the afternoon, and took pains to answer all that was preached in the morning: and Byng, Vice-Chancellor, some days after, caused Millayn to be cited before him and the Heads, and finally expelled him both the college and University: a particular account whereof I shall set down from the said Vice-Chancellor's own letters to the Chancellor, according to the custom of the Vice-Chancellors, to acquaint their Chancellor with the occurrences of the University.

"That among many other things he entred a discourse of "the ordering and making of Ministers; of fasting; of "saints eves; of keeping their days festival: avouching

"these conclusions. I. That the ordering and making of "Ministers now used in the Church of England is an hor- "rible confusion, and contrary to the word of God. II. That "ignorant Ministers were no Ministers. III. That to com- "mand saints eves, as of the Apostles, the Virgin Mary, "&c. to be fasted, is abhominable idolatry. IV. That to "command the same saints days to be kept and observed, "as holy days, is abomhinable idolatry. For which his "assertions very slenderly proved, and yet with great ve- "hemency uttered, the Vice-Chancellor (as he signified in "his said letter to the Chancellor) thought good to call "him to an account with some speediness, lest long defer- "ring might breed more stir in buisy heads."

Anno 1572.

Wherefore the day before his writing the letter, he caused this Preacher to appear before him, and other his assistants, Masters of colleges; where being charged with this doctrine, he acknowledged and confessed the same in every point, as before was set down. But being demanded by what ground of Scripture he could justify it, he answered, that he had already shewed that in his sermon; and added, that "what he had there said, he had said. "And sure he was, that he had taught nothing but the "truth of God; and thereof his conscience could bear "him witness." Other answer than this, to any effect, he could make none, saying, that he used to them divers declamatory exhortations, that they would receive the truth which he had uttered, and not resist it, with much more ado. Whereupon, (as the Vice-Chancellor proceeded to declare to the Chancellor,) they proceeded with him according to their statutes; charging him to revoke his said articles of doctrine, as not justifiable by the word of God, and repugnant to the laws, and tending to the breach of charity, which ought chiefly to be maintained in Christian societies; whereunto being often required, for that he utterly refused to condescend, they could do no less than execute upon him the pain of the statute, which was the loss of the college and the University.

Anno 1573.

49

The Vice-Chancellor did withal send up a brief extract

BOOK I.

of Milayn's sermon enclosed; and committed a large report thereof to Mr. Howland, (who was the bearer of his letter,) being not only present at the same, but (as the letter mentioned) took pains in the afternoon to refell the same errors. This letter was dated from Clare hall, Wednesday, Oct. 27, 1573. Subscribing himself, *His Lordship's unworthy Deputy, humbly at commandment, Thomas Byng*. The contents shall be reposited in the Appendix.

Anno 1573.

The contents of Milayn's sermon.

Num. XII.

Now also we find our Doctor concerned with the rest of the Heads in a privilege of the University, which seemed to be infringed by the present ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had cited Mr. Aldrich, a member of the University, and Master of Bene't college, to make his personal appearance before them at Lambhith. What the cause was of sending for him, and the transactions of Aldrich's matter, may be read in the Life of Archbishop Parker. The letter of the Archbishop and the rest of the Commissioners, to the Heads, to send up Aldrich, was dated July 5, and may be found in that History. Whereupon the Heads, and Whitgift among them, applied themselves to their Chancellor, whose letter bore date July 13, wherein they shew him, "how fully persuaded they were, that should "they obey that authority, they should do against the "statutes of the University lately sent them by him, and "confirmed by Parliament: that it was the first act at- "tempted against their statutes, since the confirmation of "them by Parliament. That before this, their privileges "and liberties had taken place in the like case. And that "they had sufficient bonds of Aldrich, of 200*l*. with two "sureties, to appear before the Vice-Chancellor from time "to time, to answer any things that might be objected "against him."

The ecclesiastical Commission refused by the University.

Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 430.

The Heads' letter to the Chancellor, giving the reason thereof.

The present matter was a controversy between him and some of the Fellows, for breach of some college statutes; which was, that he had not taken the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, nor Doctor in the same faculty, since he had been Master of the college; which by statute he ought to have done: and therefore had forfeited his mastership.

And refer the matter to him.

Upon this it was, that Aldrich required that this business might be tried before him, their Chancellor, and so their Visitor, to decide all doubts and breaches of those statutes. And that they, the Heads, would acquaint him therewith: which they accordingly now did, and waited till his further pleasure were known unto them; staying to do any thing in the mean time. This letter was signed by Dr. Byng, Dr. Whitgift, and five Heads more. And to this letter they added an extract of a clause in the letters patents, granted them by Queen Elizabeth, *viz.* that the cognizance of all causes of all sorts of pleas personal, debts, accounts, contracts, wrongs whatsoever, transgressions against the peace, &c. should be tried before the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars; and they to hear and finally determine the same. And to this was subjoined the tenor of the Act of Parliament confirming this and all their other privileges. Both which I have laid up in the Appendix. Numb. XIII, XIV.

Anno 1573.

The Chancellor, upon this letter and information, stuck to the University; and ordered his Vice-Chancellor and the Heads to consider the controversy between the said Master of Bene't college and the Fellows. And in fine, they signified their judgments to the Chancellor, *viz.* that other colleges were under statutes of the like nature, obliging them to be so and so qualified; and for want thereof divers had been put from their places, and others had voluntarily laid them down: and that whosoever qualified not himself accordingly, ought not to occupy the place; which they judged to be the plain meaning of the statute. But that they thought fit to proceed to no definitive sentence, (unless his Lordship should advise them,) but rather to let it be decided by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom both parties had formerly made arbitrator, and the resolution of the same doubt was referred to his judgment; so they thought it not amiss for them now, since they had defended their privileges, not to withdraw this private cause from his Grace's hearing: and also considering that he [the Chancellor] had before advised Aldrich to submit

50

He refers it to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads.

Their determination.

They to the Archbishop.

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BOOK I.

Anno 1573. Num. XV.

his cause to the said Archbishop. This was the substance of their said discreet letter dated in August. This University letter will be read at length in the Appendix. In this whole matter there seems to be much of Whitgift's head, both for the preserving of the University privileges; and withal in the great care taken not to disoblige the Archbishop: but after all, to bring the case and parties before him, though not as an ecclesiastical Commissioner, yet as an honorary and most fit umpire and judge.

CHAP. IX.

Cartwright sets forth a Reply to Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition. His two main principles; unsound. His proofs and manner of writing. His way of dealing with the Fathers and ancient writers; and more modern reformers. The favour his book and himself obtained in London. Preachers at Paul's Cross extol his doctrine. The Bishop of London's letter hereupon.

GREAT now were the heats and animosities, not only in Cambridge, (as we have heard in part,) but also every where else in the nation, occasioned by Cartwright's principles, and particularly his book, called his Reply to Dr. Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition, which was already come abroad into the world. To give some brief account of this book; which I take from Whitgift himself, in his Defence. This Reply, counted so notable a piece of work, and wonderfully cried up by the party as unanswerable, consisted in general of two false principles and rotten pillars: whereof the one was, that we must of necessity have the same kind of government that was in the Apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scriptures, and no other. The other was, that we may not in any wise, or on any consideration, retain in the Church any thing that hath been abused under the Pope. Dr. Whitgift shewed,

Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift's Answer. Preface to Whitgift's Def.

Some account of it.

when he took this Reply under his consideration, how both these were but weak, yea, rotten posts, to bear up the weight of his structure. Touching the first, he shewed, "That there was a double government of the Church, the "one *spiritual*, and the other *external;* that Christ only, "and none other, by the operation of his Spirit, and declaration of his word, *spiritually* governed the Church; "and reigning in the consciences of the faithful, guided "their minds in all manner of devotion, faith, and holiness. And that this was the *spiritual* kingdom of Christ, "so much spoken of in the Scriptures; and especially in "the Prophets. But that of this kind of government, he "meant not. CHAP. IX. Anno 1573. His two main principles unsound. 51

"That the *external* government had both a substance "and a matter, about which it was occupied, and also a "form to attain the same; consisting in certain offices "and functions, and in the number and titles of them. "That the *substance* and *matter* of government must indeed be taken out of the word of God; and that it consisted in these points; that the word be truly taught, "the sacraments rightly administered, virtue furthered, "vice repressed, and the Church kept in quietness and "order. But that the *offices* in the Church, whereby this "government was wrought, were not namely and particularly expressed in the Scripture; but in some points left "to the liberty and discretion of the Church, to be disposed according to the state of times, places, and persons." And this our Divine had declared at large, in his Answer and Defence. As he had also there spoken at large of the second mistaken principle. The external government of the Church.

Then, as for T. Cartwright's proofs in his said Reply; "That they were grounded only upon untrue allegations "and interpretations of Scripture, vain and childish reasons, falsifying the authorities of the Doctors, and other "writers, untruly ascribing that unto them which they "wrote not," as our Doctor declared in his Defence: and so was guilty both of falsities and ignorances. Insomuch, that he makes this protestation, "That surely he The nature of the proofs in Cartwright's Reply.

BOOK I.

Anno 1573.

"had not read many books, wherein so many gross untruths were to be found; or wherein there were so many manifest arguments, utterly to prove the ignorance of the author, and lack of reading ancient and learned writers."

The manner of the writing of it.

As to the *manner* of the writing of this Reply, he added, "That any man of judgment reading the book might easily perceive, in what haughtiness of mind, what contempt and disdain of others, in what slanderous and opprobrious a manner it was written. And how often he repeated *Master Doctor* in contempt, either of his degree, or of his person; at least three hundred and seventy times. But that he [our Doctor] nothing at all marvelled at it. For he considered, how these had been the usual practices of sectaries and disquieters of the Church."

Besides, in this book, Whitgift noted one and twenty dangerous points of doctrine vented, and fifty and one untruths and falsified authorities: which he sets down distinctly and *verbatim*, in the beginning of his Defence.

In this Reply it is to be observed, that Cartwright did not give answer to Whitgift's book, paragraph by paragraph, subjoining his own answer to each paragraph; as our author had done with the Admonition. But he left out a considerable part of Whitgift's Answer, which he undertook to refute, and slid over such parts of it as he could not answer; as Whitgift laid to his charge. And all the reasons he could allege why he did so was, that he might save the readers charges, and that Whitgift's book, he supposed, was already in their hands, to which they might have recourse, and that his own book must have required longer time, before it could have been printed. But all this seemed but shifts of Cartwright; and that the readers might not have the opportunity of comparing the one with the other, to see his frivolous replies, his childish collections, his wilful depraving, and his fraudulent dismembering of Whitgift's book, as he freely tells him in his Defence. Def. p. 16.

One remark more I will make; and that is, Cartwright's

way in answering our Doctor, when he cited the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers; which was Dr. Bancroft's observation: *viz.* that when Whitgift urged the authority of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Sozomen, for the antiquity of the name of *Archbishops*, the bringing in of these authorities is termed by him, "the moving and summoning of hell:" and that "those times were not pure and virgin-like, but "departed from the apostolical simplicity." Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, are "discharged for rogues, and "men branded in the forehead." That Epiphanius wrote according to the time he lived in, which was about the year 380. That Ambrose "held other things [besides "that of *Archbishops*] corruptly." That Sozomen and Volusianus "writ not according to that which was, but "according to the custom and manner of the age where-"in they wrote." As though he should say, saith Bancroft, they lied. That Augustin's "sentence was ap-"proved unadvisedly;" and that "thereby a window was "opened to bring in all Popery." When Dr. Whitgift had alleged the testimonies of Damasus, Jerome, Sixtus, Sozomen, and Socrates, for the name of *Archdeacon;* his answer was, "Two of them were counterfeit: Damasus "spake in the dragon's voice: amongst men, the best "ground beareth thistles: those times were corrupt." And yet one of them, *viz.* Sixtus, lived Bishop of Rome about the year 265, and died a godly martyr. And in some pages after, Justin, Irenæus, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Basil, Augustin, Socrates, Sozomen, the Council of Auricanum, of Neocæsarea, of Nice, &c. being cited to prove the Church's authority in things indifferent, and for the observation of many things not mentioned in Scripture; Cartwright complained, that he was so pestered with such kind of authorities, instead of Esay, Jeremy, St. Paul, and St. Peter, &c. And then he shakes them all off, "because the things which they affirm were now "called into question." As though, when it pleased them

Anno 1573. Cartwright's way in dealing with the Fathers.

Bancr. Survey, p. 336. edit. 1593.

Page 341.

BOOK I.

to call any things into question, that all the Fathers held, away they must.

Anno 1573. Cyril affirming, that the law of Moses, for punishing adultery with death, was not now in force; Cartwright answered, that "he could at no hand allow Cyril's opin-"ion;" and that "his sentence was corrupt." Chrysostom and Oecumenius understood the place of Timothy, for the imposition of hands, there mentioned, of Bishops, not of Priests. Cartwright saith, "I answer at once, that "it seemeth violent." And again, "The Fathers imagined "fondly of Antichrist: they dealt like ignorant men: they "were overmastered of their affections: they had many "errors," &c. And to repeat no more of these rude reflections, and slighting expressions of those ancient venerable men of the Church of Christ, honoured in all succeeding ages: "It is," saith he, "a dangerous thing to "ground our order, or policy of the Church, upon men."

Page 343.

The learned reformed writers rejected by Cartwright.

It may be subjoined here, that Cartwright dealt after the same manner with the modern Protestant writers, and most learned reformers, whensoever they were produced by Dr. Whitgift, against his Platform; *viz.* Pellican, Bucer, Bullinger, Illyricus, and Musculus, affirming that Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus; "What then?" saith Cartwright, "if they were (for one) an hundred, they "could not bear down the Apostle." As though they ever meant it. Luther expounding a place contrary to his liking, "His exposition," saith Cartwright, "is out of "season." Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Gualter, brought divers reasons for the use of the surplice, and the apparel enjoined Ministers. But Cartwright was so far from being moved with their authority, that he attempted to confute their reasons after his manner, very sophistically; and affirmed, that either they understood not the ancient Fathers, alleged by them for that purpose, or that they perverted their meaning. When Bishop Ridley and Martin Bucer were produced, giving their advice, that where there were no preachers, godly homilies should be read in

Survey, p. 354, &c.

the churches; Cartwright thus dismisseth Bishop Ridley, " as a party in the cause, and so ought to be no witness." And Bucer's words were not to be weighed; insinuating, that his book concerning his judgment of the Communion Book was counterfeited. And further, that " Bucer " had gross absurdities. *Homer sometimes sleepeth.* His " reasons," for private baptism, the sign of the cross, and the ring in marriage, " were very ridiculous, slender, and " cold, and savoured not of the learning and sharpness of " Mr. Bucer's judgment." Mr. Fox, (our famous Martyrologist and Confessor,) setting down in his first tome his full approbation of the present state ecclesiastical, and that Archbishops should be in degree above Bishops, and Bishops in degree above other Ministers; and relying for this his judgment upon the Scriptures, and the primitive Church; he is thus censured by Cartwright; " Mr. Fox " writing a story, took greater pains, and looked more dili- " gently to declare what was done, and at what time, and " by whom, &c. than how justly or unjustly, how conve- " niently or inconveniently it was done," &c. These, with several other, are all passages, collected together by the above-named reverend author, out of several places of Cartwright's Reply.

Anno 1573.

53

But notwithstanding, great was the opinion, both of the man and of his book, at this time in London, as well as at Cambridge: many of the Aldermen of London openly countenanced him. He was secretly harboured in the City; and had a great many admirers and visitors there, and wanted not for presents and gratuities. And though the Queen had issued out her proclamation to bring to the Bishop of London the Admonition, the ground of all the present sedition and disturbance, and the book writ in favour of it, yet it took no effect; not one book being brought in, as that Bishop wrote to the Lord Treasurer. And as for Cartwright's new book, writ in vindication of the Admonition, against Dr. Whitgift's Answer to it; it was so extraordinarily favoured by a party, that there was a combination entered into, of sundry persons of divers

Cartwright and his book favoured in London.

Proclamation to bring in the Admonition.

See this proclamation in Archbishop Parker's Life.

BOOK I.

callings, as it were in commission together, to procure hands in approbation and commendation of his book;

Anno 1573.

nay, and to promise to defend the same unto death. Which was discovered by one Mr. Squire, Master of Balliol college, Oxon. Who was applied to for that purpose, and refused it; and as it seems told it to the Bishop of London. And he related all this and more, in a letter to the abovesaid Lord, now with the Queen in her progress; and advised that some sharp letter should be sent to the city by her Majesty, to rebuke and check these courses.

Some favourers of Cartwright's doctrine preach at Paul's Cross.

Men of such persuasions also got sometimes the pulpit at Paul's Cross, and openly there declared their sentiments against the establishment of the Church; what want there was of more reformation in it. Of these was one Wake,

Wake, of Christ's Church, Oxon.

of Christ's Church, Oxon, though the year before he let such things alone, and made a good sermon. But now his whole sermon was spent in railing against the present state of religion; and affirming, that whatsoever Cartwright had written was good. The very next morning the preacher hastened away to Oxford, suspecting the Bishop of London might call him into question for his doctrine. Which indeed he intended, and sent a messenger for him; but he was gone homewards before. And by the privilege of the University was out of his reach: which the Bishop desired the Lord Treasurer to consider of.

Crick.

And not long before, one Crick, who was Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, much commended to this Bishop for his learning and sobriety, preached at the Cross; and he also most spitefully inveighed against the ecclesiastical policy now by law established, (as the same Bishop related,) and confirmed Mr. Cartwright's book, as the true Platform of the sincere and apostolical Church. And he also was speedily conveyed away by his friends, that the Bishop's messenger, who was sent to apprehend him, missed him, the Archbishop of Canterbury also joining with him. This, and more of the present state of London, as to these differences about religion, may be read at large

in the letter of the said Bishop. Which, to give the more light into these affairs, I have put into the Appendix.

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1573. Num. XVI.

CHAP. X. 54

Dr. Whitgift sets forth his Defence. Sends it to the Lord Treasurer. Hated and vilified for his book. His method in the writing thereof. His declaration concerning the Church of England. Reproves the disturbers of the Church's peace. The state of the controversy. Dangerous doctrines and untruths in the Reply, shewed by Whitgift. His answer to Cartwright's reproaches. Made Dean of Lincoln. Another book against T. C. *comes forth, entitled,* A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment. *Whitgift procures the Lord Treasurer's friendship to Trinity college. A case between the Master of Magdalen college and the Fellows referred to Dr. Whitgift.*

Whitgift sets forth his Defence against Cartwright's Reply.

IT was high time, therefore, to unravel this thin-spun book, and to expose all the weakness of it. And such good haste was made, that this year 1573. was not spent before Dr. Whitgift had published a second book, now swelled to a folio, in Defence of his Answer to Cartwright's Reply. The year at the bottom of the title-page of that book is set down to be 1574, but that is to be attributed to the custom of printers, to antedate their books. For our Doctor had presented this his Defence to the Lord Treasurer, in the month of February, anno 1573, accompanied with a letter of that date. Wherein he told him,

His letter to the Lord Treasurer about it.

" that if he would but now and then (since he had so
" little leisure to peruse it thorough) cast his eye upon it,
" he would soon perceive how little cause there was to
" accuse this Church of England, and so bitterly to in-
" veigh against such lawful, godly orders, and kind of go-
" vernment, as was used in the same. He spake in the

BOOK I. Anno 1573.

"said letter, of the manifold untruths uttered in that "Reply, both in falsifying and corrupting ancient authors, "abusing of holy Scriptures; and of the slenderness and "weakness of the reasons therein used. And that these "things might move those that were godly, quiet, and "learned, to the utter misliking of that Platform, that "could not be builded, but with such timber." And he moved two things, *viz.* one was, "that so common a "cause ought not to be ventured upon one man's labours; "but that others, more learned than he, should be em- "ployed therein. But that he, for his part, was well con- "tent to sustain the pains and labour; nay, and the envy "also of divers persons, and the injuries of cursed tongues. "And the other, that considering the great danger the "whole commonwealth was in by these men, therefore "they who were magistrates should dispel and suppress "them. He added, that it became not him to move his "Lordship to be zealous in the cause; only that this he "was well assured of, that if they should be suffered to "proceed as they had begun, nothing else in the end "could be looked for, than confusion, both of the religion "and State. But that convenient discipline, joined with "doctrine, being duly executed, would soon remedy all. "For that sects and schisms could not, by any means, "endure these two. Neither would they long continue "where they were not by some in authority cherished and "maintained." They that are minded to see this whole letter, (which deserves to be preserved,) may have it tran-

Num. XVII. scribed from the original in the Appendix.

55 It may be observed, how our Doctor in the foresaid let-

Hated and reproached for this undertaking.

ter took notice of the envy and spiteful slanders (which he called *cursed tongues*) which he underwent for his opposing Cartwright and his Platform, that many was then so fond of. This unkind and unchristian usage of him, made the Archbishop of Canterbury to encourage him by honouring him with a letter from himself. In his answer to which, may be observed his steadiness and patience and resolution to proceed in so good a cause: "thanking

"God (as he wrote back to the Archbishop) that he was "quiet in mind, cheerful in heart, as much delighted in "study, and as willing to take any pains in these matters, "as ever he was; though the unchristian tongues of that "schismatical faction had bruited abroad the contrary." Anno 1573. Life of Archbishop Parker, book iv. ch. 24.

In this Defence he answereth the whole Reply, paragraph by paragraph, setting all down before the eye of the reader, that he might be his own judge of the merits of the controversy between them: the reason whereof he told the Archbishop, (who had advised him to be as concise as he could,) that he must of necessity do so, that is, set down all at large, that was written on either side, both to detect Cartwright's fraudulent dealing, to open his manifest untruths, and to avoid cavilling; finding this to be the easiest and best way for him to deal in: which was a fairer way than his adversary went, who took what passages he thought fit out of Whitgift's Answer, and left out all the rest, without taking any notice of, and unanswered. For which, when he had made certain excuses, (as was shewn before,) our Doctor found it to be but mere shuffling and pretence, to be silent to that which he could not well tell how to reply unto. The fair method Whitgift useth in answering his adversary.

He dedicated his book to no great name, but only to the *godly Reader*. In which Preface, speaking first of the Church of England, and of the doctrines and practice of it, he hath these remarkable words: "That he dared "boldly to affirm, that all points of religion necessary to "salvation, and touching either the mystery of our redemption in Christ, or the right use of the sacraments, "or the true manner of worshipping God, were as purely "and perfectly taught, and by public authority established "in this Church of England at that day, as ever they were "in any Church, sithence the Apostles' time, or then were "in any reformed Church in the world. The which to be "true, those that were learned (even among the mislikers "of this present state) could not, nor would deny. And "that likewise [for the further credit of our Church] all "heresies, all corrupt doctrines, all superstitious and Pa- His declaration concerning the Church of England.

BOOK I.

Anno 1573.

" pistical opinions, had been and were, by the Prince and " the realm, banished; by the learned Bishops and Preach- " ers, in word and writing confuted."

Disturbers of the Church of England reproved.

And hence he grounded a severe charge against those that made the disturbances in this orthodox Church, and laboured so much to prejudice the minds of men, saying, " What shall we then think of those men that are so far " from acknowledging this singular and unspeakable be- " nefit, proceeding from the mere mercy of God; that are " so far from being thankful for the same, and from desir- " ing the continuance of it with hearty prayers; that by " all means possible they seek rather to obscure it and " deface it; because in certain accidental points they have " not their fantasies and proper devices. If this be not, " as he added, to set themselves against God, and to trou- " ble the peace of the Church for external things, (which " is schismatical,) let the quiet and godly Christian judge. " How much better had it been for them, to have pro- " ceeded in teaching necessary points of doctrine, and ex- " horted to obedience, to concord, to godly life and con- " versation!"

What was not, and what was, the true state of the controversy.

And then he went on (in that excellent Preface) to shew the true state of the present controversy, and how blameworthy this disaffected party was; considering, that the state of the Church at that day was a state of a Church reformed, and by authority and consent settled, not only in truth of doctrine, but also in order of things
56 external, touching the government of the Church and administration of the sacraments; and that therefore the controversy was not, whether many of the things mentioned by the Platforms were fitly used in the Apostles' times, or may now be well used in some places; yea, or be conveniently used in sundry reformed Churches at this day; that none of these branches were denied: neither did they take upon them, either to blame (as they were slandered) or to condemn other Churches, for such orders as they had received as most fit for their estates. But that this was the whole state of the controversy, that

when they of this Church (saith our author) in those perilous days did see that they had a great number of hollow hearts within this realm, that daily gaped for the alteration of religion, and that many mighty and great enemies were abroad, busily devising, and working to bring the same to pass, and to overthrow the state both of religion and the realm; whether, seeing they had a settled order, both in doctrine and government, received and confirmed by law, it might stand with godly and Christian wisdom to attempt so great alteration as this Platform must needs bring in, with disobedience to the Prince and law, and unquietness of the Church, and offence of many consciences. Anno 1573.

Dangerous doctrines and untruths in the Reply, noted by Whitgift.

Whitgift, before this his Defence, thought fit to prefix two ranks of *notes*, as he called them. In the former rank he noted divers dangerous points of doctrine, that were avouched by Cartwright in his Reply. In the second he noted many untruths, and authorities of the holy Scriptures and the Fathers falsified.

Doctrines.

Among his *dangerous points* he placed this saying for one, "That certain of the things which they [*i. e.* he and "his party] stood upon were such, that if every hair of "their heads were a life, they ought to afford them in "their defence." Whereby, saith our author, they would insinuate, that this Church of England did maintain some damnable doctrines. Another, that if the Church be considered in the whole and general government, and outward policy of it, it might be pure and unspotted: which, said Whitgift, smelt of an Anabaptistical fancy. Again, that many things are both commanded and forbidden, of which there is no express mention in the word, which are as necessary to be followed or avoided, as those whereof express mention is made: which sounded, said Whitgift, to the confirmation of the very foundation of all Papistry. Another of the notes he made of Cartwright's doctrines was, that it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies unto the Turks, which were afar off, than to Papists, which were so near. Again, that not

BOOK I. Anno 1573.

only the dignity, but the being of the Sacrament of Baptism depended upon this, whether he be a Minister or no that did minister it. Whence it must follow, as Whitgift inferred, that numbers supposed to be baptized, were not baptized. And then it must of necessity follow, that they ought to be rebaptized: which was plainly Anabaptism. Further, that the life of the Sacrament depended upon the preaching of the word. He excluded the children of excommunicated persons, and professed Papists, from the Sacrament of Baptism, until they were able to make a confession of their faith. That princes must subject themselves unto the Church, to submit their sceptres, and throw down their crowns before the Church, and to lick the dust of the feet of the Church. And by the Church, said our author, he meant the Presbyterian and eldership. So that he would, said he, have princes in as great bondage to his *seniors*, as ever they were to the Pope. Once more, that the government of the commonwealth must be framed according to the government of the Church. And he affirmed, said Whitgift, that the government of the Church was aristocratical, or popular. These, and divers others, were the particular dangerous doctrines noted by our Doctor, gathered up and found in Cartwright's book.

Untruths, and authors falsified.

Some of the *untruths*, and *falsified authorities*, noted by our Doctor, contained in the said Reply, were such as these: That he said it appeared in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, that the feast of tabernacles that was commanded of the Lord to be celebrated every year, was not celebrated from the days of Joshua the son of Nun, until the return of the people from their captivity: which, saith Whitgift, was a manifest untruth, as was evident from Ezra iii. 4. Again, Josias was alleged for Hezekias. The word *especially* was added to the text, 1 Cor. x. *Give none offence*, &c. especially, *to the Church of God.* He op-
57 posed Ignatius and Tertullian, to Ambrose and Augustin; whereas these latter fully agreed with those former. He falsified the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iii. and untruly translated them: which words (as by him cited) were,

And being tried, let them execute their function, as long as they be found blameless. But neither Greek, Latin, nor English, did so read it. Nor did St. Paul speak there of deposing Ministers or Deacons, [which he urged that text for,] but for electing them. I refer the reader to Whitgift's book for the rest. The last, which is in number the fifty-first, was, that Cartwright in his book said, that St. John in his Apocalypse, reprehending the Ministers of divers Churches, did not put his name unto his book. A manifest untruth: for he added his name (as Whitgift saith, and every body almost knows) both in the beginning and in the end; and thrice in the first chapter, and once in the last. And lastly, our author laid to his charge "his manifest wresting of the Scripture, [whereof, "for shew, his margins were crowded,] his wrong collec- "tions, bold assertions, contrary to the practice of the "Church and truth; and in a word, notorious untruths "affirmed by him concerning the Answer to the Admoni- "tion." Anno 1573.

And whereas Cartwright had abounded in untrue interpretations of the Answer itself, so likewise in reproaches and contempts of the Answerer: which in like manner he thought good to take notice of. As where in one place of Cartwright's book he spake of Whitgift's "bearing out "himself, by the credit of his doctorship and deanery," he thus modestly answered, "That he did not depend "upon the credit of his degree of Doctor, or dignity of "Dean; but said with St. Augustin, Let Scripture be "compared with Scripture, reason with reason, authority "with authority, cause with cause; and let us both ac- "cording to the same be judged." And when in another place he had reproached Dr. Whitgift for his logic, and told the reader, "he would give him a taste of Whitgift's "logic;" he thus soberly and humbly answered, (after having shewn it was not his but Cartwright's own devised argument, to feed his contempt and disdain, "Bidding "him to deal but with him uprightly and honestly, and "then let him set down his unskilfulness, and spare not, Whitgift's Answers to Cartwright's reproaches. Def. p. 779. Def. p. 35.

BOOK I.

Anno 1573.

"as he trusted he would do to the uttermost in every "point, if he could; seeing he did it where there was no "occasion at all offered by him, but imagined by himself,) "'Well,' added he, 'let these quarrels go, more meet to "be among boys than among men. *Gratia Dei sum quod "sum.* Neither have I any thing, but what I have re- "ceived of him, from whom cometh all good things.'"

The Defence approved of.

This Defence (as it well deserved) had a general approbation among the learned, and such as were not violently prepossessed. And this approbation Whitgift divers years after, upon a particular occasion, was forced himself to mention. For when the disaffected to the ecclesiastical government of this Church had blown about slanders in abundance against him, when Archbishop of Canterbury, for his pressing subscription in the year 1586. One of those slanders was, that he did it for the maintenance of his book, that he so earnestly required uniformity by subscription. This gave him occasion in one of his letters to some nobleman to write, how needless that was, since the book had a general and a long approbation, even from the time of the writing of it to that day; asking this question,

Life of Archbishop Whitgift by Paul, p. 44.

"Why he should seek for confirmation of his book, after "twelve years' approbation of it? And that if subscrip- "tion might confirm it, it was confirmed long ago by the "subscription of almost all the Clergy of England:" meaning subscription to the Queen's supremacy, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer, that had been long before now enjoined and submitted to.

Made Dean of Lincoln.

This year the Queen made Dr. Whitgift Dean of Lincoln, intending (as it seems) hereby to reward his excellent and learned pains, in vindication of the Church of England, in its doctrine, worship, and government, in the first reformation of it, upon mature deliberation, in Parliament and Convocation settled and established; which he had so well by his pen maintained, against all the angry innovators.

58 A defence of ecclesiastical government.

I must not be silent here of another little book that came forth now, printed by Binneman (the same that was

the printer of Dr. Whitgift's books) in opposition to the Reply. It seemed to be sent forth soon after that book appeared; that the readers might have a present antidote against the dangerous principles they might imbibe from it: so that it was as a prelude to a fuller and complete consideration of the Reply. This book was called, *A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment, defaced by T. C. in his Reply against Dr. Whitgift.* It treated succinctly of the chief heads in controversy: as, about the Ministers of the Church, Bishops and Archbishops; their livings; their courts; their dispensations; their meddling in civil causes: concerning Ministers' apparel; of the customs and ceremonies used in this Church; as keeping holy days; kneeling at the receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and in the other Sacrament, the interrogatories demanded, the sign of the cross, &c. which hath been taken notice of elsewhere; whither I refer the reader.

Anno 1573.

Archbishop Parker's Life, p. 463.

There is one act more of Dr. Whitgift, which I find under this year, that it may be remembered in his commendation, *viz.* in regard of his care of the college whereof he was Master, and his concern for the good estate of it: I mean, in keeping the Lord Treasurer Burghley their good and fast patron, as also the other great Counsellor, the Lord Keeper Bacon. For upon occasion of requesting a favour from him, for one of their members, he procured a college letter well penned in Latin, signed by himself and the eight Seniors, to be sent to him in the month of July; gratefully acknowledging the benefit they had received, and expressing their continued dependance upon his favour.

Lord Treasurer a patron of Trinity college by Whitgift's means.

Quantam et quàm certam spem bonitatis et clementiæ tuæ, erga nos semper concepimus (honoratissime Domine) speramus, &c. That is, "That there was now no need for "them to endeavour by any long verbal protestations or "many arguments, to express the great and certain hope "they had always entertained of his goodness and cle- "mency towards them of that college. For whom, in all "their cases and controversies of right often emerging,

Letter from the Master and Seniors of Trinity college to the Lord Treasurer.

BOOK I.

Anno 1573.

"should they use as their singular patron and advocate, "besides him, and the honourable and his intimate friend, "the Lord Nicolas Bacon? That none else they had cho- "sen, however they feared that they had been sometimes "too troublesome both to his benevolence and clemency; "the one so singular towards them, the other so extensive "to all: that they had neither been satiated with the "multitude of his favours received, nor satisfied with the "greatness of them: that he had so often testified his "good-will in their greatest and weightiest affairs, that "they were not only not over-solicitous concerning them- "selves for the time to come, but dared to intercede with "his Honour sometimes even for others," &c.

A controversy in Magdalen college referred to him.

Dr. Kelk.

Our Doctor, by reason of his wisdom and discretion, together with his long experience in the laws and customs of the University, was often employed as an arbitrator in disputes and complaints arising there; as now he was: a contest happening in Magdalen college, against the Master, Roger Kelk, D.D. by some of the college. This Kelk had been an exile under Queen Mary, and Master of the college from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; much esteemed by the Lord Burghley, who bore an old good-will to him. And for all that space of fourteen years he had governed the house well, and kept it in quietness and good accord. Insomuch that that college had been "a "virgin unspotted, and free from all contention," for so many years; as he, in a letter to the said Lord, expressed it.

Feb. 28, 1573.

But now, after so long a peaceable government, two Masters of Art, and as many Bachelors, arise up, and accuse him of some arbitrary dealings; but unjustly and untruly. He spake in his said letter of the rash and affectionate attempts of youth, (that he might say no worse,) and which were not unknown to him [their Chancellor] in those dangerous days, [when they were so infected with novelties,] *non tantùm insurgendo, sed gloriando contra Seniorem.* The ground of all this seems to have been, the Master's late deprivation of Mr. Newcomen, one of the Fellows; because he came not in legally and statutably: which act of his, he

59

the next morning opened before all the Fellows; and shewed the causes to be neither trifles nor toys, (as the other party seemed to have alleged to the Lord Burghley,) and that his dealing with him was orderly, and according to statute. For, as the Master informed the said Lord, that though the Queen had the nomination of two fellowships in that college; the Master appointed two unto her, of whom she nominated one. Now it seems there was this irregular practice then taken up, that when one of the Queen's fellowships fell void, they would run to Court, and obtain of some friend there to procure a letter from the Queen to the college, to accept of such an one to fill that room, as was in her right to nominate to. Now this was an apparent abuse, and contrary to the statute. And Newcomen seemed thus to have intruded into a fellowship; and in this legal method was discharged by the Master. Who therefore desired the said Lord, and Chancellor of the University, (and to whom Newcomen had appealed,) that this abuse might be redressed; and that if there happened any such vacation, the foundation might be kept, and their suit stayed, [who should thus sue to the Queen, without giving any knowledge of it first to the Master, or without his consent and approbation,] until the Master, according to the foundation, might be certified thereof. For that their number being so few, such creeping in without his consent might make much contention. This was another Cambridge matter, which the Chancellor thought fit to commit to the prudent decision of our Doctor with the Vice-Chancellor; and both contending persons consented thereto, he being known to be so able and just: and in fine ended it to both their satisfactions.

BOOK I.

CHAP. XI.

Dr. Whitgift preaches before the Queen. The contents of that sermon. Is Vice-Chancellor. Sent to the Chancellor about an University statute. His Defence replied to by Cartwright. Who vindicates himself from Whitgift's reflections. Extols his discipline. Approves of contention in this cause. Some other passages in his book, noted. Dr. Whitaker's judgment of Cartwright's book. Another part of Cartwright's Second Reply comes forth, anno 1577. *The contents thereof.*

Anno 1574. IN the midst of these contests, wherein our Divine was engaged with Cartwright and the Platformers, he was called to preach before the Queen at Greenwich, March 26. Whose sermon was so well approved of, that it was printed, and entitled, *A godly Sermon:* lately reprinted. Wherein he levelled his discourse against these controversies now so hotly exercising the peace of the Church, and undermining the principles of the Reformation: fixing a suitable sentence of Scripture on the title page, viz. *Sectemini veritatem in charitate.* The text was taken out of St. John, chap. vi. *Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered them, and said, Verily, verily, I said unto you, Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracle, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labour not for the meat that perisheth; but for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life.* In which words he shewed two things generally to be considered: the one was, the question of the people; the other, the answer of Christ. In the people's question were three things especially to be noted; *viz.* their inconstancy, their flattery, and their curiosity. In Christ's answer, he observed a reprehension, and an exhortation. And all these particulars the Preacher made use of seasonably, to reflect upon the present set of Puritans that made such disturbance at this time in the Church; and by their plausible behaviour and doctrines rendered themselves very agreeable to, and admired by,

Dr. Whitgift preaches before the Queen.

the common people; plainly unfolding them and their principles, in that great and solemn auditory. Which might have been the cause of publishing his sermon; *viz.* to undeceive the people, and to shew, indeed, what dangerous persons these new reformers were, and how much evil lay under their goodly pretences. Anno 1574.

Thus, speaking of the first head, the *inconstancy* of the multitude, he had these words. "These be the causes "why they are so much delighted with novelty, so ready "to embrace any strange and new kind of doctrine. "These, I say, be the causes, why one and the same "thing and person cannot long please them. These "causes, he assigned, were the people's following affec- "tion, rather than reason: and being sooner carried away "with opinion and fancy, than with sure proofs and cer- "tain knowledge." And then giving some instances of the fickleness and inconstancy of the multitude, that were delighted with novelty and new invented opinions; and applying to this purpose that of St. Paul to Timothy, concerning the times, when they would not abide sound doctrine, and heap up to themselves teachers, according to their own desires, 2 Tim. iv. "This, he said, he spake "for two principal causes. The one was, that no man "depend upon the judgment and opinion of the people, "which is so inconstant and variable. The other was, to "admonish the people of God to take heed of this crime, "whereunto they were so naturally inclined, *viz.* not to "be carried away with every wind of doctrine: not to be "delighted with such teachers as studied to satisfy their "foolish affection, &c. but rather to be constant in the "truth that they have embraced; to hold fast the Gos- "pel, that is and hath been truly preached to them; "and always to remember that which the Spirit of God "spake, Apoc. iii. *Hold fast that which thou hast:* be "contented with the doctrine that God of his infinite "mercy hath opened unto thee: lest if thou beest not "therewith contented, but seekest for further novelties,

BOOK I. Anno 1574.

" that which thou hast be taken from thee, and given to " some others that shall more thankfully accept it."

From another property hinted here of the people, *viz.* their *adulation* and *flattery*, " Hereof, said he, we have " too great experience in these our days. For if a man in " some congregation commend the magistrates and such " as be in authority; if he exhort to obedience; if he " move unto peace; if he confirm the rites and orders by " public authority established, (though he do it never so " truly, never so learnedly,) he shall scarce be heard with " patience: but he shall be sent away with all kind of " opprobries and reproach. But if he nip at superiors, " and reprove those that are in authority, (though they be " absent, and not in place to hear;) if he shall inveigh " against laws and orders established, and talk of matters " that tend to contention, rather than to edification, " (though it be done never so untruly, never so unlearn- " edly, as commonly it is,) they flock unto him as bees; " they esteem him as a god; they extol him up into heaven. " Even as the Corinthians and Galatians did their false " prophets and contentious teachers. And yet notwith- " standing do they [*i. e.* these new teachers, whose per- " sons are thus admired] colour and cloak this peevish " and sinister affection with dissembled gesture, counte- " nance, and words, when they be in the presence of those " that may hurt them, or do them good. I would to God, " added he, they did not deceive some, whose office and " duty it were, rather to suppress this fond affection, than " to nourish it: [meaning some even in Court and Privy " Council.] Especially seeing it tended to two principal " evils, disobedience toward the magistrate, and flat anar- " chy."

The third thing he noted in this people was their *curiosity* in asking that vain and frivolous question. And therefore, for avoiding this, he cited St. Paul commanding Timothy, to warn those that were preachers, that they
61 taught no otherwise than the Apostles before had taught

them: that is, that they broached no new and vain opinions. And as to the people, he willeth him to give them warning, that "they gave no ear to fables and genealogies, Anno 1574. "that never have end; but engender questions:" and alleging some Fathers against moving questions; and how all the ancients spake against questions that were moved to stir up strife and contention in the Church of Christ, where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments rightly administered; he added, "I would to God this "vain curiosity had only occupied the Schoolmen, and "contained itself within the Popish Church. I would to "God it had not invaded this Church also. Nay, I would "to God it did not much more trouble the Church of "Christ now, than it did in that time. Forasmuch as "then it was only among those that were learned. Now "it hath invaded the common people, most unapt persons "to deal in such causes."

And then he came particularly to specify some of these questions. "Now it is a question, said he, among them, "whether if a man be certainly persuaded, that he be "moved with the Spirit, whether it be lawful for him to "do any thing that is contrary to the express command-"ment and word of God, as to kill; which once to ima-"gine is extreme wickedness. [Hacket afterwards was of "this principle, and attempted a murder on some such "account.] Which was, he said, a mere Anabaptistical "fancy. Neither was it the Spirit of God, but the spirit of "the Devil, that moveth such cogitations, &c. Likewise, it "is now disputed at every table, whether the magistrate "be of necessity bound to the *judicials* of Moses; [which "was Cartwright's doctrine;] so that he may not punish "otherwise than it is there prescribed; nor pardon any "offence that is there punished. Which was most absurd, "and contrary to all those places of Scripture, that teach "us the abrogation of the law. Besides, that it was con-"trary to the opinion of all learned men. And some of "them (as namely Calvin) did call it a seditious opinion, "as indeed it is: for it tendeth to the overthrow of all or

BOOK I.

Anno 1574.

" at least of the best commonwealths that are now in " Christendom. Moreover," [the Preacher descending to another question now set on foot,] " it is doubted, whe- " ther the magistrate is to be obeyed for conscience sake, " or no: though the Apostle St. Paul hath flatly deter- " mined the matter, Rom. xiii. &c. And the contrary " doctrine must needs root out of the heart the subject's " true obedience. It is also doubted, whether the magis- " trate may prescribe any kind of apparel to the Minister, " without doing unto him some injury. Which is too " much to strengthen the authority of the magistrate.

" To conclude: it is now called in question, whether the " children of Papists and excommunicate persons (not- " withstanding their parents be Christians, and cannot " *amittere baptismum*, lose their baptism; as it is deter- " mined by St. Augustin against the Donatists) ought " to be baptized. And whether the Minister be of the " *essence* and being of baptism: and none to be counted " Ministers, but such as be Preachers: so that whosoever " hath not been baptized of a Minister, of a Preacher, is " not baptized. The which question, and others such like, " (he said,) sprung out of the schools of the Anabaptists; " and tend to the rebaptization of all, or the most part of " those that at this day are living. [A question risen up " again in our days.] With these and such like questions, " partly impious, and partly vain and frivolous, is the " Church of Christ at this day marvellously troubled. " And men, said he, so occupy themselves about them, " that they neglect those things that pertain to their own " salvation, and forget due obedience.

" Yea, as he went on, it is come to such extremity, that " if any do withstand them in these questions, he shall be " counted a worldling, a flatterer, a Papist: neither shall " any thing be omitted, that shall sound to his reproach. " But on the other side, if a man consent unto them in " such opinions, though he be an usurer, an whoremonger, " an extortioner, a rioter, a swearer, &c. yet shall he be " counted zealous and godly. Therefore he exhorted all

" that were godly indeed, to take heed of this curiosity; " knowing that it hath always been accounted a manifest " note and token of a contentious nature, to make such " stirs, and to move such controversies about external " things in the Church, where the Gospel is truly preached, 62 " and the Sacraments rightly administered."

From our Saviour's answer to this people, reprehending their adulation and flattering kind of questioning with him, our Preacher dehorted ecclesiastical persons from this vice; " Not to open their ears to flatterers, nor to " hunt after popular fame and commendation. Because " it drew from the truth, and cast them into error. It " engendered in them pride and arrogance, the root and " mother of all sects, schisms, contentions, and heresies. " For while the people commend their lives and doctrine; " whilst they call hypocrisy, holiness; arrogancy, simpli- " city; wrath, zeal; disobedience, conscience; schism, unity; " words, matter; ignorance, learning; darkness, light; it " so puffeth up the minds of their teachers with an opin- " ion of themselves, that they dare be bold to propound " any thing, so that it taste of novelty, and please the " people; though it tend to the disturbance of the Church, " the contempt of magistrates, and the breach of good " laws and orders."

From our Saviour's reproof of them that sought him for their own ends; he made them to be such, " whose " religion consisted in words, not in works; in contention, " not peace; in contempt, not in obedience; who under " the pretence of zeal, sought their own liberty; under " the colour of religion, sought confusion; and with the " shadow of reformation, cloaked and covered their usury, " their ambition, their minds desirous to spoil the Church, " &c. Such there had been (he said) in this Church of " England, even within our memory; who while there was " some commodity to be looked for by the dissolution of " monasteries, and such like places, were bitter enemies " to the Pope, and pretended to be earnest professors of

BOOK I. Anno 1574.

"the Gospel. But the same men afterwards (when "this hope was past, and the time now come, that they "must suffer for the Gospel, and leave that which before "they had gotten) did not only not profess it, but per- "secuted those that were professors. And may there "not be such, think you, (as he added,) at this time, "who would not seem only to favour the Gospel, but "very earnestly to seek reformation, only because they "see the New Platform tend to the spoil of colleges, "churches, bishoprics, &c. whereby they suppose they "may procure unto themselves no small advantage? "Surely, it were to be thought, that if they were once "frustrate of this hope, the wayward and contentious zeal "of many would soon decrease. And how should we "otherwise judge of divers, who being scarcely as yet de- "livered from the suspicion of Papists in matters of sub- "stance, should now seem to condemn this Church of "imperfection, because it retaineth some accidents used in "Papism. And of those, who, when as they could never "abide such as have hitherto faithfully planted and "preached the Gospel in this kingdom, would now seem "fautors and patrons of those who are wholly occupied in "disturbing and disquieting the peace of the Church. Or "of those, who having in them no sparkle of godliness, "being drunkards, swearers, &c. being, I say, of so large "a conscience towards themselves, yet were so precise in "other men's doings, that they could not abide to have "them wear, no not a square cap."

And then quoting a place out of St. Chrysostom, concerning this people in the text, that minded the filling of their bellies, our Divine alluded to it in these words: "O ye covetous persons, and desirous of the spoil, we "have taught you more necessary points of religion, than "those that are now preached unto you. We have ex- "horted you to repentance and to amendment of life. "We have taught you the true doctrine of justification, "the true and right use of the Sacraments. We have con-

"futed the erroneous and damnable points of Papistical "doctrine, as transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, "purgatory, worshipping of images, praying to saints, the "Pope's supremacy, and such like. And you have not be- "lieved us, nor hearkened unto us. But now we begin to "teach you these things that tend to your own commodity, "and to contention, you magnify us, you commend us, "you make us gods; nay, you make us *devils*. For you "puff us up with vainglory, that we know not ourselves." Anno 1574. And so descending at last into a practical discourse from the last words of the text, of preferring heavenly things before those of this world, he concluded his sermon. 63

I have been the larger in the relation of this sermon, because it is historical, and will let us into the knowledge of this faction, so prevalent at this time, and of the teachers and favourers of it, their methods, practices, and ill designs, at least of many of them; and what just apprehensions wise men therefore had of the issue thereof.

In this year Dr. Whitgift bare the office of Vice-Chancellor the second time.

Employed by the University to the Chancellor, to moderate a statute.

The latter end of this year, he was entrusted (in a letter of credence, dated February 19.) by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, with a message to their Chancellor, to moderate a statute; whereby the University was not allowed a power to dispense in giving of degrees, nor to make any difference among the members, according to their merits. That as for those that remained in the University, they held it reasonable that they should do all their exercises; but for such as were gone out of the University, and who before their departure had conversed in it with praise for their learning and diligence, and had afterward served the commonwealth with commendation, and had still given testimony of their learning, not at Cambridge only, but in the whole kingdom; it was thought hard to tie them to scholastical exercises. They [the Heads] were loath to refuse them their honourable degrees, when they sued for them without doing their exercises, enjoined by the tenor of the statute. This law, they said further, did not seem suffici-

BOOK I.

ently to consult the splendor and dignity of the University. And they desired the change, or rather mitigation, of that Anno 1574. statute. And that foreigners also, when they came among them, might receive degrees from them: whereby they might invite to their University many very eminent for piety, and excellent in the knowledge of arts. This whole matter the Heads left to Dr. Whitgift, by word of mouth, to discourse more at large with the Lord Burghley about. To whom they prayed him to give as much credit, as he should think to be given to their own letters, touching the manner how it might be done. This letter of the Heads, deserving, as I judged, to be preserved, I have translated from Latin into English, and placed among the records at the end of the book.

Number XVIII.

Anno 1575. Mr. Cartwright thought it would not stand with the honour of himself, nor of his cause, if Dr. Whitgift's Defence should remain unanswered. Therefore in the year 1575 came forth Cartwright's answer to Dr. Whitgift's said book. It was printed in quarto, in such a kind of black letter, as might make one judge it done in Holland, unless it were by some secret press in England. For such these Disciplinarians now had, for the better uttering and spreading their principles. It was entitled, *The Second Reply of T. C. against Dr. Whitgift's Second Answer, touching the Church Discipline;* with these two sentences of the Prophet, (which T. C. would plausibly draw to his own quarrel, in vindication of his and his party's unpeaceableness and clamour against the established worship,) *For Sion's sake I will not hold my tongue; for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof break forth as the light*, &c. Es. lxii. 1. and verse 6, 7. *Ye are the Lord's remembrancers: keep not silence.* The book commenceth with a long Preface, *To the Church of England, and all that love the truth in it.* And after that follows another Epistle to the Reader. In that to the Church of England he hath these passages, speaking of Dr. Whitgift; "That "in his first book, second edition, he dealt with him as "certain beasts did; which pursued, cast forth behind

Cartwright's Second Reply to Dr. Whitgift's Defence.

Sic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2.

" them an intolerable savour, whereby to affray their hunt-
" ers from further chasing them. That indeed they were
" very unpleasant; but the good savour of the truth, and Anno 1575.
" of his own honest behaviour in things Whitgift accused
" him of, had by the grace of God so comforted all the
" senses of his mind, that his adversary had not escaped
" by this his policy." I leave the reader to judge of the civility of this similitude.

64 Personal reflections upon him, answered.

Then he betook himself to answer some personal reflections, which Dr. Whitgift had cast upon him; which was the *savour* he so decently expressed himself by. One was, that he had not taken on him the Order of Priesthood, being Fellow of Trinity college, as he ought to have done by virtue of his oath, or else to depart the college. To which Cartwright answered, " That it was a mere cavil. For
" that the meaning of the statute of the house was to pro-
" vide, that men should not turn their studies to other
" professions, as of law, &c. but that they should be, to
" furnish the college with such a number of preachers: of
" which, he said, he was one as soon as he entered. And
" that neither was there any duty of ministry, which the
" college could require of him, that he was not enabled to
" do, according to the laws of the Church of England, by
" virtue of that ministry which he had received, [being
" then in Deacons Orders.] So that the law itself (as
" that whose meaning was fulfilled) did not require it.
" Also, that the corruption of the law, or at least of the
" interpretation, binding men to beg a ministry, (and
" thereby after a sort to testify of themselves that they
" were fit for it,) might, after knowledge that he ought not
" to beg it, justly keep him back."

Whitgift said, that he ambitiously desired to be the Queen's Divinity Reader. He answered, " That he never
" opened his lips for it." And that if he had, he asked how he knew that he did it *ambitiously?*

Whitgift said, that he earnestly desired the degree of doctorship. He answered, " That therein he moved no-
" thing, but yielded only to the request of certain friends.

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

" And that before his grace was propounded in the schools, " he had the advice of more than a dozen learned Min- " isters; who, considering that he had the office of a Doctor " [*i. e.* a teacher] in the University, were of opinion, that " for the good they esteemed might be done thereby, he " might swallow the fond and idle ceremonies that accom- " panied it."

Whitgift said, that he had forsaken the ministry; and that he preached here and there, where he thought good, and yet condemned it [*viz.* such a wandering ministry] in others. To both which charges Cartwright said he had answered in his book.

Whitgift said, that he refused his conference. Cartwright answered, " It was untrue. And that he had offered him- " self to his private conference. Which although he had " promised, yet under pretence that he [Cartwright] was " incorrigible, he would not perform. And he added fur- " ther, that it was meet that doctrine he had taught " openly should be defended openly. And besides that, " he also went to two of the University Doctors to be con- " ferred with."

Whitgift indeed (he said) offered him private conference by writing. To which Cartwright in answer said, " That " having before experience of his unfaithfulness, he re- " fused it."

Whitgift, after he was put out of the college, accused him for going up and down idly, doing no good, but living at other men's tables. To which Cartwright in answer said, " That he lived indeed at other men's tables, having no " house nor wife of his own: but not without their desire, " and with small delight of his own, for fear of evil tongues. " And that towards some he went about instructing their " children, partly in the principles of religion, partly in " other learning."

For the manner of his writing, Whitgift said, it consisted wholly of other men's notes and extractions, and that he had scarcely read one of the authors which he had alleged. Yea, and that he also contemned them. Namely, Mr. Noel's

Catechism, &c. Cartwright answered, "That as to that "wherein the question was of great reading, he let it pass. "For if Whitgift were learned, and he not, Whitgift had "read them all, and he scarce one; it would easily appear "to the learned. Besides, that it touched not the cause: "only he admonished him, that he did it hereafter with "better ground. And that notwithstanding (it was like) "Whitgift hunted him with more hounds than he did him; "yet besides those places, he confessed himself to have "read, he noted not many: and that excepted of Jerome, "mistaken for Musculus, not one truly." CHAP. XI. Anno 1575.

Whitgift charged him of unbrotherhood, unfaithfulness, and want of good-will towards him. Cartwright answered, "That he used not Whitgift as Master of the college, be- "cause he had not used him as Fellow. But he asked him, "wherein this breach of duty consisted? For if he owed "Whitgift fidelity, he owed it more unto the Lord; if good- "will, the truth must be preferred; if the Master of Trinity "be a friend, the truth was more so." This was the sum of his Epistle to the Church of England. 65

In his Epistle to his Reader he set himself to commend his discipline; and he asketh, how it came to pass that Arians, Valentinians, and Anabaptists, in divers sorts, with such other detestable heretics, were so rife in many places of the land? "Was it not, therefore, that there was no el- "dership which might assist the pastor to espy them out; "no pastor able to give substantial reasons to convince "them; no authority there, to decide of them; or after "decision, by ecclesiastical censures to punish them?" He asked again, "Whereof it came that horrible blas- "pheming the holy and most reverend name of God, quar- "reling and fighting, drunkenness, filthy speaking, forni- "cation, adultery, slandering, and such like, ran over al- "most in every place; of which some were so open, that "there was no night or corners sought to hide them, but "were done in the high streets, and at noondays; yea, "(which was fearful,) that often there was more danger to "them that reproved these faults, than to those which Commends his Discipline.

BOOK I. Anno 1575.

" committed them? Was it not hereof, that there was no " eldership to watch over these offences, to admonish the " offenders, and by ecclesiastical censures to correct them?" Again he asketh, " Whereof came it, that in so many ex- " cellent laws provided against rogues and beggars, there " were yet (to the manifest breach of the law of God, and " hazard of the commonwealth) such numbers of them? " Was it not hereof, that the office of Deacons (which God " had ordained for that purpose, the bare name remaining) " was abolished? And that the Lord would give no bless- " ing to those good laws, because his order was neglected. " Finally, hereof it came, that having a gracious Prince " maintaining, and her honourable Council favouring, the " preaching of the Gospel; and so long and quiet peace, " apt for the furtherance of it; there was, notwithstanding, " so small service of God, that saving a few, (which the " Lord had gathered,) for the general state of the realm, the " Gospel might seem hitherto to have shined for further " condemnation of it, than for light and heat of salvation " joined therewith. What price, therefore, (saith he,) we " set upon the glory of God; what account we make of " the salvation of our own country; that estimation we " must keep of the discipline of God, left unto us by the " holy Apostles."

Sin and wickedness prevailing under the Discipline.

So that one would conclude, (if I may be permitted to make a short reflection hereupon,) that wheresoever this Platform prevailed, there would be a new heaven and a new earth, wherein only righteousness should dwell. But that it had not any such effect, appeared by the great complaints that were made of much impiety, abuse, and disorder, even there where it had taken place. The divers letters of Bullinger and Gualter, chief Ministers of Helvetia, written about this time to some of our Bishops, shew this abundantly. It was set up at Embden, where one Hart was Minister, who writ secretly concerning the managers of the people, to his friend Mr. Field, in London; " That " corruption, by custom, was so strong, that none could " abide the yoke: that he would wonder to see what gross

Surv. of the Discipl. p. 452. and 457.

" things the best Ministers did clean devour; and those of
" the middle sort did earnestly stand and plead for: and
" that if he saw the confused state of the churches in those Anno 1575.
" countries, he would say, that England (how bad soever)
" were a paradise in comparison." And even in Scotland, Surv. of the Discipl. p. 459.
where the people were, for the most part, subject to the discipline set up in its perfection, a great preacher, and a person of chief estimation among them, in some sermons of his that were printed, complained most grievously, " that the country was heavily diseased; that the sins of " the land craved that all pulpits should sound judgment; " that if one looked to the growth of sin, more ugly sins " were never committed; that the land was overburdened " with the birth of iniquity; that the best had taken a " loathing of the word of God, &c. that there was commit- 66
" ed slaughter in great measure, oppression, murder, with-
" out mercy; law and equity trampled under foot, &c."

In fine, Cartwright, in this his Epistle, took notice how some (otherwise well-affected to the cause) thought it better to wave this controversy about the discipline of the Church, for the sake of peace; considering the great contentions, disturbances, and breaches of love it had already and might still occasion. These desired the cause might gain; but, through a mind abhorring from contention, stood further off from it than otherwise they would. To these he gave this answer: " That the state of man is not so " happy, to obtain any excellent thing without strife, &c. " That the dangerous assault which this cause suffered at " Geneva was worthy their consideration. For albeit the " contention there was not in judgment only, and in words, " but with great disorders and tumults, to the present dan- " ger of the city; yet Mr. Calvin, and other faithful servants " of God, offered themselves, not only to the loss of their " ministry and banishment, but even to death, rather than " they would go one foot back from the truth of the disci- " pline which they had learned out of the word of God, " which had been rashly done, if the matter had been of so " small importance. As though for the redeeming of peace

Cartwright is for keeping the contention on foot; considering the cause.

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

"they might have let the cause of the discipline fall, or "laid it aside until a fitter time. That there were (for "which he thanked God) no tumults nor uproars with "them; and he trusted there should be no more: but as "it was not lawful (he said) for them to move any; so to "withdraw the hand from defence of the cause, for fear "of them to be moved by others, was against duty.

Takes example by Geneva.

And then he brought in the example of Geneva, to justify any contentions, if they should happen in this case: "That the whole state of the city, from the highest to the "lowest, (among which were also the greatest part of the "Ministers,) was bent against it; yet two or three simple "men, scarce able to train their legs after them, having "none other armour than the truth and a good conscience, "stood for it: that if flesh and blood should sit here in "judgment, the field were lost, or ever it were begun; the "friends of the discipline should, for that they took the de-"fence in hand, be accounted fools; for that they would "not compound the matter, mad men! But what was the "issue? The Lord so magnified his word in the hand of "his servants, that after trial of their patience by divers "troubles, the captains against it came to shameful ends: "a number yielded; the rest that continued their enmity "durst not shew it; the truth itself was established; and "so, to the singular commendation of the city, remained. "And shall we, added he, in so great a number, whose "hearts the Lord hath inclined to favour this cause, de-"spair? Especially, seeing it was easier to be established "here, than it was with them; and might here be settled "without so much as a dog moving his tongue; which "was not there without great uproars. Here wholesome "laws pass, when the most part consent; and that only "the hundredth part, with us, weighed down all the rest." Thus did he magnify his own party, the better to keep up the spirit of contention in others.

Some taste of Cartwright's Second Reply.

And now to give some taste of the book itself, I shall cull out only some passages. Concerning Dr. Whitgift's alleging some of the Fathers on his side, Cartwright called

the urging of their authority, *intolerable tyranny:* "And "forsomuch as the Fathers erred, they ought to have no "further credit, than their authority is warranted by the "word of God and good reason. That therefore the An- "swerer, [Dr. Whitgift,] who pressed their bare authority, "without any warrant of the word of God, or assistance of "good reason, either brought of himself, or fetched from "them, brought an intolerable tyranny into the Church of "God." His language was generally very rude and abusive of the Doctor; as, "That he used such open false "accusations, as he might seem thereby to have striven for "the mastery thereof with the father of them." Again, "To let pass his correction of the order of my reasoning, "whereby he maketh himself more ridiculous to all which "have a grain of knowledge that ways." And a little after, "The reason whereof is more known, than that the "Doctor, without blushing, ought thus to be ignorant of." Further, "To pass by his ignorance of calling the Jews, at "that time *infidels*, the only people of God; which deserv- "eth the whip." Once more, "When I say the life of the "Sacraments dependeth upon the word preached, the Doc- "tor saith, it is a foul error. No marvel, according to his "black divinity." These are a few of his unbecoming expressions towards the Queen's Chaplain, a Dignitary of the Church, the Master of a college, and that had been Public Professor of Divinity in the University.

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1575.

Sec. Reply, p. 349.

67

In short, his conclusion of this his Second Reply was to this tenor: "Thus we are, by the grace of God, come to "an end of this treatise. Wherein let the reader judge, "whether it hath not been proved, that the offices of Arch- "bishops and Archdeacons be unlawful: that they came "not into the Church three hundred years after the ascen- "sion of our Saviour Christ. That their names are like- "wise unlawful by the word, forbidden by ancient coun- "cils, not to be found in any ancient writing for four hun- "dred years approached. Further, whether that every "congregation ought to have a Bishop: that one only "Minister may have two or more benefices: that they

Cartwright's conclusion of his Second Reply.

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

" ought all to have like titles and authority: that in their " meetings, for order sake, one by consent of the rest go- " vern that action in such sort as is declared: that all these " points of the Bishop have ground of the word of God: " and most of them shewed to have remained sometime " after the Apostles: and that traced long after. Finally, " whether even the elder Bishops, when they were declined " from the sincerity of God's ordinance; and the Archbi- " shops and Archdeacons, which he never ordained, were " much more tolerable than ours; and those whose " authority was without comparison less, and pomp none " at all."

Dr. Whitaker's judgment of Cartwright's book.

When this book, writ with so much loftiness and conceit, shewed itself abroad, it was considered, whether it were adviseable to give an answer to it: but the argument having been so largely and satisfactorily treated of by our Doctor before, and so little of substance and so much of railing in this Reply, it was concluded, no further public notice should be taken of it. When the judgment of a very learned man of the University, well read in ecclesiastical writers, and the Queen's Public Professor of Divinity, (I mean Dr. Whitaker, who was thought also some favourer of Puritanism,) was demanded concerning this book, he thus in a Latin letter wrote his thoughts of it, as Dr. Bancroft, and Sir George Paul from him, hath preserved it to us.

Surv. of Discipl. p. 379. Edit. 1593.

Quem Cartwrightus nuper emisit libellum, ejus magnam partem perlegi. Ne vivam, siquid unquam viderim dissolutius, ac pænè puerilius. Verborum satis ille quidem lautam ac novam supellectilem habet, rerum omnino nullam, quantum ego judicare possum. Deinde, non modò perversè de principis in rebus sacris atque ecclesiasticis authoritate sentit: sed in Papistarum etiam castra transfugit: a quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali dissidere. Verum nec in hac causa ferendus, sed aliis etiam in partibus, tela a Papistis mutuatur. Denique ut de Ambrosio dixit Hieronymus, verbis ludit, sententiis dormitat, et planè indignus est, qui a quopiam docto refutetur. Thus trans-

lated by Dr. Bancroft: "I have read a great part of that "book which Mr. Cartwright hath lately published, [*viz.* "this Second Reply.] I pray God I live not, if ever I saw "any thing more loosely written, and almost more child- "ishly. It is true, that for words he hath great store, and "those both fine and new; but for matter, as far as I can "judge, he is altogether barren. Moreover, he doth not "only think perversely of the authority of princes in causes "ecclesiastical, but also flieth into the Papists' holds; from "whom he would be thought to dissent with a mortal ha- "tred. But in this point he is not to be endured: and in "other parts also he borroweth his arguments from the "Papists. To conclude, as Jerome said of Ambrose, he "playeth with words, and is lame in his sentiments; and "is altogether unworthy to be confuted by any man of "learning."

Anno 1575.

This censure Whitaker writ about the time he began to write against Campion the Jesuit, when he had attained unto full ripeness of judgment. And, as Dr. Bancroft judged, he never gave a righter censure of any book in his life. And that Cartwright was to thank Whitaker for giving his judgment touching his great bundle of shreds, as that Divine thought fit to call his book. 68

But this book, it seems, was but half of Cartwright's intended Second Reply. For being now fled abroad out of the kingdom, he printed there the other half in the year 1577, bearing this title, *The rest of the Second Reply of Thomas Cartwright, against Master Dr. Whitgift's Answer, touching the Church Discipline; Imprinted* MDLXXVII. In the *Preface to the Reader* he made excuse, that this part came not out before. And that in respect of the distance that he was now removed so far from whence he was, and the alteration of the place where he remained before. "But "that as for the cause itself, he never feared, he said, lest "it should come too often into the field. For although "through the poverty of the defenders thereof she came "never so naked and unarmed, yet the Lord had set such "a majesty in her countenance, that as with one of her

Cartwright printeth all the rest of his Second Reply.

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

" eyes she ravished into her love those that were desirous " of the truth in this behalf, so with the other she so " astonished her enemies, as if they were cast into a dead " sleep. In such sort, that the stoutest of them, when they " come to the fight, could not find their hands." So much in love was Cartwright with his own discipline; and so confident in his cause.

And then, in justification of his writing, he proceeded, saying, " That he saw not, how he could persuade himself " to have the quantity of a grain of mustard-seed of true " love towards God, (which was to be measured by our " affection towards his truth,) if unto the truth labouring " and travailing in this point he should deny his simple " help. Adding, that verily it were a daintiness and deli- " cacy untolerable, if he should not afford the loss of a little " ease and commodity unto that, whereunto his life it- " self, if it had been asked, was due: and if he should " grudge to dwell in another corner of the world, for that " cause, for the which he ought to be ready altogether to " depart out of it. And that it was not the least part of " his comfort, that in this vacation from his ministry the " Lord had not suffered him to be altogether idle; but " employed him, if not in griffing and setting, &c. yet in " hedging and ditching about the orchard of his Church. " And lastly, he assured himself, that the same cause which " had brought this displeasure was able (if need were) to " set him in favour again. And this, he said, was to an- " swer them which, not misliking the cause, might esteem " his labour out of season, for that either (in their judg- " ment) he strove against the stream, or else for that he " deprived himself of commodities."

The subjects handled in this second part.

In this second part of his Second Reply, he discoursed of these matters according to the titles they bare. As, Against civil offices in ecclesiastical persons. That the Church government by an eldership in every congregation is by the ordinance of God, and perpetual. That excommunication belongeth not to the Bishop alone. Of the office of Deacons. Against the corruptions in doctrine touching

the holy Sacraments. Which was divided into two chapters. The first whereof is, Against the sacrilege of private persons, and women especially, administering the holy Sacrament of Baptism. The second, Of the corruptions in doctrine about the holy Communion. Of the authority of the civil magistrate in causes ecclesiastical. Of the inconvenience of ceremonies used in the Church of England. This discourse is divided into two parts: the first whereof is of the general faults; the other of the particular. The first chapter of the first part, That the Church in indifferent ceremonies ought not to be conformed unto the Popish synagogues. The second chapter, That the Churches ought to be conformed to the examples of one another. The third chapter, Another great fault of the Service-Book, that it maintaineth an unpreaching ministry. The fourth chapter, the third fault, That the fruit that might otherwise be taken of the Service is not received, by reason that the Minister readeth, some in the hither, some in the upper part of the chancel, as far from the people as the wall will let him go. The second part; The first chapter whereof being of holy days. The first part of which chapter is, Of the ceremonies. Of the Easter, Nativity, and Whitsun holydays. The second part, Of saints' days. The second chapter, Of the faults touching prayer. The first part of this chapter, Touching the faults in the matter: the second part, Touching the faults in the form of our prayers. The third chapter of the second part, Of ministering the holy Sacrament in private houses. The fourth chapter, Touching the ceremonies in Baptism. The second part of this chapter, Of confirmation of children, and women's churching. The fifth chapter, Of ceremonies about the holy Communion. The sixth chapter, Of the ceremonies in the solemnization of marriage. The seventh chapter, Touching the ceremonies in burial. The eighth chapter, Of the surplice and other apparel, taken from Popery. The ninth chapter, Of the name of *Priest*.

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1575.

69

BOOK I.

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1575.

Whitgift in commission to examine and appease contests in St John's college. Visited by the Bishop of Ely. The old statutes to be amended. The Master of that college abused in a common place. Whitgift's judgment thereof. His thoughts of an endeavour of taking away impropriations from bishoprics, and of holding but one benefice. The Bishop of Ely's troubles, by reason of his revenues. Whitgift encourageth him.

Contest in St. John's college, referred to Dr. Whitgift, and others.

DOCTOR Whitgift was appointed this year, with some others of the Heads of colleges, to interpose in St. John's college, where there had been great animosities and differences; and that upon account of their statutes. Both the ordinary visitor, Cox, Bishop of Ely, and Cecil, the Chancellor of the University, (once of that house, and still a favourer of it,) had been concerned in these broils; whereunto a great Puritan faction there gave occasion. It seems to have been a contention between the Master and the Fellows; and an endeavour in them to remove him, under pretence of some statute of their college. And it was an observation that Dr. Perne made once to the Lord Burghley, that the men of St. John's were cunning practitioners, in shaking off their Masters and Heads. Two years after they did their endeavour to free themselves of Mr. Shepheard, their Master. This their once beloved Master, their Ποιμὴν, their true *Shepheard*, as his name imported, chosen by the unanimous consent of the college, and according to their oath the fittest and properest man in their judgments that could be for the place, as they writ to Cecil, anno 1569, when he first became their Master: not long after, (*viz.* anno 1573,) they are weary of him; make great complaints against him; and by the sentence of the college eject him from being their Master. The chief reason whereof (among a great many other picked quarrels) was his absence from the college: "That their statutes required "a man of wisdom and counsel, and that should procure "the good of the college, *corpore et oculis*. But he went

The Fellows endeavour to free themselves of Mr. Shepheard their Master.

"whither his own private business called him away, and "cast away all care of the college; very often travelled "abroad longer than he ought: and so their law, as a re- Anno 1575. "venger of them, removed him, who by his long absence "had first removed himself." This was the substance of the Fellows' letters to the Lord Burghley, their Patron. And withal, they mention divers misdemeanors of their Master, many things done by him contrary to their statutes; many things done by violence. And so at length desired his Lordship to nominate another worthy man to them to succeed him.

70

The effect of the Bishop of Ely's visitation of the college.

The advantage the Fellows took of their Master was, that the last year he was absent sixteen weeks, and this [*viz.* 1573.] he was absent fifteen weeks; whereas the statute allowed but twelve. They had also drawn up articles of complaint against him; which they preferred to the Bishop of Ely, their Visitor. But the statutes giving such countenance to the Fellows against their Master, and occasioning so much contest, which lasted to this present year, this Bishop (as well as Bishop Grindal before) had moved that they might be altered, and new statutes sent to the college. Dr. Perne, before mentioned, who had taken notice of this inconvenience, told the abovesaid Lord, that a new statute he hoped would help to alter that case, that longer absence should not be allowed but with this *proviso*, viz. without *great and sufficient cause*. The said Bishop of Ely, who had visited the college, and seen how contentions grew, and were nourished there, contrived means for the putting an end thereto; and Dr. Ithel, Master of Jesus college, being his Chancellor, he employed therein. And by him knowing well the state of the matter, ordered him to go up to the said Lord with his letter to him; importing, "That the Fellows affected to maintain a popular "state in the house; and for that purpose, the Seniors held "together, that the Master could do nothing without them. "And that when disorders were to be punished, they would "hardly, and sometimes not at all, be brought to consent "thereto, but to maintain their old liberty, as they called

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

"it. He therefore advised a commission to be directed to "some able and grave men of the University that they "two should name, to reform the state of the house. And "these Commissioners to hear and determine all contro- "versies during the imperfection of the statutes. And he "and the same Lord should be in the same commission "themselves. The said Commissioners to be empowered "to remove any officer and Fellow from their office or fel- "lowship, as occasion should be found. And, without the "election of the Master and Fellows of the house, to place "such persons in their rooms, as might be by them thought "most meet."

Dr. Still made Master of St. John's by the Commissioners.

The Bishop accordingly nominated Dr. Ithel, Dr. Harvey, Dr. Perne, and our Doctor, for Commissioners. And this commission, thus seasonably proposed by the Bishop, took place, (but not before the year 1576,) Mr. Shepheard was removed; and Dr. Still, a Fellow of our Doctor's college, (and, as it seems, by his interest,) became Master of St. John's college. And there was a congratulatory letter sent from the college to the Lord Burghley, not long after Dr. Still's promotion thither; recommending their said new Master to the said Lord's favour, *serâ gratulatione*, though somewhat late, giving this reason thereof, *Academia intermissa, peste grassante;* the University breaking up by the reason of the plague.

The statutes, and other things, regulated by virtue of a commission.

The old statutes of the college were interlined, blotted, blurred; and marginal notes made, and set there, by such as had been heads of factions among them. And by this means the statutes were corrupted and changed. For this cause, according to Bishop Cox's advice, the Queen issued her commission to the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of the University, to the said Bishop, Dr. Whitgift, and other Doctors before mentioned, being Heads of colleges, to visit the state of that college; and to reduce the statutes to their ancient true state; and to punish such as could be proved authors of those corruptions and alterations; and to reform the occasion of those factions in the college; and to restore the college to quietness; and to direct the scho-

lars to observe the laws of the realm for divine service in the Church. And this restoring of the statutes the Commissioners did accordingly set upon and perform; and did other things, according as they were hereby authorized, for the regulation of that college from time to time. For this commission obtained from the Queen, the visitors made use of afterwards as they saw differences and disorders springing up in that body. And it lasted, and was in force, even after Dr. Whitgift was made Bishop. Who, I find, was employed sometimes upon occasion in matters of that college, by virtue thereof. CHAP. XII. Anno 1575.

I shall here subjoin a particular passage that happened this busy and contentious year in this college of St. John's, which may shew the little affection of the Fellows toward their Master. The public behaviour of one of the members (however slily insinuated) was so disrespectful and abusive, that it was brought before our Doctor and some other Heads to judge of. One Cock, Fellow of this house, being, by the statute *De Lectione Biblii*, to do certain exercises, as well common-place as other reading, began to read upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, as he had before upon the Epistle to the Romans: and here he took occasion craftily to speak certain things that reflected upon the Master. He makes this *proheme* to his following discourse: "That he was in a "doubt what he should discourse on. That if he should "consult with his auditors in this point, they would suggest "as many arguments as there was variety of minds. That "the superior would bid him speak of the inferior, in this "sort: Tell him of his duty; shew him what an evil dis-"obedience is, &c." Then he brings in his favourite, the inferior. "Well, saith the inferior, and thus may I be blam-"ed; but the evil you make no end of beginneth not so: "it is from a higher head, and from thence am I derived. "The superior leadeth not forward. I will set my steps by "the brightness of the light: and the light in him is no "better than darkness. Well may he sing of *mercy and* "*judgment*, Psalm ci. [a text it is probable the Master had "common-placed upon] as who but he in the way of godli-

71 The Master of St. John's abused in a common-place. Whitgift's judgment of it. MSS. Academ.

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

"ness? But I see his gait; he treadeth not so. My heart "telleth me he trippeth short. He doth alike as doth the "deceiver. His life is like a market, where is gain. Make "him better, and then mend you me. Tell him his duty "and guiding with indifferency. Charge him with his oath, "&c." For these and many such like expressions, (the sense no doubt of himself and the other discontented Fellows,) Cock was accused before the Master; but afterward acquitted by the testimony of those that heard him: but our Doctor, together with Hawford and Goad, two other Heads, advised and willed that he should revoke what he had said *sub virtute juramenti*, in a particular form and manner of retracting, to be drawn up as should be thought convenient: to which they subscribed their names. But this, it seems, this Fellow refused to do; and sent the copy of his common-place to the Chancellor, (to whom he seems to have appealed,) for him to judge of the innocency of what he had then said. And that any other may judge of it, it may be read at large in the Appendix. Num. XIX.

His thoughts of tithes in Bishops' hands, to be settled upon poor livings.

There was a plausible design now carrying on, for the better provision to be made for the poor estate of the Clergy; and that to be done by the tithes that were, by impropriations, in the hands of the Bishops or other spiritual men; to the manifest prejudice of episcopal sees, cathedral churches, and colleges: and that none of the Clergy should have more benefices than one. And a writing was framed to that purpose, very probable to make way for a bill or petition, at the next session of Parliament, now suddenly to meet, *viz.* in February following. This the Bishop of Ely communicated to our Doctor in the month of December, with his desire that he would peruse it; and for his advice, and endeavour to prevent it, by framing some answer to it. There is a letter extant in the Bodleian library (and printed not many years ago) of our Doctor's writing, to the said Bishop on that argument; where he lets him know, "That he had not then the leisure he wished, to peruse that script that his Lordship sent him. That the matter was worthy to be dealt in, and

Case of impropriat. by Dr. Kennet. Append. No. IX.

" very necessary to be considered. And he wished to God " the like care and circumspection were in many others, " that was in his Lordship. That the time and state of the " Church required it. That as touching impropriations, " he thought they were very warily to be dealt in. For " considering how that every man sought to pull from the " Church; how also the temporalty did envy any prospe- " rity in the Clergy; and what enemies the most part of " them were to the cathedral churches, bishoprics, colleges, " and other places of learning; and that the most part of " these consisted of impropriations; he feared, lest under " the pretence of reforming the one, the dissolution and " utter undoing of all the other would be sought for. " Which, he added, would be the ruin of the Church at 72 " last, the fall of religion, and the decay of learning. He " observed, that only the Clergy should be plagued there- " by. For the temporal men would still keep their interests " in their leases, that they had in such impropriations, as " he himself perceived by some conferences that he had " with some great men in that matter. That it stood them " [of the Clergy] in hand to be circumspect. For that it " would be the policy of some, under fair promises and " pretences, to procure that they themselves should be the " authors of their own harms. That this was a certain " and sure principle, that the temporalty would not lose " one jot of their commodity in any respect, to better the " livings of the Church. And therefore his judgment was, " to keep that they had; for better they should not be; " they might be worse; and that he thought by many was " intended.

" Again, where it is said, if the men [of the Church] " joined benefice to benefice, &c. he acknowledged that " was to be reproved in such as had no care in doing their " duties, not in such as laboured and were diligent. And " that it was better and more for the profit of the Church " that some had many, than other some one. Moreover, " that it was to be considered, how long and injurious " leases there were of the most part of ecclesiastical liv-

BOOK I.

Anno 1575.

"ings, dignities, prebends, and benefices; so that that "living which was worth to the farmer 200 marks, was "not worth to the incumbent 20*l.* as he himself was able "to prove in divers and sundry such kind of livings: "seeing also, that men had not nowadays that con- "science in paying their duties, that they had in times "past. Besides many other commodities that were wont "to be incident to such livings, which were now utterly "taken away. So that except it were lawful for men to "join more livings together, you should have a beggarly "Clergy; which would be the decay of learning, religion, "and in time of the Church also. For that there would "not be many meet livings for learned men, beside a few "bishoprics. Wherefore he thought that such things, "where they were amiss, were rather to be reformed in "the persons that were not worthy of them, than by any "common rule. In a word, that the temporalty sought to "make the Clergy beggars, that they might depend upon "them. And this would be one means whereby they pur- "posed to bring it to pass."

I have set down the whole contents of our Doctor's thoughts upon this argument, though it be published already, (the printed book being perhaps not so ready for every reader to have present recourse unto,) that the reader may comprehend the sense of this our reverend and prudent Divine in respect of the revenues of the Church: and how apprehensive he was of the designs of the Puritans, with whom the lay-gentry joined, to impoverish and render contemptible God's Ministers, out of a plausible pretence: and what mischief he saw must accrue to the Church and the state of learning thereby. And he promised the said Bishop, that for his part he would be ready to do any thing that might do good; and that for the matters contained in the treatise he sent him, he would bestow some pains [in examining and answering] as he could get leisure.

Slanders of the Bishop of Ely.

In this letter Dr. Whitgift took notice of the Bishop of Ely's present troubles, which he called his *persecution*.

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1575.

Now (to give some account thereof) the troubles of the said Bishop arose chiefly from the Lord Roger North, (though the Bishop had conferred on him the stewardship of the Isle of Ely,) because he refused to let him have a lease of the fair of the manor of Somersham. He became now his open adversary; got a great many articles of accusation against him; loaded him with a number of pretended wrongs and injuries done by him to others; and by such kind of false suggestions had endeavoured to raise the Queen's indignation against him. The said Lord had given out, that he would try what he could do against him by law, by the Council, and by Parliament; threatened to get a commission from the Queen to search and ransack all his doings since his first entrance into his bishopric; and gave out that he had found already plentiful matter against him. The Queen's Council had signified to the Bi- 73
shop, that there were great complaints against him, and that he must be called before them to make his answer. "And all this was only, (as he complained in a secret let- "ter to his friend the Lord Treasurer,) *ad deplumandum* "*graculum Æsopicum, quem indignum putant alienis or-* "*nari plumis?* If we had, said he, no lordships nor ma- "nors, we should never be troubled; but if we have them "by needful, godly, and charitable order and just law, *Væ* "*illis qui nobis negotium facessunt.*" And making a reflection upon these his adversaries, many whereof were such as cried out for a purer reformation, he added, "If "Church lands were dispersed, their reformation would "soon be at an end." The good Bishop thought himself bound in conscience to preserve the revenues of his bishopric to the Church. For great gaping there had been for his houses and manors, which he still opposed: but fearing the consequences of the spite of the foresaid angry Lord, he got as many of the accusations and complaints against him as he could; and then made a full answer, which it seems were presented to the Queen's Council, and gave them satisfaction. Both the articles and answers are still extant, and in my custody, and may hereafter be

Raised against him, because of his revenues which were sought for.

BOOK I. published; whereby may be seen, both how maliciously false they were, and how the Bishop's piety, charity, and
Anno 1575. care of the see and its possessions, were the ground and cause of all his molestation.

This was the persecution of malice that Dr. Whitgift took notice of in his abovementioned letter to the Bishop:
Dr. Whitgift comforts him. "praying God to make him strong, and to give him the "spirit of boldness and fortitude this time of his *persecu-* "*tion:* for so, he said, he must needs call it. For though "he thanked God there was not now a persecution *gladio,* "by the *sword*; yet how fierce the persecution was *lin-* "*gua et dolo,* (as St. Augustin called it,) *i. e.* by *slander* "and *deceit,* could not be unknown to any, especially to "his Lordship who tasted of them."

CHAP. XIII.

Dr. Whitgift endeavours to stop buying and selling of places in the University. Writes to the Lord Treasurer for that purpose. Exact in the college statutes. His resolution of a case against certain Libertines. Nominated for Bishop of Worcester. His care for a fit man to succeed him in Trinity college. Dr. Still promoted to that place. In what state he left St. John's. The good and quiet condition Whitgift leaves Trinity college in. His good discipline and example there. Gives plate and manuscripts to the college. His deserts towards the University.

Anno 1576. THE year 1576 was the last year the University enjoyed this their useful Head, being ere long to be preferred to a bishopric.

Prevents buying and selling of places in the University. And this year he became an instrument of further excellent service to it; which was by endeavouring to stop the buying and selling of places; whereby not learning and merit were regarded so much as men's purses. Monies

were given for scholarships, and gratifications for fellowships, to such as left them, from such as succeeded in them: and this was practised even in Dr. Whitgift's college. The Parliament, 18 Eliz. had lately taken notice of this abuse, a bill having been brought in against buying and selling rooms and places in schools and colleges, which, upon what occasion soever it was, the Queen declined to confirm at that time, and that by the means of the Lord Treasurer, though it had passed both houses. 74

But to see what our Doctor now did endeavour in this necessary matter. In the beginning of this year he moved earnestly for the remedy of this evil practice, in a letter which he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, as he had lately been with him in London, treating on other University concernments, so now this matter, he told him, was not unworthy his considering. The tenor of his letter (which was dated March 28.) was, "That it had pleased her Ma- "jesty (and that as he thought through his Lordship's per- "suasion) to stay that act, which was intended against the "buying and selling of scholarships and fellowships." [Done upon this good reason, it seems, to preserve the reputation of the University, that such a practice might not be so publicly laid upon them, to their infamy, and especially at this time; and so it appears by what our Doctor adds, *viz.*] "That it was surely very graciously done. For "it would have remained unto all posterity, as a perpetual "note of ignominy to both Universities; and also a great "slander to the Gospel. Besides, that the fault of some "colleges would have seemed to be common to the rest. "But that unless it should please his Lordship to procure "some strait order to be taken against such corruption, "the staying of that act would rather animate those that "were evil disposed, to go on in their corrupt dealing. "For it could not be denied, but that such corruption had "been used in some colleges, even in Cambridge, though "it were directly contrary to their oaths and the statutes. "And that it was to be feared, lest the example of some "caused others to challenge unto themselves the like

His letter to the Lord Treasurer on that occasion.

BOOK I.

Anno 1576.

"liberty, especially in these days, wherein men were bent "so much to unlawful and extraordinary gain. And that it "began to be an ordinary practice for Fellows of colleges, "when they were not disposed to continue, to resign up their "fellowships for sums of money, which as it was slander- "ous, he said, to the University, so it was against all good "dealing, and in time would be the cause of much evil: "wherefore he urged this Lord, [as Chancellor of the Uni- "versity,] either by his letters to the University, or other- "wise as he should think fit, to give strait charge against "all such kind of dealing. And then he trusted the thing "would be reformed."

An act 31 Eliz. for granting places in the University freely, according to merit.

But it seems the Chancellor's letters to that purpose (for we need not doubt so good a motion was neglected by him) took not place; since there was a bill brought in Parliament many years after (*viz.* 1589.) against this very abuse, and passed into an act; where by the preamble it appears, that notwithstanding the Founders of colleges, collegiate churches, &c. the election, presentation, and nomination of Fellows, Scholars, &c. to have rooms and places in the same, were to be had and made of the fittest and most meet persons, being capable of the same elections, freely, without any reward, gift, or thing given or taken for the same; and for the performance whereof, the electors, presenters, and nominators in the same had or should take a corporal oath to make their elections accordingly: yet notwithstanding it was seen and found by experience, that the said elections, &c. were many times wrought and brought to pass with money, gifts, and rewards, whereby the fittest persons to be elected, presented, or nominated, wanting money or friends, were seldom or not at all preferred; contrary to the good meaning of the Founders, and the good institutes of the colleges, churches, schools, and the great prejudice of learning and the commonwealth, and state of the realm. And then followed penalties to be inflicted upon the defaulters, for the effectual preventing this evil practice for the future.

The Master of Trinity college was very exact in seeing

to the observation of the statutes of his house: insomuch that when one Christopher Hayward, a Fellow of that house, was for some breach of statute expelled, otherwise a person of some merit, and in holy Orders, he could by no means get admittance again; and but small favour, though the Chancellor of the University interceded for him to the Master, *viz.* that if he might not be restored, something might by the college be granted him. The Master told the said Lord, that he had, to the uttermost of his power, dealt with the company for him to have Enfield vicarage, but he could not prevail; and that they had a general misliking of him. And that the benefice being of some value, they were loath to let go their interests therein; especially in these days, wherein competent livings were so hard to be directly [he meant, without gift or bargain] obtained. He added, that he could not urge them against statute; [which our Master was always a rigorous observer of.] But that if Mr. Hayward could be content to take St. Michael's in Cambridge, he would obtain it for him; and further, himself help him the best he could: but he was so wilful, that no reasonable offer would serve him, neither could he move him to any good order. And, in conclusion, beseeched his Lordship not to think any thing amiss in him, if the other still continued in his importunity: as he had done; having disobliged the Master in the rejection of St. Michael's, because it was but 10*l.* a year stipend: which gratuity therefore of the college he advisedly refused, as he had told the abovesaid Lord. I set down this particular act, to shew the behaviour of the Master in his careful and exact government of his college, and his prudent regard of the members of it.

Anno 1576.

Exact in executing the college statutes.

75

Enfield vicarage.

St. Michael's.

A case of conscience was this year sent in a letter by one R. Bird, to our Doctor to resolve; particularly, I suppose, directed to him, as being so learned a Professor of Divinity. This Bird seems to have been some Minister in or about Walden in Essex, who had to deal with some sectaries, that place abounding with a sort of *pure* brethren, that reckoned themselves absolutely freed from the

Two questions stated by certain *libertines*, answered by Whitgift. MSS. Lambeth.

BOOK I.

Anno 1576.

whole law of Moses; and so consequently from any obligation to the moral law. That so he, by the learning of Dr. Whitgift, might the better be able to manage his discourse with this sect. The questions were two. I. Whether the whole law of Moses was given particularly to the Jews or no? II. Whether, if it were given both to Jews and Gentiles, it be abrogated by Christ's coming, in whole or in part? These were these men's captious questions offered, to bring one to acknowledge that Christians are not subject to the moral law. Whitgift gave a long answer by way of letter to that man. To meet with a sort of *libertines* that said, We have nothing to do with Moses, we are free by the law of Christ; Whitgift bade Bird answer them, "We have nothing to do with Moses's cere-"monial and judicial laws: whereof the one was given "for a certain time, the other for a certain nation. But "touching the moral law, which is the perfection of the law "of nature, and afterwards was written in tables of stone, "being the rule of God's justice; that remaineth for ever. "Secondly, We are indeed free, but not from the obedience "of the law, but from the curse of the law. And therefore "rather *free*, to serve God, and love our neighbour.

Pure and *spiritual* brethren.

"He prayed him, if he met with any of these *pure* and "*spiritual* brethren, to ask them this question, Whether "we ought to love God with all our hearts, and our neigh-"bours as ourselves? Then go forward with them, If this "be our duty, why is it not lawful for us to know how we "should perform the same?"

Whitgift nominated for Bishop of Worcester.

He was this year appointed by the Queen to succeed Nicolas Bullingham, deceased, in the see of Worcester; she knowing well his great deserts towards this Church, and excellent abilities in learning and government; which were things nowadays specially regarded in appointing Bishops over the churches: according to an observation made by an eminent learned gentleman in the north, (in a manuscript tract presented to the Lord Treasurer,) "That "England was praised by Erasmus, because their choice "was made of their Bishops for gravity and learning;

Choice made of Bishops. MS. Descript. of

" whereas other countries did it more for birth and politic " respects of worldly affairs. And let me add what follows, " that he wished the Bishops would make as good choice " of discreet Ministers. For by such, said he, we see daily " that our country people [in Yorkshire] are easily drawn " to amendment of manners and religion; where the un- " discreet do daily drive them away. Learning and persua- " sion will little avail with our people, if love and good life " be absent. And when these Bishops have set up good " lights, they must be as vigilant to snuff their candles, or " else some will wax dim with worldly desires." But this is but digression.

Anno 1576. Yorkshire, by James Rither.

76

Now one of his cares was, for a fit man to succeed him in Trinity college. And in order to leave a well qualified person in his room to govern the college, he recommended the affair to the great patron of the whole University, the Lord Burghley. He suggested to him, that whosoever came into that place, might be such an one as should make a great conscience to keep the statutes inviolably. Concerning which the Master was obliged to take an oath, and that without any manner of protestation. And one of the statutes was, that the Master was to be a single man: which he mentioned more particularly (among other statutes for the Master) with an eye, as I conjecture, to exclude some person or other; whether Cartwright, who had still some great friends both in the college and at Court, or any one else; as one Redman, that some had, as it seems, nominated to this place; who, though now single, yet ere long (as he understood) was to be married. And in fine, he recommended Mr. Howland. But though he succeeded not the present Master, yet soon after became the Head of two other colleges successively; and afterwards, for his great merits, was preferred to the bishopric of Peterborough.

His care for one to succeed him in Trinity college.

But I choose to give Dr. Whitgift's advice in his own words: " He that is to be Master of Trinity college taketh " a corporal oath, *se servaturum statuta collegii in omni-* " *bus*, i. e. that he will keep the statutes of the college

His advice to keep to the statute.

BOOK I.

Anno 1576.

" in all things: and the statute saith, that he shall take " his oath *sine ulla protestatione: quod quidem si recusa-* " *verit, eum nullo modo in Magistrum dicti collegii ad-* " *mitti volumus,* i. e. without any protestation: which if " he shall refuse, our will is, that he by no means be ad- " mitted for Master of the said college. And it is, said he, " a plain statute of the college, that neither Master nor " Fellow shall be married. They are, added he, her Ma- " jesty's own statutes under the Great Seal. To dispense " with them would breed sundry inconveniences, as he " should more particularly declare unto his Lordship at " his coming. That he did think Mr. Howland to be a " very fit man for this place; and nothing doubted of " his well doing therein, if it pleased God, and her Ma- " jesty, to like of him." This was dated from Trinity college, the 15th of February.

Dr. Still made Master of Trinity college. Regist. col. Trin.

But this came too late; for Dr. Still had the mastership without his seeking, by some noblemen his friends recommended to the Queen. He was a man of courage and spirit, and kept a strict hand over the growing factionists. He was first a Fellow of Christ's college, then removed to Trinity; and afterward made Master of St. John's. Who, according to the register or ledger-book of Trinity college, now succeeded Dr. Whitgift there, May the 30th, 1577.

Rev. Thomas Baker, coll. D. Joh. Soc.

Which notwithstanding might be a mistake, as a learned member of that University, well versed in the antiquities of it, hath observed, from an order or decree dated June the 3d, the same year; where J. Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, is named among the Heads, with John Meye, nominated Bishop of Carlisle, Doctors Chaderton, Harvey, Ithel, Byng, and Legg, and Masters Howland and Norgate, and Roger Goad, D. D. being then Vice-Chancellor. And this date agreeth better with the accounts at St. John's, Dr. Still leaving that college when he removed to Trinity.

Regist. publ. Acad. Cant. Anno 1577.

His account of himself upon his nomination.

February the 20th, the said Dr. Still applied himself by letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley; (who signified to that Lord his said recommendation to the Queen, and her nomination of him; that so that Lord might not take it

amiss, that he had accepted of that which some of his noble friends and patrons had obtained for him of the Queen, since it was without his seeking, or any ambition of his own, but of their own accord, who addressed the Queen for him.) "That as for his behaviour in the government of "St. John's college, (which that Lord was so tender of, "and inquisitive after, in some late discourse himself had "with him concerning the state of that house,) he affirmed, "that as to the college treasury, since it was committed "to his care, it was in better condition than before; and "that he hoped the good estate of the college would con- "tinue, and be more and more pacified, by virtue of those "new methods that were especially procured by his Lord- "ship. That, for his part, it had been his care and thought "to render that place, formerly so full of complaints and "disturbances, quiet and obedient, and flourishing in all "kind of learning and virtue, as soon as it might conve- "niently be brought to pass. And what he had purposed "to do according to his abilities in the government of that "private college, the same, he said, he had made his busi- "ness to compass to do publicly, in amplifying the estate "of the whole University, both in regard of the peace and "dignity of it. In which he promised to lay out all his "study, labour, and pains.

Anno 1576.

77

"And that he would do especially, as he added, in that "college, which Dr. Whitgift so prudently and peaceably "had governed; and was now, by her Majesty's voice, de- "signed for him. Which being reduced into such a peace- "able state by that most worthy Head, he should have the "less pains and trouble in governing. But promised, that "he should in this, as in all other matters, most carefully "follow the counsel and will of his Lordship. And that "he should find him as obedient and as flexible to his "wisdom as he ought to be, which acknowledged the "same to tend so much to the safety and security of the "whole Church and commonwealth." I have repeated here so much of this well-penned letter of Dr. Still, because it contains such accounts of these two chief colleges,

The peaceable state Whitgift brought the college to.

BOOK I.

and shews the wise and good demeanour of our Doctor in the government of Trinity college. But the whole letter in Latin may be found transcribed in the Appendix.

Anno 1576. Numb. XX.

Howland succeeds Still in St. John's college.

And so, though the Bishop of Wigorn had not his desire in getting Mr. Howland, B. D. to succeed him in that college; yet upon the remove of Still to Trinity from St. John's, Howland came into that mastership, vacant. For there happening another faction there between the senior Fellows, and the juniors, in the electing of a Master to succeed Still; the visitors of that college, *viz.* the Chancellor of the University, our new Bishop of Wigorn, and others of them, recommended the said Howland to the Queen for that place, as a fit person, being a man of gravity and moderation, and of neither party or faction; and she ordered the visitors to propound him in her name to the college's electors, for their Master. And withal, that if they should find the younger sort set upon maintaining their said faction, then by their power to place the said Howland as Master there. And so he was accordingly. And soon after, the whole society sent an epistle of thanks to their Chancellor, professing their great obligations to him, for the great moderation of their most worthy Master set over them.

Whitgift leaves the college in good order.

Thus Dr. Whitgift left Trinity college, which he found very disorderly, and full of quarrels and contests, by his prudent administration, very quiet; and all tumults allayed there. Whereby, as his successor, Dr. Still, told the Lord Burghley, the government of the same college would be the easier to him, since it was now so well settled and brought to a temper by that most worthy Master[a].

Persons of quality and note, bred up by him in the college.

While he governed the college, many eminent persons were bred up there under him, that proved afterwards great lights in the Church, and others as useful in the State. The author of his life mentions Redman, Bishop of Norwich; Babbington, Bishop of Worcester; Budd, Bishop of St. Da-

[a] Quam tanto leviorem fore provinciam animo prospicio, quanto collegium relinquetur ab optimo Præside moderatiori instituto atque ritu temperatum. *Epist. Dr. Still, D. Burghleio.*

vid's; Goldsborough, Bishop of Gloucester; Benet, Bishop of Hereford; the Earls of Worcester and Cumberland; the Lord Zouch; the Lord Dunboy of Ireland; Sir Nicolas and Sir Francis Bacon. To which I may add one more, namely, the son of Sir Nicolas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, who married a Devereux. By whom he had a son, whom the Lord Treasurer Burghley, out of the dear friendship that was between Sir Nicolas and himself, bred up at Westminster school, where he was taken care of by the Dean; and afterwards sent to Trinity college, committing him to Dr. Whitgift's special care. Thence he removed to the Inns of Court, and proved afterwards a very worthy man. Whose second son, the Earl of Essex, his kinsman, took to be bred up with the Viscount, his son, in the same college, because his mother was a Devereux.

Anno 1576.

78

His discipline and example in the college I cannot but repeat from the aforesaid pen: that he held all the scholars to their public disputations and exercises. He never absented from the prayers himself, as for devotion chiefly, so to observe the behaviour and the absence of others, always severely punishing such omissions. He generally eat his meals with the rest in the college-hall; that he might have the more watchful eye over the scholars, and to keep them in awe and obedience; and to teach them likewise to be satisfied with a moderate thrifty diet, such as that of the college was, whereof he was their pattern before their eyes.

His discipline and example there. Life of Whitgift, p. 23.

He gave to this college, as a grateful remembrance of him, (as appears by a manuscript of that college,) a piece of plate partly gilt, and a great many books of the Fathers, the Schoolmen, and Historians, &c. being manuscripts, still remaining there; which, as they are described, were rare, of great value; skilfully and uniformly collected by him. But his services to the college were never wanting, having a very true affection to it.

His gifts to Trinity college.

What reputation and character he also had in the whole University for government, as well as in the college, Sir George Paul hath likewise left a memorial of: for his

His character for his learning there.

BOOK I.

readings and learning I shall set down from his own pen, which Cartwright had forced from him. "Touching my
Anno 1576. "readings in the schools which you opprobriously object
Def. p. 25. "unto me; though I know the University had a far better "opinion of me than I deserve; and that there were a "great many which were in all respects better able to do "that office than myself: yet I trust I did my duty, and "satisfied them. What logic I uttered in my lectures, "and how I read, I refer to their judgments: who surely, "if they suffered me so long to continue in that place, "augmented my stipend for my sake, and were so desirous "to have me still to remain in the function, (reading so "unlearnedly as you would make the world believe I did,) "may be thought to be either without judgment them-"selves, or else had been very careless for that exercise. "Well, I will not speak that which I might justly speak "by this provocation of yours. For I count this either a "heathenish or a childish kind of confuting, to fall from "the matter to the depraving of the person. And so con-"cluding with a prayer, *viz.* God grant that we may both "so well know our gifts and ourselves, that we may ac-"knowledge them to be his, and improve them to the edi-"fying of the Church, and not to disgrace one another." By which last words Dr. Whitgift's modesty and piety may appear, as by the rest the reputation he held for his learning in the University.

New statutes and privileges for the University by him procured.

The new statutes sent to the University, confirmed by the Queen, and the new privileges enacted by Parliament, must be attributed in a great measure to his interests with Cecil the Chancellor, and to his diligence and solicitation at the Court: whereby the University, suppressed and discouraged before, began to flourish in number and in commendable studies; which I choose to set forth in the words of a long scroll concerning the University of Cambridge, printed anno 1572, entitled, *A Description of the Foundation and Privileges of the University;* done, as I suppose, by Dr. Perne and Dr. Caius: where, mentioning the present Chancellor, William Cecil, Knight of the Honourable Order

Description of the Foundation and Privileges of the University.

of the Garter, Lord Burghley, Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, most worthy High Chancellor of the University, it is expressed, "That in his time, both the number of students and good exercises of learning was greatly increased by his godly wisdom and great authority. And that he had not only procured a very good and necessary reformation of the statutes of the University; made and examined with great advice, for the maintenance of learning and good order in all degrees within the said University; the which were made and established by the Queen's authority, under the Great Seal of England, and generally received by the whole University; but also he had for these considerations procured the enlarging and confirmation of the privileges of the said University, by authority of Parliament." Anno 1576. 79

And thus, from being a chief honour and stay of learning in the University, he was called out to serve and govern the Church, his "kind mother measuring out to him all the endowments of her literature, and all her ornaments of dignity, not in a sparing and reserved manner, but most largely and liberally;" as the Heads and Senate of that University congratulated him in an epistle.

The end of the First Book.

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Dr. Whitgift confirmed; and consecrated Bishop of Worcester. Goes to his diocese. The Queen's letter to him to forbid prophecies. Is made Vice-President of Wales. Informs the Council of Papists in those parts, and Masses said. The Council's letter to him on that affair. What he did hereupon. Misrepresented at Court. Clears himself. Concealers come into that country. Hartlebury in danger by means of them: but preserved by the Bishop. His excellent free speech to the Queen in behalf of the revenues of the Church. Obtains the disposal of the prebends of his church of Worcester.

THE election of our Bishop was confirmed, April 16, 1577, in St. Mary le Bow church, London, before Dr. Yale, the Archbishop's Vicar General. And on the Sunday following, April 21, he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, John Bishop of London, Robert Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Bishop of Chichester, assisting: in the presence of John Incent, Register; Bartholomew Clark, LL. D. Official of the Deanery of the Arches; William Drury, Master of the

Anno 1577.

The Bishop elect's confirmation and consecration. Regist. Grind.

BOOK II. Anno 1577.

Prerogative Court; William Lewis, Commissary of the Court of Faculties; William Redmayne, Archdeacon of Canterbury; George Row and Thomas Blage, Domestic Chaplains to his Grace the Archbishop.

Now, according to the custom of the new Bishops in those times, in order to the making of their seals for the signing of their instruments, and for the bringing them into the rank of gentlemen, or ratifying their quality, out of the Office of Heralds was granted him a patent for the bearing of arms, by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Knight of the Garter, bearing date May 2, 1577. In which patent thus his coat is blazoned; *D'or, sur un croix fleurette d'azure quatre beysants.* I have reposited a true copy of the said patent in the Appendix, taken from the Heralds' books.

His patent of arms granted him.

Numb. I.

81 I shall not mention upon whom his preferments, after this his advancement, were conferred. His mastership of Trinity college he held, as we heard before, till June. In which month he was attended from Cambridge, towards his diocese, by the Heads of the colleges, and a numerous train besides of scholars and others; to shew their last honourable respects to a person that had so highly deserved of them. His prebend of Nassington, in the church of Lincoln, valued in the Queen's books at 45*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* came to Hanson, Preacher at Stamford, by means of the Lord Treasurer's letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary: though he had spoke to the Queen before for that preferment, in the behalf of Hugh Broughton, a very remarkable man, being the best scholar for the oriental languages and learning in the world. But he was not minded then to take ecclesiastical preferment, nor to go into holy Orders. For the said Lord sometime before, the more to move him to receive them, had persuaded our Bishop the sooner to resign that prebend, for the gratifying of the said learned man. Yet afterwards he took Orders, upon Whitgift's motion when Archbishop of Canterbury, sending him word, that his taking of another course of life, than that of the ministry, would make men think that he despised the government, [*i. e.* of the Church

Takes his journey from Cambridge to his diocese.

His prebend of Nassington.

Hugh Broughton, the great Orientalist.

by Bishops; which he allowed of,] and be guilty of the same folly with them that opposed it. Divers years after he endeavoured to obtain a prebend in St. Paul's, London, to read the lecture there, (if I mistake not:) and in order to that, addressed a letter to the said Lord Treasurer, reminding him of his former intercession for the procuring him Nassington. But Mr. Broughton's carriage was so haughty, and his temper so rigid and so censorious, that however affected Archbishop Whitgift was towards him, he got no preferment in the Church; which soured his disposition more and more, especially towards Archbishop Whitgift: as we shall have occasion more largely hereafter to shew. CHAP. I. Anno 1577.

This first year of our Bishop, the Queen sent him a letter (as she did to the rest of the Bishops of the province) for the forbidding of the exercises called *prophecies*, as being practices and rites belonging to religion, not established by Parliament and her authority, and opening a door to let in innovation into the established worship. The ordinary way the Queen formerly took, when she had any command or order for her Bishops, was to signify her mind to the Archbishop of the province: and he sent his letters to each Bishop, declaring the Queen's mind and pleasure. But upon the refusal of Archbishop Grindal to do this, and to be instrumental in forbidding these prophecies, being convinced in his conscience of the great good they had done, and being well regulated might still do, (and for which therefore he was suspended by the Queen:) she shewed her supreme power in spirituals remarkably, in sending her letters to the Bishops, without any mediation of an Archbishop. And this was the import of her letter to our Bishop, dated in April, now newly consecrated. The Queen writes to him to forbid prophecies.

"Right reverend Father in God, &c. Considering that "our chief care and study is to see the good laws, which "are set forth for the quiet government of this our realm, "and among other things as the chiefest, that the orders Her letter.

BOOK II. Anno 1577.

" established in the Church, for the advancement of God's " glory, may be duly observed, and an uniform unity main- " tained among the Clergy, and other our good subjects; " which will be the better done and continued by the " diligence of the Ordinary, and by the instruction and " travail about the diocese, by personal visitation, as is " meet; that he may rather see than hear what is meet " to be by him reformed: and understanding that of late " years there hath been used in divers dioceses of this " realm a certain public exercise, or, as they call it, *pro-* " *phesying*, by certain persons pretending a more purity, " by the manner of the doing thereof evil effect hath en- " sued in some places, to our grief, among the unlearned " sort, easy to be carried with novelties.

" Therefore, for certain good causes moving us, we do " will and command you, forthwith upon the receipt here-
82 " of, to make express order throughout all your diocese, " that all such prophecies be forborne; and none other " exercise be suffered to be publicly used than preaching " by persons learned, discreet, conformable and sound in " religion, heard and allowed by you without partiality, " and reading homilies in such sort as is set forth by pub- " lic authority, by the injunction and order of the Book " of Common Prayer.

" And further, that you signify unto us, or to some of our " Privy Council attending about our person, the names of " all persons of what degree soever the same be, that are " the setters forth and maintainers of such exercises, and " in what places, as also of such as shall impugn this " order; and what you shall have done herein from time " to time, hereof not to fail, as ye tender our pleasure, and " will avoid the contrary at your peril."

Made Vice-President of Wales.

Our Bishop was appointed Vice-President of the Marches of Wales, in the absence of Sir Henry Sydney the Lord President, now made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; which place was conferred on him shortly after he was Bishop. For the management of himself in which

place, the Lord Treasurer, his true friend, gave him his counsel, *viz.* not only to write to the Privy Council of all things that happened, but also to be sure not to neglect writing frequent letters of those affairs to the said Lord President. This he told the Bishop by word of mouth at his first entrance upon his office, and afterwards he told a messenger of his the same, "wishing the Bishop to make "the Lord President privy to matters of any moment "committed within that commission, and to write to his "Lordship thereof."

Anno 1577.

The Lord Treasurer's counsel unto him.

I meet with a few passages of the managery of himself in this office; wherein he so demeaned himself, that he had the approbation and thanks of the Lords of the Privy Council, in their letters writ unto him. The Papists were busy in these parts: Mass was said in the house of one Edwards, beads for pardon of sins were distributed about to the people, and *Agnus Dei's;* baptized persons were christened over again; and some buried secretly by night, to avoid the office of burial, with other matters, wherein the Papists exercised their superstitions: which were discovered to him and the Council there in the month of January. The particulars of their dealings he sent to the Privy Council in a memorial, which was as followeth.

Informs the Council of Papists and their doings. MSS. Guil. Petyt. Arm.

At Eyton, January 15, 1578. *Memorandum,* That Thomas Laurence, head schoolmaster of Salop, and Richard Atkys, a third schoolmaster there, came before me George Bromley, [a lawyer, and one of the Council, as it seems, for those Marches,] and uttered their knowledge concerning certain disorders committed in the house of John Edwards, of Thirsk, in the county of Denbigh, and elsewhere by him and others resorting to his house. In short, the sum of the articles were, "That the Lady Throgmorton, wife "of Mr. Justice Throgmorton, and others, heard Mass "in that house. That those that said Mass were five, "and so appareled that they could not be known. That "one Hughes was the chief sayer of Mass: and that he "came from beyond seas: that he taught the son of Sir "John Throgmorton. That these Priests delivered to

BOOK II.

Anno 1578.

"them that heard Mass certain beads, called *pardon-beads*, which were little beads of glass; and which they used to tie at the end of their other beads: and also another monument, which they called *Agnus Dei*. And that they ministered a corporal oath to such as they could draw to their religion, and hearing of their Mass. That they christened children anew; and swore their parents that they should not come to church. That they buried children and other persons by night, because they would not admit nor receive the service now used. That upon St. Winifrid's day, Mrs. Edwards went to Halliwell by night, and there heard Mass in the night season. That they carried thither with them by night, in mails and cloak-bags, all things pertaining to the saying of Mass. And that these Mass-sayers used their audience to receive holy water, and come to confession."

So that these parts of Wales were very much warped towards Popery, and the Popish Mass and ceremonies took place among them, and many converts were made by the Popish Priests that sheltered themselves there, by the favour or connivance of the magistrates thereabouts inhabiting; until the Vice-President now began to stir vigorously against this important matter, wherein the state of religion was so much concerned. He sought therefore, from the Council, for a special commission to him and some of the Welsh Bishops, exclusive of others, to be his assistants; not trusting perhaps to some of the gentlemen, nor to the Justices themselves.

83

Stirs vigorously against Papists in those parts.

The Lords send their letters to him concerning these delinquents.

The Lords of the Council, upon this intelligence, despatched their letters to our Bishop, the Vice-President; giving him and his associates their hearty thanks for their pains in these examinations and discoveries: and sent him order how to proceed in this affair; promising speedily to send him a special commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, that the delinquents might be proceeded with according to law: and that the Justices of Assize, in those countries, should be forbidden to deal in those causes. The tenor of the letter was as followeth.

Anno 1578. The tenor thereof.

"After our hearty commendation: we give unto your "Lordship, and by you unto all others to whom it apper- "taineth, our most hearty thanks for the pains and good "discretion that hath been used in the discovery and "examinations taken, touching those assemblies and "usages in the house of Mr. John Edwards. And for- "asmuch as it is intended, as a matter most necessasy, "to proceed against the offenders in those causes by the "due course of the laws, according to the quality of their "offences; and that for the same purpose there shall be "sent forthwith a special commission of *Oyer* and *Ter-* "*miner:* we do pray your Lordship without more delay "to give order, that the Justices of the Assizes of those "counties where the facts were committed, may be in- "hibited to deal in those causes at this time. And that "also with like diligence you do cause these persons whose "names be contained in a schedule inclosed, to be appre- "hended and severally examined by such as your Lordship "hath already used, and be best acquainted in those mat- "ters. And thereupon to take bands of them in good "sums, to her Majesty's use, to be forthcoming at all "times to answer to their offences: or else to commit "them that shall refuse to deliver such bands. And the "examinations that shall be by these means taken, you "shall cause to be reserved, that the same may serve for "evidence when cause shall require. And so trusting "you will consider what diligence this cause requireth, "we bid you right heartily farewell. From Westminster, "February 17, 1578.

"Your very loving friends,

"W. Burghley. Lincoln. Leycester. Knollys.

"Hatton. Walsingham. Tho. Wylson."

What the Vice-President did in these matters, by special commission.

In pursuance of this order of Council, Edwards was brought before the Bishop of Worcester, the Vice-President, and the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, but refused to give an answer to such things as were demanded of him: but he undertook, that his wife, children, and

BOOK II.

servants, (who had concealed themselves,) should repair unto them; yet afterwards he made frivolous excuses against their appearing too. There was also another examined, whose name was Morice: nor would he answer directly. Of these proceedings the Vice-President sent notice to the Lords, according to their order; and in April following, the Lords gave him their instructions to this effect; that he and the other Bishops, Commissioners, should keep Edwards in close imprisonment, and that they should endeavour to find out and bring forth Edwards's wife and the rest: and to proceed with them all according to law and justice. And that as for Morice, if he remained obstinate, and they saw cause, they might, according to their discretion, cause to be used some kind of torture upon him. And the like order they prayed him to use with the others: and to use the best means they could devise; whereby the very truth of such reconciliations to the Pope, lewd practices and assemblies, might be bolted out and known: which they [the Lords] were informed to have been very many in that country.

Anno 1578.

Orders to him from the Lords.

84

The good Bishop, notwithstanding his diligence in this place, could not escape calumny; and misreports were carried to Court against him: and that (as a matter reflecting upon his government) there were certain murders committed, and other great misdemeanors there in Worcestershire, happening between the friends of Mr. Abingdon, a Papist, a great man, having been cofferer to the late Queen, and one Mr. Talbot. Which disturbance the Lord Treasurer mentioned to the Bishop's servants, that had lately been at Court with him, and signified his desire to them, that he might be informed of the truth thereof. This was intended to render him blameworthy, as negligent of good order in his government, while such violences and breaches of peace were committed publicly. Sir Henry Sydney also (who was now at Court) whose substitute he was, took something amiss from him; as, for not sending him accounts of things done in that place, and seldom writing to him. Of both these complaints the be-

He is misrepresented at Court.

foresaid Lord, who was his cordial friend, gave him to understand by message and letter.

Anno 1578.

Soon after, in the month of January, the Bishop cleared himself to the said Lord of these unjust imputations, by a letter from Ludlow, concerning the former report. "He "assured his Lordship, he could not by any manner hear "or learn any such thing; and that he knew very well "that the report thereof was untrue. And yet, as he "heard say, such a rumour had been spread abroad in "those parts, but by whom, or for what policy, he knew "not. But certain he was, there was no such matter in "Worcestershire. Nor was there any shire within that "commission more quiet, nor in better order at that pre- "sent, than that. But that in Summer last, about Au- "gust, a kinsman of Abingdon, and a certain common "quarreler, would have provoked some of Mr. Talbot's "folks to fight in the city of Worcester. But there was "nothing done, nor any stroke stricken, for any thing he "could hear. And that about the same time, one of Mr. "Talbot's men going to Worcester, was assaulted on the "highway and wounded, and, as it was thought, had been "slain, if help had not come; but the parties presently "fled. Neither did he know them; and his harm which "he received was not great. But that in November last "there was indeed an affray, and two brethren slain, the "sons of one Owen Dim, Justice of Peace. For which "murder there were twelve charged as principals, and five "as accessaries. And process was awarded out of that "Court for them; and as much done therein as they [the "Bishop and Council] could. He added, that he thought "there were as few misdemeanors then committed within "that commission, as had been at any time; and that "those which they heard of, and fell out in proof, were as "severely punished as ever they were, for any thing he "could perceive by any record."

Clears himself in a letter to the Lord Treasurer. Int. Epist. Whitg. penes me.

Then as to the second point, which was in reference to the advice the Lord Treasurer gave him, *viz.* to make the Lord President privy to matters of any moment done

BOOK II.

within that commission, and to write unto his Lordship thereof; "This, he said, declared his [the Lord Trea-
Anno 1578. "surer's] singular care for him, and for the which he most "humbly thanked him. And he remembered the like ad- "vice he had given him by letter immediately upon Sir "Henry's coming to Court; shewing him that he had "not neglected the same. For that as well by their [of "the Council's] common letters, as also by his [the Bi- "shop's] own private, the Lord President was certified of "all things done there. And that they did not at any "time write to the Lords of the Council, but they wrote "also to him, and acquainted him therewith. So that in "that regard he was not, he said, to be blamed, as he "hoped. But that indeed the Lord President wrote sun- "dry letters to them at Ludlow [where the Council for "the Marches sat] at other men's suits: some whereof "he was forced to deny, because they were grounded "upon wrong information. Yet that he did commonly "answer such letters; especially if they required answer.
85 "But, as he added, thereupon it was very like, that some "found themselves grieved, and did their endeavour to "breed some misliking. For that there were divers, as "he informed that Lord to whom he wrote, within that "commission, who thought, by letters and friendship, to "prevail in their evil causes: and that they supposed "that no man dared or ought to withstand them. But "he trusted, as he proceeded, that his Lordship [the Lord "President] would not easily credit such. And that, "where he [the Bishop] lawfully might, he was ready to "yield; but if justice or conscience otherwise required, "he could not consent. For sure he was, that they would "bring a man peace at the last, and never be confounded. "Whereas friendship oftentimes failed, and was very mu- "table." Spoken like a right Christian Bishop and magistrate, steady and unmoveable in honest principles. And so concluded his letter, with a grateful sense of the Lord Treasurer's good-will to him, in these affectionate words: "Truly, my singular good Lord, I do think myself so

"bound unto you for your most friendly or rather fatherly "advertisements, that I cannot devise how to express my "thankfulness; but God, who knoweth all, knoweth my "heart towards you." Anno 1571.

The Concealers come into Worcestershire.

The Concealers, as they called them, that got commissions from the Queen to search for lands and possessions forfeited to the Crown; and who had on those pretences before now vexed the poor Clergy, claiming their revenues, or some parts thereof for the Queen, as concealed lands, and granted to the Church in former times for superstitious uses; and feathering their own nests by these means; some of these came now down into Worcestershire, with a new commission for the said purpose. And the writs they brought, directed to the Vice-President, were delivered to the Sheriff of the county, suspecting the said Vice-President might put some interruption to their proceedings. Among lands that they endeavoured to get, they had in their eye Hartlebury, the chief seat and manor of that bishopric. And the preferrers of this commission had been and were busily occupied to bring this Hartlebury, this fair booty, within the compass of it; being the only thing they shot at, as the Bishop in a letter at the same time signified to his friend the Lord Treasurer, as he was informed; adding, that he trusted they should not prevail; and that if they did, he should have very great wrong done him. For redress whereof, he appealed to the said Lord Treasurer and the Lord Keeper Bacon, both his singular good Lords; not doubting, as he said, to find relief in his cause, as being just and most clear. And concerning these men that were thus employed in this ingrateful business, he told the said Lord, "That there were two kinds of "men which were delighted in molesting and troubling "him, *viz.* the contentious Protestant, and the stubborn "Papist. And that he thought they both joined together in "this act: but he trusted that he was sufficiently armed "against them. He added, that he would be bold to write "unto his Lordship of their proceedings, when he should "hear more. But that, in the mean time, it did something

Hartlebury in danger.

BOOK II.

" trouble him, fearing lest they had some backing by such " as were great, and might do much." Such back-friends Anno 1578. the Bishops and Clergy had now at Court, which our Bishop knew well enough, and feared their influence. " Har- " tlebury, he said, was the only stay of his living; but " that his sure hope was, that might should not overcome " right. And so beseeching God long to continue his " Lordship, and to bless him and all his, he concluded. " Dated from Ludlow, the 19th of January, 1578."

But preserved by the Bishop.

By his letter written in the next month, we may understand how this matter went. Therein he signified to the Lord Treasurer, " That the writ that came out of the " Chancery into the county of Worcester, to inquire of " such lands as the Duke of Northumberland had the 30th " of Henry the VIIIth, or any time sithence, was accord- " ingly executed. And although their chief shooting was " at him, [the Bishop,] as it might appear by sundry of " their doings; yet the jury had not found (neither in " truth could find) any thing within any respect that " hurted him, or could be a prejudice unto him. And " therefore he hoped they would cease from their further 86 " molesting of him. And hereof he thought good to cer- " tify his Lordship: thinking himself so much bound " unto him, for his singular care and goodness towards " him and all his matters, as it was possible for any one " man to be bound to another." And thus the succeeding Bishops of this see are beholden to our Bishop for the preservation of that considerable part of their revenue from being swallowed up by that pestilent sort of men that often vexed the Church in this reign.

His concern for these hardships of the Clergy.

And here I cannot but take notice (though perhaps it fall within the compass of some other year afterwards) of the earnest bold speech of our Prelate spoken to the Queen, (yet with a due deference to her Majesty,) concerning these commissions. It is set down in the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker; and was occasioned by some hot speeches in her presence between him and the Earl of Leicester. The often grants of patents for the finding out

pretended concealed lands to be forfeited to the Queen, deprived the Churchmen, Bishops, and others, of great parts of their revenues, and left the state of the Clergy, by means of those greedy cormorants, (who commonly got these forfeitures to themselves,) in very mean estate. A few years after, Sir Thomas Shirley, one of these patentees, brought in the whole revenue of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich as concealed. Which caused a law-suit for divers years; though at the length, by granting the Knight a lease for ninety-nine years, they retrieved their estate. The particulars whereof I may perhaps relate more at large hereafter.

Anno 1578.

Sir Thomas Shirley, patentee, called in question the whole revenue of the church of Norwich.

I do not know where the abovesaid writer met with this memorable speech of our Bishop; but I will give here some short passages of it, referring the reader to the author for the whole. "He besought her Majesty to hear him with "patience; and to believe, that hers and the Church's "safety were dearer to him than his life: but his con- "science dearer than both. He prayed her, that she "would give him leave to do his duty, and to tell her, "that princes were deputed nursing fathers to the Church, "and owed it a protection. And therefore, God forbid, "said he, that she should be so much as passive in its "ruin, when she might prevent it, or that he should be- "hold it without horror and detestation, or should forbear "to tell her of the sin and danger. That this was an age, "when the primitive piety, and care of the Church's lands, "were much decayed. He beseeched her to consider, that "there were such sins as profaneness and sacrilege. For "if there were not, they could not have names in the holy "Writ, and particularly in the New Testament. He men- "tioned that judiciary act of our Saviour, though he did "not meddle in secular judgment, in making a whip to "drive the profaners out of the temple. And it was a "saying of St. Paul to the Christians of his time, that "were offended with idolatry, *Thou that abhorrest idols,* "*dost thou commit sacrilege?* The consideration whereof "would incline her Majesty to prevent the course thereof.

The Bishop's speech to the Queen against the Concealers. Walton's Life of Hooker.

BOOK II.

Anno 1578.

"That Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and "Helena his mother, that King Edgar, and Edward "the Confessor, and many more of her Majesty's prede- "cessors, and many others, had given to God and his "Church much lands and many immunities, and gave "them as an absolute right and sacrifice to God, and that "with them they had imposed a curse upon the alienators "of them; adding these words, *God prevent your Ma- "jesty from being liable to that curse.* He said further, "that she was entrusted with their preservation. And to "make her the better understand the danger of the curse, "he beseeched her, that she would not forget that the "Church's lands and power had been endeavoured to be "preserved, as far as human reason and the laws of this "nation had been able to preserve them, by an immediate "and most sacred obligation upon the consciences of the "Princes of this realm. That those that consulted Magna "Charta should find, that all her predecessors were at "their coronations, and so was she also, sworn, before the "nobility and Bishops then present, and in the presence "of God, and in his stead, of him that anointed her, to "maintain the Church's lands, and the rights belonging "to it; and this testified openly at the holy altar, by "laying her hand upon the Bible there lying before her.
87 "And that many modern statutes denounced a curse "against those that brake Magna Charta. And what ac- "count could be given for that breach of the oath at the "great day, either by her Majesty or himself, were it wil- "fully or but negligently violated, he knew not."

He prayed her further, "That she would not suffer "certain late exceptions of the Lords against some few "Clergymen to prevail with her to punish posterity: he "said, that particular men should suffer for their parti- "cular errors, but let God and his Church have their "right. That though he pretended not to prophesy, yet he "beseeched posterity to take notice of what was already "become visible in many families, *viz.* that Church lands "added to an ancient inheritance had proved like a moth

"fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both. And "though he ought not to speak reproachfully of her fa- "ther, yet he prayed her to take notice, that a part of the "Church's right, added to the vast treasure left him by "his father [King Henry VII.] had been conceived the "cause of bringing an unavoidable consumption upon "both, notwithstanding all his diligence to prevent it; "and then prayed her further to consider, that after the "violation of those laws, which he had sworn to in Magna "Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, "that he fell into greater sin than he [the Bishop] was "willing to mention." Anno 1578.

He went on, telling her, "That religion was the founda- "tion and cement of human society; and when they that "served at God's altar should be exposed to poverty, then "religion itself would be exposed to scorn, and become "contemptible, as she might observe in too many poor "vicarages of this nation: and in short, that as she was "entrusted, by the late act or acts, with a great power, "either to preserve or waste the Church's lands; dispose "of them for Jesus' sake, said he to her, as the donors "intended. Let neither friends nor flatterers beguile you "to do otherwise; and put a stop to the approaching ruin "of the Church, as you expect comfort at the last day: "for kings must be judged. And so imploring her pardon "for his affectionate plainness, begged still to be conti- "nued in her favour." Words becoming the mouth of a truly apostolical Bishop!

Obtains the disposal of the pre- bends in his church.

There was another grievance that troubled our good Bishop, and that was, that the prebends of his church were not in his dispose, but in the Queen's: whereby it came to pass, that he could not prefer such to be near him, and assistant unto him, that were persons of good learning, and agreeable to him, and whom he might confide in for their abilities to encounter either Papists or Puritans. For the Bishop found a great want of learned preachers in that diocese, to forward Christian knowledge and the established religion, and bring the people off from

BOOK II.

Anno 1578.

Popery; to which a great many in these parts were addicted. He was therefore determined to try his interests with her Majesty, consulting with his great friend the Lord Treasurer the most convenient season to begin it: for thus he wrote to him in the month of February; "That "he would be glad now to begin his suit to her Majesty "for the gift of the prebends of his church of Worcester. "And that since his coming to that bishopric, he had not "one living to bestow, [which was almost two years,] nei- "ther was he in hope ere long to have any; unless it "would please her Majesty to be gracious unto him in "this suit. That it could not be expressed how much "good wise and learned preachers might do in these "quarters: where although there were many very back- "ward, yet the most part were most desirous and willing "to hear. So that if he had, he said, livings to bestow, "he persuaded himself that he could do very much good, "by placing such there as he was purposed by the grace "of God to do. Wherefore for God's sake, (as he ear- "nestly concluded his letter,) for the Church's sake, and "for the commonwealth's sake, I beseech your Lordship "to help forward my suit." This was written from Ludlow, February 5, 1578. And the Bishop succeeded in this his request, by the Queen's favour, and bestowed the prebends of that church during his continuance there.

Writes to the Lord Treasurer about it.

CHAP. II.

88

The Lord President of Wales resumes his office. Abuses in the Queen's fines endeavoured by the Bishop to be remedied. Takes the part of Fabian Philips, an honest man of the Council there; faithful in his trust. The Council's order to him for seminaries. Dangers from them. A Parliament. A petition for reformation of abuses. Our Bishop's answer thereto. Left to our Bishop to nominate Justices for his diocese. A note of Peter Baro, the Lady Margaret Professor. An Act against the Papists. In pursuance thereof the Lords write to him for dealing with them. Opposes the Lord President about a commission. The effects of his conference with Recusants. Interposes for his Clergy.

ABOUT the declining of the next year, *viz.* 1579, Sir Henry Sydney, Lord President of the Marches of Wales, being come into England, was about to go down into those parts, to act again in the commission in his own person. Notice whereof the Lords of the Council gave the Vice-President, by a letter dated in February, which may be found in the Appendix: and therefore that he was to be no longer Vice-President, but as he was before, one of the Council there. It was penned with great respect toward the Bishop; and with their acknowledgments and thanks for his former good service: and that they found very good cause right well to like and allow of his Lordship's doings, while he had exercised that office, as Vice-President: and that they did in her Majesty's behalf, and in their own, yield him right hearty thanks for the same; not doubting, but that his Lordship, as a man faithfully inclined to her Majesty's service, and a Counsellor there, would yield his best assistance to the said Lord President, that now meant to attend that place himself.

Anno 1579.

The Council's thanks to him upon his ceasing to be Vice-President. Number II.

The Vice-President was at this time taking in hand a matter in those parts very beneficial to the Queen. It was about the fines. The officers whereof he observed

BOOK II.

made their own benefit by it, to the Queen's wrong: and his meaning was to have tried the same. But the Lord President coming over from Ireland at this juncture put that business to an end. He signified further to the Lord Treasurer, that his opinion was, ever since he first came to that place, (and as his Lordship partly knew,) that there was great abuse in that office. And his suspicion was increased: but how to reform it, as the case then stood, he could not tell. And [as though the Lord President were minded to stop his proceedings therein] he, the said Lord President, had lately sent for as well the clerks of the fines, as also the auditors' rolls, and books of instruction, as he informed the Lord Treasurer; and what was intended by it, he said, he knew not. But that the truth would hardly appear, unless some were there also to make objections, and to shew the causes of suspicion, touching the account of the fines. And whereas he had not long since set his hand to a patent for the office of fines there, he wished that he [the said Lord Treasurer] would find means to stay it until such time as he might either speak with his Lordship himself, or otherwise signify by his letters some just cause of the stay thereof. All this shews how active and faithful our Bishop was in the Queen's affairs.

Anno 1579. Endeavours to correct abuses in the Queen's fines.

89

And as he was so himself, so he had a particular regard of those of the Council that were honest and stout in the discharge of that trust, and minded the public and her Majesty's benefit, above that of private men. One of these was Mr. Fabian Philipps, whose integrity and courage had been the occasion of many sinister and false reports bruited abroad there; and had, not unlikely, reached to the Court too: but our Bishop interposed seasonably in his behalf, by applying himself to his constant upright friend the Lord Treasurer. Whose words shewing so much of true friendship, where justice and merit required it, I shall repeat:

Takes the part of an honest man of that Council, Fabian Philipps.

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord. It is "told me, that there are hard speeches given out against "Mr. Fabian Philipps, one of this Council, tending to his

The Archbishop's letter in his behalf.

"discredit, and the dislike of his service here. My humble suit to your Lordship is, that if you understand of any such thing, it would please you to suspend your judgment until you hear his answer, and also be a means to others, that he be not condemned in their opinions, before he be heard. For my own part I know not anything, whereupon he can justly be charged, unless it be because he is stout and upright in judgment, and not appliable to satisfy other men's affections and pleasures, as peradventure it is looked for. Truly, my Lord, I find him one and the same man; but I see how hard it is for such to follow the rules of equity and justice, without respect to please all men: and I would to God, it were not altogether contrary." This letter was dated from Ludlow, February 14, 1579.

Faithful to the trust committed to him from the Queen.

Thus did the Bishop play the part of an able and faithful servant to the Queen, in trust, as to the Marches of Wales, by frequent letters of intelligence and advice; and besides his letters, he reserved other things to be told, till he had occasion to come up himself, as at the sessions of Parliament; namely, such matters as required more privacy, and not so safe to be committed to writing, or wherein many words were to be used. As this present year he expected from time to time his own coming up, in respect of the Parliament; which had hitherto caused him to forbear writing to the Lord Treasurer, of divers things worthy and meet to be reformed in that place of government: which indeed, as he said to that Lord, he could not so well express in writing, as he could do by word of mouth. Yet if the Parliament were again prorogued for a time, he promised to send to his Lordship a note thereof.

Consulted with when Archbishop about matters of Wales.

And such was his knowledge of the affairs of Wales, and of the government thereof, that after his remove to Canterbury, his advice was required in matters relating thereto, by Henry Earl of Pembroke, Lord President of the Council there; who having drawn up orders for the better regulation of attorneys and clerks belonging to those courts, sent them to the Lord Treasurer in the month of

BOOK II.

Anno 1579.

April 1587, and referred them to his consideration, and the consideration of the Archbishop; and that because, as he said, he had formerly performed the business of the President of Wales in Sir Henry Sydney's absence in Ireland. And that whatsoever they two should think fit to be altered, he would willingly follow; desiring the said Treasurer to procure of her Majesty allowance of those orders.

Dangers apprehended from Priests sent over from the seminaries.

The seminaries at Doway and other places in Flanders harboured now a great many boys and young persons, that were sent out of England to study there; where they were bred up in principles of rank Popery, and tied under a vow to return, after some time, back again: and others crept in with the Jesuits. All being sent forth into divers parts of this realm, and Ireland, to breed in the minds of the people a belief of the Pope's power over the Queen; and that he might dethrone her, and absolve her subjects from the oath of allegiance to her; and to dissuade them from going to church, and instead thereof to go to Mass; which
90 they privately said. Whereupon many proselytes were made, and withdrew themselves from our divine service and religious worship. And this became so known and observed, that the State was in great apprehension of danger, nay, and of the Queen's life from them. Hence a proclamation came forth in the month of June, to this purpose; "That whosoever had any children, or wards, or kinsmen, or other relations in the parts beyond seas, should after ten days give in their names to the Ordinary; and within four months call them home again. And when they were returned, to give notice thereof to the Ordinary." Those two dangerous Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, came this year into England; so that it was thought highly necessary now to have an eye to the dangers that might ensue hence, and to prevent them; which was the cause of that statute 23 Eliz. anno 1580. *To retain the Queen's subjects in their due obedience.*

The Council send to the Bishop for the

A great many of these seminary Priests skulking in Worcestershire and throughout the diocese of our Bishop, he had, by order of the Queen's Privy Council, sent up a certificate

of the names of such as within his diocese refused to conform themselves in matters of religion, and to come to their parish churches, according to her Majesty's laws. The Bishop did so. But his certificate was not exact for want of full information: which therefore did not satisfy the Council; which caused them to despatch another letter to him, shewing him how imperfect his certificate was: divers of the said persons not being distinctly set down by their Christian and proper names; and the names of the dwellings, mansion-houses, or parishes of others omitted, nor expressed in what shire of his diocese the same were. And besides that, some were mistaken, being certified not to come to church; who afterward had made due proof to the contrary, *viz.* that albeit they did not at all times repair to the parish churches, because of their lawful absence, yet did they commonly, and were well known and well affected that way.

Anno 1580. names of such as absented from church. MSS. G. Pet. Armig.

"Therefore, forasmuch (as the Council proceeded in "their letter) as they were very desirous to have a more "perfect and true certificate made, of the names and qua- "lities of the said persons, which in very deed absented "themselves from the church, and were to be esteemed "and taken as persons refusing to conform themselves in "matters of religion, and to come to divine service at "their parish churches, according to her Majesty's law: "*they* had thought convenient to write once again unto "him in that behalf, requiring him further, upon the re- "ceipt hereof, to inform himself of all such persons in his "diocese as refused to come to the church; and in mak- "ing and perfecting of his certificate, to proceed in order "as followeth:

"First, in calling unto him, for his better assistance in "that shire where he dwelt, such persons as were con- "tained in a schedule hereunto annexed; they required "him, as soon as conveniently he might, to send for all such "persons resident in the shire, whose names he should ei- "ther find contained in the said former certificates, or "should otherwise understand to refuse to come to church,

Their directions to him how to make his certificate.

BOOK II.

Anno 1580.

" and not to conform themselves in matters of religion, ac-
" cording to the laws; and to understand of them, and every
" of them, whether they came to the church, and behaved
" themselves as they ought to do: for how long time they
" had forborne so to do, and for what cause: how many
" there were in their household that did the like; and upon
" what ground: what the yearly living was, or other value
" of substance and goods of the said principal persons was
" thought to be: in what place in every shire they remain-
" ed, and might be had, and where any of them had been,
" or was at this present committed for such cause; also
" to certify their names, and in what places they did
" remain.

" And that, for the rest of the shires in his diocese, for-
" asmuch as he could not conveniently do the same him-
" self, they let him know they had made choice of certain
" other gentlemen, whose names were contained in the
" same schedule: where he should, by virtue of these their
" letters, require upon such further particular information,
" as he should, either out of the former certificate or
" otherwise, deliver unto them, of the names of any such
91 " disaffected persons, to proceed in the like order, as well
" in calling the said parties before them, to know whether
" they did conform themselves, or no; as also to inform
" themselves of the like circumstances of the time of their
" sliding back; place of abode, livelihood, imprisonment,
" or committing, as before is expressed. And that if both
" himself and they should thus particularly have proceeded
" in the matter, then they prayed him to return unto them
" a true and perfect certificate of all his doings, as soon as
" conveniently he might. And so bade him right heartily
" farewell." From Richmond, the xxivth of October, 1580.
These Lords, and others of the Privy Council, subscribing.

William Burghley, E. Lyncoln, T. Sussex, A. Warwyck, R. Leycester, Hunsdon, F. Knollys, Jamys Croft, Francis Walsingham, Thomas Wylson.

The Queen also was more specially concerned for the

travelling youth of England, many whereof were the sons or relations of good gentlemen and persons of quality, that were sent abroad for education into France, Spain, Flanders, Italy, or other places; and foresaw the great inconveniences that were like to follow thereof; it having been observed, that when they returned, they shewed themselves disaffected to the laws and religion of their country; and having imbibed abroad Papistical principles, had perverted many of the Queen's good subjects. Hence in the month of December, the Council wrote again to our Bishop, appointing him to call before him all the parents and relations of such as had their children or youth in foreign parts, forthwith to send for them home; and that he should take bonds of them so to do; and to return their names, qualities, and places of habitation unto them [of the Council.] And that he should procure inquiries to be made, either by the Archdeacons, or every parish Minister, what persons in their parishes had such young persons absent from home; and thereof to give the Council a speedy account. For to this tenor their letter ran:

Anno 1580.

The Queen's concern for young persons travelling in Popish countries.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lord-
"ship, &c. That the Queen's Majesty found the daily in-
"convenience growing to the realm by the education of
"numbers of young gentlemen, and others her subjects,
"in the parts beyond the seas: where for the most part
"they are nourselled and nourished in Papistry, with such
"instructions as made them to mislike of the government
"of this realm; and so likely to become undutiful subjects.
"As returning home, many of them did not only themselves
"refuse to yield obedience unto her Majesty's laws and
"proceedings in matters of religion established by Parlia-
"ment, but by their evil example corrupted such other as
"were well disposed. And that the contagion thereof be-
"gan to extend itself so far within the realm, as if some
"speedy remedy were not had, for the preventing of
"the mischief that might in time follow thereof, it could
"not be but dangerous unto her Majesty and her estate.

The Council to the Bishop for recalling such youth as went beyond sea. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

BOOK II.

Anno 1580.

"That she therefore, intending to take some present "order therein, as well by prohibiting that none but such "whose parents were known to be well affected in religion, "and would undertake for the good education of their chil- "dren, should be suffered to depart out of the realm; and "that with the special licence of her Majesty: as also by "revoking of those that were presently in the parts of "Spain, Italy, France, and other places, not having her "Majesty's licence: had given commandment, that his "Lordship, upon the receipt hereof, should call before him "the persons within his diocese, whose names were con- "tained in the schedule, written on the other side of this "letter: notifying unto them the inconveniences above "mentioned; and should take bonds of them, and every of "them, in good sums of money to her Majesty, for the "calling home of their sons and friends, to be returned "into the realm within three months after the said band "taken, at the furthest.

"That he should also give direction unto his Archdea- "con, or to the Ministers of every parish within his dio- "cese, to inquire partly, what other persons within their "parishes had at that present any of their sons or other
92 "kinsfolks under their charge beyond the seas; in what "places, and under whose charge they were, how long they "had been absent: whether they were departed the realm "without licence or not. And that with as much expedi- "tion as possibly he might, to certify the same unto them; "with the names of the parents, their degrees and dwell- "ing places; that thereupon the same order might be "taken with them, (if any such there should be,) for revok- "ing of their children and friends, that was taken with "such as were already known unto her Majesty and them "[the Council.] And that if any should be found unwill- "ing to deliver ready and plain answer hereunto, that the "Bishop should certify them. Wherein they prayed his "Lordship, that such care and diligence might be used, as "the necessity thereof did require." This letter was dated

from Whitehall, the 16th of December, 1580, and subscribed by

Thomas Bromely, Chancellor, William Burghley, Edward Lyncoln, R. Leycester, Hunsdon, F. Knollys, Jamys Croft, Chr. Hatton, Thomas Wylson.

Stow's Annals, p. 1166. 4to.

And next, pursuant to this point of state-policy, a proclamation was issued out the 12th of January, for the revocation of the Queen's subjects remaining beyond the seas under colour of study, and yet living contrary to the laws of God and the realm. As also, against retaining of massing Priests and Jesuits. And the next Parliament that sat made a statute for the said purposes.

The danger of the Queen and realm from Papists, informed from abroad.

And it was high time for all this care to be taken, and to call in the aid and service of the Bishops, and especially ours, whose diocese was so infested with these creatures of the Pope. For the present apprehensions of the crafty designs and busy enterprises of Papists abroad, as well as at home, were justly grounded. Other Protestant nations were now concerned for England: and especially the Switzers, who were great lovers of our Church and nation. This appeared by what some of the learned men among them wrote to another of our Bishops this summer, namely, Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely. Which so startled that grave and good man, that he soon signified his intelligence that he had received to the Queen's chief Statesman, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, in a letter: wherein he let him know

The Bishop of Ely acquainted the Lord Treasurer therewith.

"what he had heard from abroad concerning dreadful "flames that Antichrist was kindling at Rome against our "friends of the reformed religion; and then were talked of "almost all the world over; that a bull was granted to Car- "dinal Alexandrini against the Queen, and five hundred "copies of it printed: which were published in that part "of the world that was judged most Catholic, [which must "be Spain.] And that Antichrist and the Spaniard con- "sented together to raise twelve thousand Italians to en- "force the Spanish army." Adding, that this news was

BOOK II. sent him from Helvetia, which the pious brethren there advised him of: who, although they were at a great dis-
Anno 1580. tance, were present with us by their prayers. This very reverend Father's letter, wrote in Latin, I have laid in the
Numb. III. Appendix, that we may preserve as much as we can the monuments of those great men, Confessors, and our first Reformers.

The Parliament move the petition for the reformation of the Church. There was another sessions of the Parliament this twenty-third of the Queen. In which was moved again the petition of the Commons for the reformation of the Clergy, brought into the Parliament anno 1575, prorogued from time to time to this year. Sundry motions and arguments were again made for the redress of divers pretended enormities in the Church, mentioned at large in that petition: as, the great number of unlearned and unable Ministers; the great abuse of excommunication, inflicted for matters of small moment; the commutation of penance; the great number of dispensations and pluralities. Moving, that the Queen, who had promised to take order for the redress of these things, might now be put in
Dew's Journ. p. 303. remembrance thereof, for the execution of the same. And in order to this, the House resolved, that Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, the two Secretaries, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, should go and move the Lords of the Clergy to
93 solicit the Queen in prosecution of the same purposes; and likewise shew the said Lords the earnest desire of the House for the redress of other griefs also contained in the said petition, as to their good wisdoms should seem meet. The answer they brought back was, that they found some of the Lords the Bishops ready to confess and grant the said defects and abuses, wishing the redress thereof, and willing to join with the committees in moving of her Majesty in that behalf. But yet, this must not be so understood, but that there were divers things propounded in that petition for reformation, which were not allowed of by the Bishops. And the reasons thereof were shewed in special answers made thereunto: which, as it seems, were drawn up by our Bishop of Worcester. And parti-

cularly, first, that article concerning Ministers: which was as follows, as I transcribe out of a paper, written thus on the back-side by his own hand, "An answer to cer- Anno 1580.
" tain articles exhibited in Parliament, when I was Bishop
" of Wigorn; *viz.*

" *Concerning Ministers.* The first article, That it may The Bi-
" be enacted, that none may be admitted to be Minister shop's answer to
" of the word and sacraments, but in a benefice, having the Parlia-
" cure of souls, then vacant, in the diocese of such a Bi- ment's article
" shop as is to admit him. The answer to this first ar- about Mi-
" ticle; This cannot possibly be performed, without al- nisters.
" teration of the whole state of the Church of England.
" First, because there must be Curates, and that of neces-
" sity. Secondly, because there are other ecclesiastical
" livings, which require Ministers of the word and sacra-
" ments, as well as benefices with cure; as deaneries, pre-
" bends, masterships, and fellowships, in the University,"
&c. with much more. On the margin of this answer is this note set, by the hand of Grindal, then Archbishop; " The
" foundations of colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, and of
" cathedral churches, and such like places, would be over-
" thrown."

But the whole paper, consisting of thirteen articles, with the answers subjoined to each, is worthy preserving; which I have therefore late found, and laid in the Appendix; being the first copy of it, written and prepared by Num. III.
the hand of the Bishop's Secretary, sent to the Lord Treasurer before it was further published; being thus endorsed; " The copy of certain articles exhibited by the
" Lower House the last session of Parliament, anno 23,
" and the answer unto them for the time; but not as yet
" delivered to any."

There seemed now a general new commission to be is- The Jus-
sued out for the peace. That fit men, of good religion, and tices for Worcester
well affected to the government, might serve in those places and War-
of trust, it was left to the discretion of the Bishop of Wor- wick left to the Bi-
cester to nominate and approve whom he thought best of, for shop of Worcester's
his own diocese. For so I find it in a paper of State, *viz.* appoint-
ment.

BOOK II.

Worcestershire.

Anno 1580. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"John Talbot, of Salwarp, and such other as the Bishop "shall think meet."

Warwick.

"Such as the Lord Bishop shall think meet." Such a confidence did the Court repose in the wisdom and integrity of the Bishop.

Baro, public Professor at Cambridge, sues for favour from the Chancellor of that University.

The first time I meet with Peter Baro, the foreign Divine, and a learned writer, was in this year 1580; when he wrote a well-penned letter in Latin to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. Whom coming from France some time before, for the sake of the true profession of religion, and being a good scholar, that compassionate nobleman entertained with much humanity in his family; and he eat at his table. Afterwards, by his recommendation, (who was Chancellor,) removed to Cambridge, and was made the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity there, about the year 1574. I make mention of him the rather, because hereafter we shall have occasion to speak more of him;
94 and particularly of the objections of Whitgift, when Archbishop of Canterbury, against him, for some tenets, differing, as it was thought, from the true doctrine of the decrees of God, concerning the final state of man. He was entertained in Peter house; and Dr. Perne, the Master, favoured him; and laboured with the Lord Treasurer, High Chancellor of the University, to get some addition to his livelihood. For he was a married man, and chiefly, as it seemed, depended upon his stipend for his subsistence. And therefore, since the said Lord had been so kind to promise to Dr. Perne to take care of him, he wrote in December this year a modest and handsome epistle to him; importing, "That he had now for full six years, since "he had been chosen into that place, by the authority and "suffrage of the chief men of that University, spared for "no pains; and endeavoured to serve, as much as he "could, the profit and dignity of this University: that he

"[the Lord Treasurer] had vouchsafed with great humanity to receive him at his own table. That he now presumed to remind him of what Dr. Perne had imparted to him, namely, of the smallness and tenuity of his circumstances; and how his Lordship had replied, that he would have a regard of him. Confiding on which kind words, he reckoned it would not be ingrateful to him to be put in remembrance thereof. And that if any occasion offered of helping him, that he would not let him slip out of his mind. And so left it to his prudence; concluding, that Dr. Perne might easier acquaint his Lordship what might be proper for him, than himself." Anno 1580. For the remarkableness of the man, I have given his letter a place in the Appendix. It was some few years after, *viz.* 1584, that I find another letter of thanks from him to the said Lord, when he interposed with Dr. Perne to elect his son, and to admit him, with another, into the year of probation. Numb. IV.

Anno 1581. The Bishop inquires after Papists:

Our Bishop the next year was busied about the examination of such as were Papists; of which sort there were many families in Worcester and the rest of his diocese. Of their names he had sent up certificates before. The Priests and Jesuits had been very busy here and in other places, to pervert the Queen's subjects: and those emissaries had been dangerously successful: insomuch that the Parliament the last sessions had made a law, wherein it was declared, that the Queen was resolved to have all her subjects to be present at the service of the Church established, and to own her supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, upon severe penalties. But provided any person guilty of any offence against this statute, should before he were thereof indicted, or at his arraignment before judgment, submitted and conformed himself before the Bishop of the diocese where he should be resident, or before the Justices where he should be indicted, he should upon his recognition of such submission, in open assizes, or sessions of that county, be discharged of all and every the said offences.

BOOK II.

This Act I shall particularly mention, because other matters will depend upon it. It was entitled, *An Act to retain the Queen's subjects in their due obedience.* The reason of which was expressed to be, "That great numbers, "by the means of evil-affected persons that came from "Rome, had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's laws, "established for the due service of Almighty God. That "there had been a law made the 13th of the Queen, "against the bringing in and putting in execution of "bulls, writings, and instructions, and other superstitious "things, from the see of Rome, enacted on purpose to "prevent the growth of Popery. But that not taking due "effect, another law was made in this Parliament the 23d "of Queen Elizabeth; whereby all persons whatsoever, "that would put in practice to absolve, persuade, or with-"draw any of her Majesty's subjects from their natural "obedience to her Majesty, or to withdraw them, for that "intent, from the religion now established, to the Romish "religion; or to move them to promise any obedience to "any pretended authority of the see of Rome, or to any "prince, state or potentate; or should do any overt act "to that practice or temptation, should be to all intents "adjudged to be traitors; and being thereof lawfully con-"victed, should by judgment suffer and forfeit as in case "of high treason.

Anno 1581. According to a late Act of Parliament, 23 Eliz.

95 "And that if any person should, after this session of "Parliament, by any means be willingly absolved, or with-"draw, or willingly be reconciled, or should promise any "such obedience to any such pretended authority; every "such person, their procurers and counsellors thereunto, "being therefore lawfully convicted, should be taken, tried, "and judged, and should suffer and forfeit, as in case of "high treason.

"And it was made misprision of treason, to be aiding "or maintaining of such persons so offending, as was "above expressed. And that whosoever should say or "sing Mass should forfeit two hundred marks, and to be "committed to the next gaol, there to remain for one

"year. That every person that willingly heard Mass "should forfeit one hundred marks. Every one above the "age of sixteen that should not repair to some church, "chapel, or usual place of common prayer, but forbear "the same, contrary to the tenor of a statute made "1 Eliz. *for Uniformity of Common Prayer*; to forfeit to "the Queen, for every month which he should so forbear, "twenty pounds. And over and besides the said forfeit-"ures, by the space of twelve months, to be bound with "two sufficient sureties, in the sum of two hundred "pounds, to the good behaviour; and to continue bound "until the same parties did conform themselves, and come "to the church." Anno 1581.

There were penalties upon such as should keep or maintain any schoolmaster, who should not repair to church; or were not allowed by the Bishop, or Ordinary of the diocese. The penalty was ten pounds for every month. And the schoolmaster that should presume to teach youth, contrary to this Act, to be disabled from teaching youth, and suffer imprisonment.

The Lords' letter to the Bishop for the refusers of coming to church.

So that here was work for our Bishop. And the Lords of the Council therefore, in pursuit of this Act, in the month of May, sent their directions to him to search for Papists in his diocese, and such as refused to come to church; and to confer with them; and for such as would not conform themselves according to law, to send up their names to the *Custos Rotulorum* at the next sessions, to be proceeded against.

MSS. Guil. Petyt. Armig.

After our right hearty commendation to your Lordship; "Whereas in the last session of Parliament there was, "upon good and advised deliberation by her Majesty, "with the common consent of the whole realm, a certain "Act made for the retaining of such her Majesty's sub-"jects in their due obedience, as abusing her Highness's "former great goodness and lenity, refused to conform "themselves in matters of religion, especially for coming "to the church according to law; forasmuch as the exe-

BOOK II.

Anno 1581.

" cution of the said statute was thought most needful for " the assurance and safety of her Majesty's person and " this realm, and the preventing of such mischiefs and in- " conveniencies, as otherwise might happen, if every one " might be suffered to do what him listed: her Majesty " being very desirous to see all her subjects truly united " in one consent and uniformity of religion, according to " the laws of the realm, for the better service of Almighty " God and quietness of this realm, hath willed us to re- " quire your Lordship forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, " to make, or cause to be made, diligent search and in- " quiry, as well according to your former certificates of re- " cusants, as by other the best means that you can, what " persons there be within your diocese, which do at this " present refuse to come to the church, to conform them- " selves according to the said statute. And finding any " such, you shall do well by conference with some other " learned and godly disposed persons, to admonish them, " and by instruction to persuade them to come to the " church, and to behave themselves as by the same law is " required. And in case any shall refuse so to do, then to " take, or cause to be taken, witnesses in writing, of the " warning so given unto them, and their refusal under the " hand of the Parson and Curate, and some other honest " person: which we pray you in every shire in your dio- " cese to prefer unto the *Custos Rotulorum*, and to the
96 " Justices of the Peace, at the next sessions; so that the " said persons may be indicted and ordered, as by the " said law is appointed. And generally, we pray you to " have a good regard to the execution of the rest of the " branches of the said Act, touching reconcilers, sayers " and hearers of Mass, schoolmasters, and other like mat- " ters, appertaining to your pastoral duty and charge: so " as there may be no remissness and negligence found in " you, as you will answer the same before Almighty God, " and her Highness; who expecteth a good account of " these things at your and your brethren's hands. And so

"praying you, that hereof there be no default; and from "time to time advertise us of your proceedings. From "Whitehall, May 28, 1581. Anno 1581.

"Your Lordship's very loving friends,

"T. Bromley, Canc. W. Burghley. E. Lincoln. T. Sussex.
"F. Bedford. R. Leycester. F. Knollys. Fra. Walsingham."

Opposeth the Lord President for a commission.

Towards the latter end of this year did Sir Henry Sydney, Lord President of the Marches of Wales, endeavour to renew the last commission for matters of religion within the said Marches, or else to procure some special commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the same. The private intent whereof was, that he might get the 20*l.* a month upon forfeitures, according to the abovesaid statute, of such as absented from church and common prayer: that so the more money might come into the Queen's Exchequer, and for the less burdening of the Queen's subjects. This our Bishop understood, and very honestly, faithfully, and without fear of the Lord President, or any other person, laboured to stop it, writing his mind after this manner to the Lord Treasurer; "That in his opinion neither of the "said commissions were convenient, nor like to tend to "any reformation, but rather to the further burdening of "her Majesty's subjects within that principality for pri- "vate gain; and also to the abridgment of her Majesty's "commodity. That the meaning was to convert the "20*l.* a month to be forfeited by the recusants, to the "benefit of the house [of the Council] there: which he "said was needless; for that they received more already "than was well employed. It might be likewise, that some "further authority would be desired by the Lord President "over the Clergy; which assuredly, as the Bishop added, "was not for the bettering of any thing, but for the causes "before specified, to the greater charging of them within "that commission than any part of this realm besides; "subjoining, that he was bold to signify to his Lordship "what he thought, measuring that to come by that which

Inter Epist. Ep. Wigorn. penes me.

BOOK II.

" was passed; and therefore humbly beseeching him to " have consideration thereof."

Anno 1581.

Deals with recusants.

The Bishop had diligently, we may be sure, employed himself this summer, in obedience to the Council's letters, for the finding out and conferring with recusants. And some he had success with, and others had given their promises: but the more obdurate sort were reserved to be indicted at the next assizes, which were to be in March. The Bishop informed the Lord Treasurer, that among these, Mr. George Winter of Huddington, who was one of the chief recusants in those parts, submitted himself, and came to the church: and as for those that promised, he would certify him when he saw what they would perform. And concerning all the rest, against whom there were many indictments, he would inform his Lordship after the assizes were ended.

Interposes for the Clergy of his diocese.

Another of his cares now was for his Clergy; many whereof, upon some defect in their presentations, or neglect of what was required in law, were in danger, after many years' enjoyment of their benefices, to be thrown out of them, and exposed (with their families perhaps) to want and beggary. For the Bishop had intelligence, or at least such a report went, that certain persons had got a grant of the Queen, of bestowing such benefices as had
97 been lapsed to her Majesty, from the Patron or Bishop. A further inconvenience whereof might not improbably be, that these men might practise simony, or make some unjust and ungodly advantages to themselves, by putting in new clerks. And therefore in his correspondence about this time with the Lord Treasurer, in a letter dated March 5. he gave him this hint concerning this grant of bestowing such benefices as were pretended to be lapsed, with an intent undoubtedly that he should stop it; and " that un- " less it were very moderate, and well used, it might breed " great molestation to many honest men, and work their " utter undoing, with divers other inconveniences."

CHAP. III.

Letters to the Bishop from the Lords for Popish recusants. Rules sent for conference with Priests and Jesuits. He composes a difference at Ludlow. Hath a commission from the Archbishop to visit the church and diocese of Litchfield. Directions to him for this visitation from the Council. Their letter. The ill state of this church and diocese: and contests between the Bishop, and the Dean and Chapter; and the Bishop and others, about the chancellorship, &c. Subsidium Charitativum *required by the Bishop. A Divinity Lecture in the church of Litchfield set up. The conclusion of this visitation: and the Bishop restored to the execution of his function.*

AS the Lords of the Council had written to our Bishop the last year, for making inquiry after Popish recusants in his diocese, and both by himself and other learned men to bring off as many as he could, by reason and persuasion, from Popery, and to serve God according to the law, as was shewn before, they thought not fit to let this weighty matter drop; but in the beginning of this year sent again to the Bishop (as they did to all the rest) to return an exact account of such in every parish as still refused coming to church; and of such as being convicted, did not conform themselves: that so the certificates thereof might be returned into the King's Bench next term. This letter was dated in April, and ran to this tenor:

Anno 1582. Another letter from the Lords to the Bishop, to inform what recusants still remained.

"That whereas many favourable means were used with "those that would not come to church, for the reducing "and retaining of her Majesty's subjects in their due obe- "dience; the same had little prevailed, but divers re- "mained still obstinate, refusing to come to church, and "conform themselves in matters of religion, according to "her Majesty's laws: albeit they [the Council] doubted "not, but according to their former letters they [the Bi- "shop and his officers there] made true and perfect certi-

MSS. Guil. Petit. Armig.

BOOK II. Anno 1582.

" ficates of such persons unto the Justices, and that they " had caused them to be proceeded with according to " law; yet to understand how things had passed, both in " his diocese and elsewhere, they had for certain good " considerations thought meet to require him (as they " had done the like to the rest of the Bishops) to cause in " every parish within his diocese a diligent inquiry and " search to be made, of all such persons as sith the end of " the last sessions of Parliament had forborne to come to " the church, and having thereof lawfully been convicted, 98 " nevertheless not conformed themselves: that the certifi- " cate should be made in writing under his hand, and the " hands of some Justices of the shire where such offender " had his residence; to the intent the same might be, ac- " cording to the meaning of the law, delivered over into " the King's Bench Court in the next Easter term. Dated " from Greenwich, April 1, 1582."

And because by the former statute against Priests and Mass-sayers, and other emissaries from the Pope, and bringers in of his trumperies, not a few of them were now in hold, it was thought very fit to have conferences with them, and publicly to confute their errors for the satisfaction of all others; especially since some of them made challenges to dispute; as Campion a little before this time did. Therefore, for the regulation of these conferences that should be undertaken with them, these rules were sent down from the Lords of the Council to this and other Bishops.

Rules for conference with the Priests and Jesuits. MSS. Guil. Petyt. Armig.

" Our opinion concerning the proceedings with the Je- " suits and seminary Priests, and other Papists, by such " as shall be appointed to have conference with them.

" I. What matter soever they shall deal in with them, " to set down such places of the holy Scripture as they " do ground their opinion upon. If they will not or cannot " shew any; to testify to the present auditory, that these " men do build their faith and religion, not upon the rock " of the holy Scriptures, upon the which only faith is " grounded, but the uncertain sands of men's traditions.

" And then to allege three or four pithy sentences out of " St. Chrysostom, Augustin, &c. that all controversies " are to be decided by the Scripture. Which if they re- Anno 1582. " fused, they can claim no succession of doctrine from their " fathers.

" II. If they shall shew any ground of Scripture, and " wrest it to their sense, let it be shewed by the interpre- " tation of the old Doctors; such as were before Gregory I. " For that in his time began the first claim of the su- " premacy by the Patriarch of Constantinople: and shortly " after was usurped by the Bishop of Rome, the first " founder of the Papacy and supremacy of that see, by " the authority of Phocas, the traitor and murderer of his " Lord.

" III. And as for the testimony of the latter Doctors, if " they bring any, let him refuse them; for that the most " part of the writers of that time, and after, yielded to the " authority of the Emperor and the Bishop of Rome.

" IV. If they can shew no Doctor that agreed with them " in their said opinion before that time, then to conclude " that they have no succession in that doctrine from the " time of the Apostles, and above four hundred years " after, (when doctrine and religion were most pure.) For " that they can shew no predecessor whom they might " succeed in the same. *Quod primum verum.* Tertull.

" V. If they allege any Doctor of that antiquity, then to " view the place; and to seek the true meaning *ex præce-* " *dentibus et consequentibus;* or of other places out of the " same Doctor. And to oppose other Doctors otherwise " writing of the same matter, in case the sentence of the " said old Doctor shall seem to make against us.

" VI. *Item,* To be sure that such books as shall be al- " leged in the name of any ancient Doctor be not *sup-* " *positii.* For that divers books are printed with Chryso- " stom, Ambrose, Augustin, &c. which be none of theirs. " To the knowledge whereof, Erasmus hath given great " light.

" VII. *Item,* That they abstain from angry and oppro-

BOOK II. Anno 1582.

"brious words, as much as may be. And with weight "and force of matter to confute their assertions, and to "confirm ours.

"The matters that would especially be dealt in be these. "The authority and sufficiency of the holy Scriptures. Of 99 "the true Church, and what be the right notes and defini- "tion thereof. In this matter be contained, Whether the "Church be visible or not? Whether the Catholic Church "must of necessity have one visible head in earth? And of "his succession in persons, and sees, and in doctrine."

And then follow in the same paper these names; who, I suppose, were recommended as fit and able persons to be employed in these conferences.

Persons nominated to confer.

Dr. Fulk,	Mr. Crowley,	Dr. James,
Dr. Still,	Dr. Humfrey,	Mr. Reynolds,
Dr. Matthew,	Dr. Westphaling,	Mr. Chark,
Dr. Bridges,	Mr. Collins, Fellow	Mr. Gravet,
Mr. Dean of St. Paul's,	of Eaton college,	Mr. Vaughan,
Mr. Mullyns,	Dr. Bond,	Mr. Wilson,
Mr. Dean of Windsor,	Dr. Goad,	Mr. Copcotts,
Dr. Walker,	Dr. Crook,	Mr. Towers.
Dr. Redman,	Mr. Travers,	

Composes a difference between the Parson of Ludlow and the inhabitants.

In October I find the good Bishop gone to Ludlow, with the Lord President and the Bishop of Hereford, to decide a great contest and difference between the inhabitants there and Mr. Bust the Parson. I do not meet with the particular cause, but, in general, that it proceeded partly from some indiscretion in the Clergyman, and his want of care of infringing peace and quietness. In fine, he brought matters to a good accommodation; and both parties seemed well satisfied. A brief account of this good office of pacification the Bishop gives the Lord Treasurer in a letter from Hartlebury, October 24. "That he had been "at Ludlow, with the Lord President and the Bishop of "Hereford, about the controversy between Mr. Bust, Par- "son there, and his parishioners; and that they had ended "it to the contentation of both parties, as they thought;

Int. Epist. Ep. Wigorn.

"at the least to the satisfying of themselves. That many "things were alleged against the townsmen, but few "proved." Adding these words, (in the favour of the people, and in blame of the too importunate zeal of some of the Clergy then,) "Truly they are a good people, and "lovers of God's word, for any thing that I can learn to "the contrary. But many of us have zeal without discretion, and salt without peace; the principal cause of "the variance and dissension in many places. And so "concluded with his constant prayer for that Lord, beseeching Almighty God long to preserve and keep his "Lordship, and to strengthen him both in soul and "body."

Appointed Visitor of Litchfield diocese.

In January, the Bishop was employed in a visitation of the church of Litchfield, with Dr. Aubrey, the Archbishop's Vicar General, and some others, by virtue of a commission from Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. That which gave great cause for it, was a controversy between Dr. Overton, the Bishop of that diocese, and Beacon and Babington, for the chancellorship of the said diocese. The title being litigious, the Bishop had granted a joint commission to both of them, till the right of their patents might be tried: but he, or some of the parties, would not stand to it. So that at last the business was carried up to the Privy Council; and they referred it to the Archbishop; and he to this visitation. For this I refer the reader to Archbishop Grindal's Life, where it is set down more at large. In short, the Archbishop left the care of the diocese to Bishop Whitgift, during this and other controversies and discords which had very unbeseemingly heated both the Bishop of the diocese and the other parties; and left it to him, "to find occasion, as the Archbishop wrote to "him, for the appeasing these contentions, so offensive in "the opinion of the Lords of the Council and his, so scandalous to all persons who were concerned, and so prejudicial and hurtful to the quiet of the diocese. And therefore that he trusted his Lordship would take pains to

Grindal's Life, p. 272, 274.

Directions to him from the Archbishop.

BOOK II. Anno 1582.

" end it. And in the mean time to have a care of the go-
" vernment of the diocese in effect, during this commis-
" sion."

100 This commission extended to the visiting not only the church of Litchfield, and the Dean and Chapter, but the whole diocese; for both were out of order.

The Council directed him in his visitation to urge the Advertisements.

And while he was on this work, the Privy Council sent him a special letter, to urge the book of Advertisements: on which they laid a great stress, as tending much to keep up good order, agreement, and peace in the Clergy; and for the establishing able Ministers, and for the better discovery of such as were insufficient. And though these Advertisements were commonly at these visitations printed and dispersed; yet that heed was not given to them as ought to have been. And the Council earnestly exhorted him, being now Visitor, to have a special regard to the pressing these Advertisements. But the contents of their whole letter to him take as follows:

The sum of the Council's letter to the Bishop.

" That they found, among other defaults opened unto
" them concerning the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdic-
" tion in the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, to be con-
" sidered and examined in his Lordship's visitation, that
" there were good and commendable Advertisements pub-
" lished in print to every parish, in his Lordship's first and
" late visitation of the said diocese; for the strengthening
" and establishing of able Ministers, and the trial and re-
" formation of the insufficient ministry; a blemish in our
" Church divers times lamented, never as yet to effect re-
" formed in most places; and yet, notwithstanding the
" same necessary and profitable orders, so professed in-
" violably to be observed, as to his Lordship upon reading
" them (which they had sent together with their letter)
" might more fully appear. But that little or nothing had
" been performed accordingly. Where the fault and blemish
" had been, his Lordship should best in his visitation be
" informed. That in the mean season they, being very de-
" sirous so good meanings and proceedings might take

" timely effect, without further shew of more than was " executed, or sinister abuse of so godly endeavours; had " thought good to pray his Lordship, as well by his author- Anno 1582. " ity, now being Visitor, as also in their names, to will " and require by his Lordship's letters the said Bishop, " and all other his Lordship's officers, to whom the due " execution of those Advertisements did in a sort apper- " tain, diligently to see and provide, that hereafter, accord- " ing to the first solemn publishing of the same, they " might be uprightly observed.

" And further, that because in the conscience and suffi- " ciency of the assistants mentioned in those Advertise- " ments, the true performance of their good meaning did " chiefly consist; they prayed his Lordship also, in the " time of his visitation, to name and appoint ten, or some " like number, of the best learned and best affected " preachers in that diocese, to join (some of them) in " those assistances with the Lord Bishop and his officers, " according to his Lordship's own printed order so gene- " rally published: to avoid all occasions of cavils, slander, " corruption, and offence every way. And that hereof they " knew right well his Lordship would have special care " and regard."

The condition of Litchfield church and diocese.

But what the present evil state of this Church and diocese was, and what need there was of a vigilant visitation, I shall in part relate from original papers and mutual complaints. It is certain the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter were at great odds; and the diocese much discontented with their Diocesan. There were great confusions and disturbances through the whole diocese: insomuch that it became the subject of loud talk, and offensive to all. And, as it appeared, the chief cause was the Bishop's wants. Who, being necessitous upon his coming to the diocese, laboured all he could to supply himself from his Clergy: insomuch that the Dean and Chapter appealed to the Lords of the Privy Council. And the Lords appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury to institute the visitation beforesaid. After Dr. Boleyn, the Dean of the church, had re-

Lit. Episcopal. penes me.

BOOK II.

Anno 1582.

fused to supply the Bishop with money, neither with a *charitativum subsidium*, nor any loans, nor to pay other forfeitures that were required of them, the Bishop put several to trouble, and brought some of them up to the High 101 Commission Court; one whereof was an ancient man; who was compelled to travel up, and that in winter weather. But I had rather give the rest of their account from their own letter, dated October to the Lord Treasurer.

The case between the Bishop and the church.

"That these were the original grounds and proceedings "of these disagreements; *viz.* That the Bishop came into "the diocese about May, after he had received of the "Queen's goodness three half years' revenue of the bishop-"ric, to furnish his estate; beside eighty pounds by the "year, recovered to the see by authority of Parliament, "without any suit or charge in law. Then the Dean entered "upon some relation of their Bishop's visitation. That

Dean of Litchfield to the Lord Treasurer.

"he received the Clergy's procurations. And that the "Archbishop's officers, *sede vacante*, had received them "but the year before. That he imposed upon his Clergy, "thus burdened before, a *subsidium charitativum* of twelve "pence in the pound. Which was due, as he affirmed, to "every Bishop at his first entry, by ancient prescription "and custom of that see. That the poor Clergy, partly by "persuasion, partly by fear, yielded that payment. Whereby "the Bishop, as was supposed, had received, beside what "he had received before, about four or five hundred pounds. "But that when it came to be demanded of the members "of the cathedral church, they refused to pay it; there "being no such ancient precedents in the Bishop's regis-"ter; and for three Bishops past before, not paid by the "Clergy. And that in case any such payments were due "from the other Clergy of the diocese, the words of the "statutes, to which they were sworn, did exempt them "from any such exactions. And that therefore they hum-"bly requested the Bishop to excuse them making any "such contribution; because they would not be guilty of "perjury to their statutes, or leave such a dangerous pre-"cedent to their successors.

"Moreover, that they had offered to the Bishop, that "they might not seem to be guilty of any undutiful- "ness, to refer the whole business between him and them "to lawyers; and what they should set down as law, they "would stand to: or to take lawyers in like sort, and two "of the most honourable Council, one of the Bishop's own "choosing, and the other of the Dean's; and what they "should determine, and their Honours as judges set down, "to be for ever hereafter observed inviolably by them and "their successors. And that lastly, for quietness sake, "they freely offered the Bishop so much as he required "came to, another way, but durst not yield to his Lord- "ship's demand, for fear of perjury, and prejudice to the "succession. But that none of all this would be accepted "of by the Bishop. And hence followed many discourte- "sies, and hard speeches, and great threats, given out "against them by the Bishop, with many sharp and unkind "letters written unto them by himself; outrages and con- "tumelies offered against them and the estate of the "Church. That they had vindicated themselves by letters "in answer unto him; and therein had told him, what "the opinion of his own diocese began to be concerning "him: and desiring that things might be reformed before "they brake out into further extremities."

But upon this letter the Bishop provoked, gave out, that he would sue them upon the writ *De Scandalis Magnatum*. And arrested by writ two of them; but when it came all to all, his cause would bear no action. And therefore was given over on his Lordship's part; yet in the mean time he dealt with two, *viz.* Hodgeson and Sale, by mediators, to borrow of each of them one hundred pounds. And for that, one of them, Mr. Sale by name, had put in suit; Mr. Babbington (his son-in-law, if I mistake not) upon the forfeiture of a band, he was called into the consistory; and there such heinous matters laid to his charge, and published against him, as by their open speeches would not only touch his living, but also his life. And yet the same day nevertheless, upon promise made to forbear his hun-

BOOK II. Anno 1582.

dred pounds that he claimed of Babington one quarter longer, the man became a friend, and was accepted as an honest person.

102 That after Christmas next following, (as the Dean and Chapter went on in the relation of their case,) when the Bishop, as he said, had satisfied his Honour, [the Lord Treasurer,] (who, understanding of this subsidy, was reported to have lamented the miserable sacking of the poor Clergy, and thought such a precedent meet to be looked unto, to the exceeding joy and comfort of the whole country,) eftsoons his Lordship brought down from the High Commissioners, for the foresaid two old Canons, attachments in the midst of the winter, (a time unfit to travel,) offering them this condition, either to lend the Bishop an hundred pounds apiece upon his own bond, for a year or two, or else to put in recognizances to answer before the High Commissioners. And to enforce the lending of money, they were peremptorily attached to go up in such snow, as travellers then were enforced to use sholves [shovels] on their way. And when they made their humble suit to his Lordship by letters, that in consideration of the hardness of the weather and their years, his Lordship would bear with them till the weather were somewhat qualified, and they might the better travel, his Lordship sent them by their own messenger a very sharp and merciless answer; threatening in his letter the Dean also, whom he termed their *captain*, to correct him as they did lions, to beat first the whelps before his face, and then himself also. Whereupon Mr. Sale, of seventy years of age, keeping his chamber, lent the Bishop one hundred pounds well nigh for two years; and so had liberty to stay at home, and discharged of his appearance and offences pretended to be laid to his charge. The other, Mr. Hodgeson, though an old man of sixty-six years, yet strong in body, and better able to travel, and knowing himself void of any crime, went up to answer for himself, and with him the Dean; (who penned the letters which my Lord Bishop made an angle to catch testons,) [according to the expression in this relation.]

And when they came before the High Commissioners, there were many frivolous articles laid unto his charge; which were also as slightly passed over. And articles gathered out of the letters before-named only, laid earnestly unto him. Which were yet nothing, according to the tenor of the letters, as by them both did and might appear. At the which time Mr. Hodgeson was, at the earnest importunity and solicitation of the Bishop, from man to man, by a secret decree, and hands severally gotten, condemned in thirty pounds towards the Bishop's charges, when he and the Dean looked for another day; and to have an open order set down in the open court, upon further hearing of the matter, as they were appointed. At the which day (which was a fortnight from the first day) they came again, and the matter was thoroughly and substantially handled, as Mr. Recorder and Mr. Dr. Lewis could tell. But when law was fully shewed on all sides, and this old man looked to have open sentence accordingly, behold! there was cast on the table a sentence of condemnation, made privily between the two days; and had been blazed at Litchfield in a bravery, before the poor defendant could know of it. Anno 1582.

Howbeit, in the mean season between these two days, the Dean, with this old Canon, went, at the request of my Lords Bishops of London and Rochester, Sir Owen Hopton, and Dr. Clarke of the Arches, [all of the ecclesiastical commission,] to their Bishop to seek his favour. For so had these foresaid personages wished the Dean to do. And they did humbly beseech his Lordship to stand their good Lord; and withal, did then offer more than for tediousness they might write. But the more humble and earnest the Dean was to have his favour, the further off was his Lordship, threatening the Dean with articles which he would lay to his charge. The Dean then, seeing these hard dealings, which were both grievous and scandalous; and that no favour could be got, unless it were bought; and seeing himself threatened, and his brethren oppressed; communicated these matters to his friends

BOOK II. Anno 1582.

and learned in the laws. By whose advice he took an action against the Bishop in the common law, for affirming him to be perjured: thereby both to try and avow his integrity, by and in his country, as also to relieve his oppressed brethren. Who, by the foresaid private dealing, (though bearing a shew of public authority,) was condemned to pay thirty pounds, only for giving his consent to a private letter sent to their Bishop, sealed with the
103 chapter seal. Whereof yet both he and Mr. Sale were, by express words from the Bishop, long before discharged. Then they proceeded further to some particular matters in controversy between the Bishop and them, in vindication of themselves, to the said right honourable person.

Charitativum subsidium.

And first, as to the *charitativum subsidium*, they knew, they said, that the law upon some great causes, specified and set down, did allow it. As, if the Bishop should be sent to a general Council, and ambassador, or should entertain the Prince, &c. But yet with such directions and limitations, as well for the manner as the sum, as was needful to restrain unbridled greediness. For both, he must begin with the Chapter: and also, if he take beyond the value of his procurations, *tenetur restitutione duplici, nisi infra mensem reddiderit*. And yet in these cases, if any stood with him, he could not be his own judge, but the Archbishop was to determine and allow of his causes alleged and pretended. And that they [the Dean and Chapter] were privy, that besides the great sums of money received, as before was said, his demises of leases already had been worth to him above four hundred pounds.

The Advertisements.

And then for the Advertisements, recommended by the Council to the Bishop of Wigorn, as before was shewn, they must needs confess many good Advertisements had been published, and that in print, inviolably to be observed (for so it was professed) and communicated to every parish through his Lordship's jurisdictions. That if there were no conscience to perform their duties, yet public shame might draw them to keep touch: they

meant, for public examination of Ministers to be ordered, instituted, or admitted into cures. To which they subjoined this wish; "Would to God, say they, the common "enemy did not laugh at these our common shews! and "yet no one performance. Would to God, it were but "examined by authority, what a rabble hath passed, con- "trary to that solemn order professed! With what ex- "action, corruption, with what merchandise! We have "heard with our ears some wise and discreet of the "Clergy lament the miserable state in the country. For "none was thought to have money, or to be of credit, but "he was called and called again to lend or become surety. "And that they had therefore directed their common let- "ters to the Archdeacon of the place, to look into such "shameless abuses, and to see them to be reformed. For "the poor Minister being demanded why he did not "complain, answered, Alas! to whom should we com- "plain? All the country seeth how the world goes, well "enough.

"Doth your Lordship, as they went on, marvel at "these extraordinary dealings? Roboam, beside that he "was weak for government, himself rash and vain, he re- "jected the ancient and sage counsellors of his father. "*Præceps et juvenile consilium* may pervert the wise; "and therefore cannot but overthrow the weak. That "they could affirm nothing but by hearsay, in what "state the Bishop was, before he made suit to be their "Bishop. Nor did they know in what need his son-in- "law [Babbington it seems] stood, to have his father a "Bishop, but his debts being paid, if either his expenses "were abroad, as was reported, or his maintenance were "allowed, according as he would and did take upon him, "the common opinion was, that he must either part "stakes with his father-in-law, or take some extraordi- "nary course to bear out his countenance. That *bona* "*Ecclesiæ* [*i. e.* the goods of the Church] were wont to "be used and turned in *bona pauperum*, [*i. e.* into the "goods of the poor.] And the lawful marriage of Bishops

BOOK II. Anno 1582.

" and Ministers was by abuse of the weak sort misliked,
" because they nourished and maintained their children,
" not according to their calling, which was properly their
" own, but according to their estate of maintenance, which
" should be for the Church and the poor.

" That it was further credibly reported, that the Bishop
" had made use of and delivered his son Plasted [another
" son-in-law, as it seems] several leases of most of his lands,
" besides offices, annuities, and they knew not what. The
" denial of confirmation whereof, upon letters and mo-
" tions, (because they [the Dean and Chapter] feared all
" would to wrack,) was no small cause of these disturb-
104 " ances, both above and at home. Finally, because the
" young man vaunted of his credit in Court, and his ex-
" perience to accomplish his purpose as him best liked;
" and for fear he should either abuse or refuse his wife,
" being the Bishop's daughter, he both must and would
" overrule the Bishop at his pleasure."

In the conclusion of all, they craved pardon for abusing his Honour with so tedious and grievous a letter, and prayed God of his mercy to direct his good Lordship with the true wisdom of his Holy Spirit, how to cut away these occasions of the slander of the Gospel. That the common enemy might be drawn forward with good example of life, joined with discipline, to true obedience unto God and her Majesty. This letter was dated from Litchfield, October 12, 1582, subscribed, Your Honour's humble and daily Orators, *The Dean and Chapter of Litchfield.*

Dr. Boleyn, Dean of Litchfield, chief opposer of the Bishop.

The Dean at the head of this long information was a man of some quality, prudent, and stout; who seeing a good while together, how a party with the Bishop swayed him to draw such lucre from his poor Clergy, and by such means stepped in, and put some stop to these evils, by preferring the Clergy's complaint to the Court. He was a Prebend of Canterbury, and the Queen's Chaplain, and bred up under Dr. Whitgift at Cambridge. For this account I find him giving of himself, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer the year after this, [*viz.* 1583.] "That

" the Bishop of Worcester knew him no dissembler, but " one that would tell the truth, were it good or bad, well " or ill. And that he was his very good friend and tutor " in Cambridge; and was still his good Lord." Anno 1582.

The reason of informing the Lord Treasurer of their case so largely.

The Dean found it necessary to unfold all this to the Lord Treasurer, because the controversy (as they signified in the preamble of their letter) between the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and them the Dean and Chapter of Litchfield and others, they knew and confessed, to their great grief and shame, to be clamorous, and offensive to the whole country, and slanderous to the Gospel. And therefore they humbly offered to his Honour, without offence, to be truly advertised of the original grounds and proceedings of the same: the rather, for that his good Lordship, by uncertain relation, or untrue information, might judge otherwise either of the whole matter, or the means of reformation, than were meet and requisite.

The case between the Bishop and Beacon.

Besides all this, there was another matter between the Bishop of Litchfield and Dr. Beacon, hinted before, that held a long debate, and gave further necessity of this visitation. The Bishop had constituted him his Chancellor, and afterwards endeavoured upon some pretence to throw him out, that Babington, his relation, (who was put into the patent with him,) might enjoy it wholly; which caused another appeal to the Privy Council. This contest was occasioned by an act of the Bishop, of avoiding the patents granted both to Beacon and Babington, by revocation for *Non user:* which was done in the cathedral church of Litchfield, Jan. 29, 1582.

MSS. Episcop. penes me.

And the case, as I find it drawn up, on Beacon's side, was to this tenor: " The Bishop of Coventry and Litch- " field granteth John Beacon, Dr. of Law, and Zachariah " Babington, M. A. a patent of the Chancellor's office, " *conjunctim et divisim durante vita naturali utriusque,* " *aut diutius viventis, absque contradictione, impedimento* " *aut intromissione ejus, aut successorum suorum.* When " Dr. Beacon first comes quietly to execute his office, the " Bishop appointeth two of his servants to let in Babing-

BOOK II.

Anno 1582.

"ton into the consistory, and to shut out Dr. Beacon; "whom others, appointed by the Bishop and Babington, "do violently assault in the cathedral church, and commit "a riot. Whereof they are indicted, (the Bishop only, "for reverence of his place, blotted out.) The Bishop "eftsones in person comes into the controversy, and "adjourneth the court, to be holden in his Lordship's "palace; protesting it shall be an open and free place for "every one to repair and have access unto. Dr. Beacon "resorting thither, to offer his service and duty, by the "Bishop's command the gates were shut upon him. The
105 "Master of the Rolls coming that way, in respect of the "dangerous tumults that were like before and after to en- "sue, entreated Dr. Beacon, with all earnest importunity, "to forbear, until some order by the Chancery or Lords "might be taken. When Dr. Beacon did object the dan- "ger of *Non user*, the Master of the Rolls did assure Dr. "Beacon his forbearing to execute, or offer his service, "should not prejudice him. So did the Bishop likewise. "Notwithstanding by Mr. Solicitor's directions coming "that way, Dr. Beacon the next court day went into the "consistory to tender his service, the Bishop commanded "him in the Queen's name to depart, or else his Lordship "would make him. Whereupon Mr. Dr. Beacon made "his protestation; that partly at the Master of the Rolls' "request, partly to avoid danger, menaced his own person, "and like or worse public disturbances as had grown be- "fore, he would and must forbear until further order "taken: desirous it might be enacted, that for the causes "there alleged, his non-attendance might not afterwards "be his prejudice. Immediately Dr. Beacon and others "were called into the Star-chamber, by those which had "committed and were indicted of the riot themselves. "From thence to the Court; and now since by order and "direction of the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable "Privy Council, attend a Christian end of these public "and private offences.

"During which time there were two courts sped, sup-

" plied by two divers men; whether by the Bishop's sub-
" stitution, or Mr. Babington's, it is uncertain: but the
" former patentees were never judicially called in Court,
" nor their attendance missed or openly required. The
" third court day a substitute for Dr. Beacon offereth his
" service for the place; protesting of his readiness there-
" unto. The Bishop affirming a defect in supply of the
" office by the patentees, pronounced the three patents
" [for so many, it seems, he had granted first and last for
" this office] to be void. And forthwith appointed Dr.
" Mericke, his Vicar General, *durante placito;* refusing
" Dr. Beacon's substitute to execute. Dr. Mericke pro-
" ceedeth accordingly, without taking the oath. The Bi-
" shop eftsones inhibits all Proctors to deal, but before
" such as he should appoint to the place.

" Before or about the time of the former riot com-
" mitted, the Bishop, before the Register and two Public
" Notaries, constituted Babington his sole Chancellor:
" Babington accepting thereof, taking his oath, and de-
" creeing to proceed accordingly: which act and accept-
" ance, &c. Mr. Babington exhibited to the committees,
" Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Hammond, solemnly and authen-
" ticly exemplified." These two Civilians were appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to determine this business.

This gives further light into these troubles in the diocese of Litchfield. And by several letters of this Bishop sent to the Lord Treasurer, it appears how exceedingly turmoiled he was, whether by his own or others faults, with lawsuits in divers courts, and encompassed with debts, and in great arrears with the Queen: insomuch that he desired the Lord Treasurer that they might be answered and satisfied upon the extent of his lands by 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year, till the whole should be discharged.

In short, these great troubles in this church and diocese came at last to some good conclusion, by means of the Bishop of Worcester, the Visitor. For there was by his means established a Divinity Lecture in the church of

BOOK II.

Litchfield, anno 1583, (which was wanting before,) endowed with 40*l.* a year, to be read Wednesdays and Fri-

Anno 1582. A Divinity Lecture established in the church of Litchfield.

days every week, by some person, to be chosen by the Dean and Chapter, learned in the tongues, and otherwise well qualified for the place, to be continually resident there: and for the increase and advancement of his living, an annual stipend to be added to him of 10*l.* or 12*l.* per annum, which was of the Queen's allowance to that church, for four sermons to be preached in the chapel church in Litchfield, called St. Mary's. And because every Prebendary was Ordinary in his particular church, and the Dean and Chapter of all generally; it was appointed, that four of their whole company, best learned and affected to religion, should diligently examine all the

106 Ministers throughout their jurisdiction, according to some late canons. And that they certify under their hands the sufficiency and worthiness of them, unto the Visitors in the time of their visitation, (which was now not far off:) and that accordingly they might be established or removed; and to make true relation what they had done in the premises. This the Dean and Chapter were ordered to do by the Privy Council, (I make no doubt,) by the suggestion and desire of the Visitor, our Bishop of Worcester. The foresaid letters of the Privy Council to the church of Litchfield, it may not be amiss to preserve in

Numb. V.

the Appendix. And accordingly in the month of August following, the Dean of Litchfield wrote an answer to the Lords, that all was done cheerfully and willingly by their church, for the establishing the Divinity Lecture and other matters.

The conclusion of this visitation.

It being now come to the summer of the next year, our Bishop very seasonably sent to the Archbishop's Vicar General, that the commission for this visitation might now be at an end: and that he would move the Archbishop to let it cease, that so the Bishop of the diocese might take care of his own charge the better, and set things in due order. And that also, because the Bishop and the two contenders were agreed; whereas a proroga-

tion only might be a likely means to set them at variance again. That the Bishop of the diocese complained of certain matters out of order; the fault whereof he laid upon his being kept useless in his office. And the fault of all was laid upon them, the visitors. Wherefore he prayed the said Vicar General, to move the Archbishop to be content to suffer the visitation to cease: that the Bishop might have his jurisdiction, and reform the faults of his own diocese. And that he might have no cause to excuse himself by them, nor to lay the blame upon their necks who had nothing to do therewith; the commission being but *pro forma*. And this his well-advised counsel had its effect, to the great ease and release of the good Bishop of Worcester in a long trouble.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1582.

CHAP. IV.

Makes statutes for the church of Hereford. Petitions of that church for a Divinity Lecture, and freeschool. Reconciles the difference about the river Avon. The rectory of Lugwarden in danger to be lost from the church of Hereford: endeavoured to be preserved by our Bishop. The rigorous government of the Lord President of the Marches. And particularly towards the Bishop of Hereford.

TOWARDS the latter end of this year, our useful Bishop was employed in a like good office to another neighbouring cathedral, namely, that of Hereford: which was, to frame and devise wholesome statutes for that church; instead of the old, superstitious, and inconvenient ones, which the old Bishop Scory had more than once complained of, and prayed they might be reformed. Our Bishop and some of the Council there undertook it, and went through with the business. In the framing of the statutes, they carefully had their eye to the ancient as

Makes statutes for the church of Hereford.

BOOK II.

Anno 1582.

well as the present state of the church; and, as there were abuses in both, adding reasonable remedies, and supplying whatever seemed needful. Some of the statutes they had made pretty strait: but the Bishop found it necessary so to do, that residence might the better be kept. In the month of February, they sent up by a messenger to Secretary Walsingham the statutes and orders which they had made for the said church; to be imparted to
107 their Lordships of the Privy Council, according to their pleasures, as he wrote to the Lord Treasurer. That if they had liking thereof, they might be confirmed, or otherwise reformed. The Bishop shewed him, "That in their "reforming of those statutes, they had consideration as "well to the present state of the church, as also to the "ancient state and orders in the same; reforming the "abuses in them both, and adding that which was there-"in wanting. That the Dean and Chapter had perused "them, and seemed to like them very well: yet he feared, "he said, some secret working to the contrary, because "they were somewhat strait, and in his opinion most ne-"cessary. One of these new statutes was for the settling "a Divinity Lecture, and a freeschool, which occasioned "a petition of that church, as we shall see presently. He "added, that if he, the Lord Treasurer, liked of them, he "would wish them the Great Seal. The authority would "be the greater, and they the better observed."

Bishop Whitgift to the Lord Treasurer about them.

Petitions of the church of Hereford to the Lord Treasurer. Epist. Ep. Wigorn. penes me.

This church of Hereford at this time sent up two good petitions to this Lord: which Bishop Whitgift enclosed in his letter; and no question done by his instigation. The one was for the settling a Divinity Lecture in their church; and the other for a freeschool there. For he used his own intercession in that church's behalf; and that as they were suitors to his Lordship for these favours, so he himself was likewise; beseeching his Lordship to have consideration of them, as he thought best. That he should do a marvellous good deed therein, as he was thoroughly persuaded, and that God would bless his Lordship the better. And so he committed him to his merciful pro-

tection. His letter was dated from Worcester, the 11th of February, 1582. CHAP. IV.

The foresaid petitions are worth setting down, as giving light into the state of the church at this time, and of something that follows. Anno 1582.

The petitions of the Church of Hereford to the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

" We do humbly desire your Lordship to be a means to Divinity Lecture.
" her Majesty, that upon the giving up into her hands, by
" the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, of the possessions
" here specified, it would please her Highness to grant
" again, and to confirm unto the said Dean and Chapter,
" and their successors for ever, the rectory appropriate of
" Lugwarden, in the county of Hereford, with the chapels
" thereunto annexed or belonging, *viz.* Langaron, Hent-
" lan, St. Wenards, and Durchurch Parva, in the said
" county, together with the advowson of the vicarage
" thereof, and chapels aforesaid: all which be now the
" possessions of the said Dean and Chapter. To this use,
" that a Reader of a Divinity Lecture in the said church
" perpetually, according to these statutes, may be found,
" and have convert to his own use all the fruits, profits,
" emoluments, and commodities thereof arising: saving
" and excepted only the ordinary and necessary duties
" and charges thence yearly going forth, or for the same
" to be due; and the charges of necessary reparations of
" the houses and chancels thereof.

" Also, that it would please her Majesty, for the better Freeschool.
" support and furnishing of the new free grammar school,
" to be erected in the said cathedral church; whereas
" there is now no freeschool in all the city of Hereford;
" to grant back unto the said Dean and Chapter, and their
" successors for ever, four pounds yearly by them paid
" out of the rectory of Lugwarden aforesaid, unto her
" Majesty, as due unto her for *obits*, and five pounds for
" the like, paid out of their appropriate rectory of Shining-
" feld *in comit. Berk.* Both which sums are supposed in

BOOK II.

"law not to be within the compass of the statute *for superstitious uses*, &c.

Anno 1582. "And also, that whereas her Majesty, of her princely "liberality, yieldeth yearly, out of certain dissolved "chantries, unto a petit schoolmaster of Ledbury, 3*l.* "12*s.* 2*d.* and at Bosbury, 8*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* and at Colwal, 6*l.* "6*s.* 8*d.* and at Kinnerly, 5*l.* or 6*l.* being all *in comit.* "*Heref.* and doing small or no good at all, by reason "they are uplandish towns, and by reason of the small-
108 "ness of the stipends: it would please her Highness to "grant the said stipends in perpetuity to the foresaid "cathedral church, to the use of the said free grammar "school, to be erected in Hereford, being the shire town, "and serving as commodiously for the training up of the "youth of South Wales, which shall repair thither, as the "school of Shrewsbury doth for the use of North Wales. "So that the sums and distributions only for this purpose "taken from the poor Ministers of the said church, to "their great hinderance, may in part, at the least, be em-"ployed as before they have been; or else, upon the said "better allowances, the number of teachers may be in-"creased, men of greater sufficiency placed in the rooms "of teaching, and the teachers' houses and schoolhouses "the better by them from time to time repaired and "maintained."

A Divinity Reader settled in Hereford church.

This settlement of Lugwarden upon some learned man to read Divinity in that church seemed to have been obtained. I know not what success the other part of the petition had. But it was but shortly after, that that sort of griping men, that got commissions from the Queen for pretended concealments, had like to have overthrown this new Lecture, under pretence that Lugwarden was concealed. Which matter we shall have occasion under the next year to relate, and to shew another piece of service of our good Bishop, in interposing earnestly in behalf of this Church, that that good rectory might not be lost from it.

CHAP. IV.

This year passed not away without another Christian act of the Bishop of Worcester. For I find him in the last month of this year employed in the good office of setting at one, two gentlemen in those parts, that had been at long variance about the river of Avon; which at length was an annoyance to the whole country, by stopping of that great river. The business was brought before the Privy Council: who thought fit to recommend it to our Bishop; calling it a *great contest, controversy, and suit in law*, between John Russel, of Streasham, in that county, Esq. and Thomas Handford, of Wollashal, of the same county, Gent. touching the course of the river Avon. Whereby, through stopping of the stream to annoy each other, great hurt and damage was said to be done to divers of the poor inhabitants thereabouts. The Council therefore recommended this matter to our Bishop, "as a per- "son in their opinion very meet to move them both to "some charitable composition and end in that case," as they wrote in their letter to him. And for the giving him the better countenance and the more authority, "they "prayed him in their names at some convenient time to "send for them, and to do his best endeavour to take up "the matter between them. And if he should not be able "to bring it to pass, yet that his Lordship should take "some good order with them, that they should forbear to "stop the course of the water; whereby, seeking to annoy "each other, the country adjoining was said to be drown- "ed, and others hurt, who had nothing to do with the "said controversy. This was dated the 17th of March, "1582, and signed by Leycester, Hunsdon, Knollys, Croft, "and Walsingham, the Secretary."

Anno 1582. Employed in making peace between two gentlemen in the county.

MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

But as for the parsonage of Lugwarden, with the chapels before spoken of, and set apart for so good an use, there were some *Concealers* (as they called such as got commissions to search for lands, &c. given to superstitious uses) ready at hand to swallow it up, as given anciently to some superstitious use or other. This made our good Bishop (who had been instrumental in the late settlement

Anno 1583. His endeavour to preserve Lugwarden to the church of Hereford.

BOOK II.

thereof) to bestir himself. And on this occasion despatched an earnest and excellent letter to the Lord Treasurer, and his fast friend in such cases, in the behalf of the church of Hereford, and for the averting and stopping this destructive design; written by him in June 1583. The church had first applied itself to our Bishop, and shewed him the designed attempts that were to be made upon them: signifying, that however they did not misdoubt their title, yet they dreaded the trouble and molestation that these men might give them. And therefore they,

Anno 1583.

109 the Dean and Chapter, solicited our Bishop to use his interest with the good Lord Treasurer to stay their intentions. The Bishop most readily complied with their desires. And in his letter, "beseeched the said Treasurer "to be good unto them; and particularly to consider to "what good and necessary uses the said parsonage was "now allotted. And that he would think well of the miserable condition of that and divers other churches "greatly impoverished by unreasonable leases, and by "other means. So that they were not able to perform "what was looked for from them. And that if they should "be further sifted, they would come in the end to nothing: "though these were the chief and principal rewards left "for learned Divines. That he was persuaded, God had "the rather blessed and prospered his Lordship in his doings, and would add to his blessings, wherewith he had "blessed him, long continuance in them, if he would take "upon him the patronage of so good a cause. That St. "Ambrose called the goods and lands of the Church, *the "patrimony of Christ;* and the wrongs and injuries done "thereunto, wrongs and injuries done to Christ. Then "he excused the Queen, and spake of her favour to the "Church and Church matters; and if she understood "these practices, she would not consent thereto. But "that they, of the Church, were not, nor could be, so bold "with any as with his Lordship; and that none could "make their cases better known to the Queen, than he. "And therefore they rested in him." The whole letter,

The Bishop's letter in behalf thereof. Int. Epist. Ep. Wigorn. penes me.

whence these passages are taken, deserves to be transcribed and recorded. *Vide Appendicem.*

Anno 1583. Numb. VI.

The government in the Marches, after the Bishop laid down the Vice-Presidentship.

We have before given some particular instances of our Bishop's service while he was of the Council of the Marches in Wales, and especially Vice-President thereof in the absence of Sir Henry Sydney, Lord President. And it must be mentioned likewise to his commendation, that he was a check upon him, and some of that Council, his adherents, who were extremely addicted to rake and scrape from the people in the Marches, and especially from the Clergy, by nice examination and searches into their lives, and all their private actions. Scory, the ancient Bishop of Hereford, (the only of King Edward's Bishops then alive,) though one of that Council, yet was so handled by the Lord President in this and the last year, that now in his old age he desired earnestly to be removed to some other diocese, or to be allowed to vindicate himself in Westminster Hall, from their courts. And he makes earnest complaints to this purpose to the Lord Treasurer, in two or three letters, how rigorously this last four years [that is, since Bishop Whitgift ceased to be Vice-President] he and his attendants had governed. Which he said that Bishop could acquaint him with; and some others of the most worshipful of that principality could well tell. The poor Bishop was forced to travel up to Town, to appeal from the said President.

Bishop Scory's hard usage there by the Lord President.

And being here, he had the better occasion to inform the Lord Treasurer more particularly of his abuses. "As, "that there were never such devices to get money, as "had been of late practised. That a gentleman of wor- "ship said at his [the Bishop of Hereford's] table, that "the Lord President had received, within two years last "past, thirty thousand pounds. What was answered to "her Majesty, that the Lord President knew best. Yet "the Queen's house there, as was reported, was in debt. "That a certain attorney, that had to do in the fines "there, said, that none were regarded any longer than "they could bring in money. That for himself, who was

BOOK II. Anno 1583.

"reported to be rich, [to fleece him,] he had publicly "called in question his name, by examining thousands, "to his great discredit and injury. That there were strict "examinations and inquisitions in the country, of all and "every interrogatory, as should please certain base com- "missioners, without calling him [the Bishop] first to an- "swer the same, or to know what he could say therein. "Besides divers other dealings, not used to any other "Bishop of this realm since the Conquest, he was sure. "And therefore he prayed the said Lord Treasurer, that "by his good means he might be heard before the Lords; "to whose justice he appealed from the strait doings and "inquisitions of the Lord President and others there; such "as he used for his pleasure against him, though he him- "self was at all times absent."

But after this Bishop was thus come up, and hoped to be justified before the Council, he was fain to go down again, after some considerable tarriance in London, the Queen now going in progress with the Lord Treasurer and the rest of her Court. And he went down, as he said, to his diocese with a sorrowful heart: wherein he was persuaded he should live with small security of life, goods, or fame. Of the last whereof his Lordship and his creatures there had already utterly spoiled him. And so after all this communication, he took his leave of the Lord Treasurer, praying him at parting, to be a means to the Queen, that he and his might be either exempted from the Lord President's authority, to answer in the courts at Westminster, as other Bishops out of the principality did use to answer; or else to be removed to some other place, where he might be in some safety out of his reach.

By whose means his fame and life was in danger.

The end of the Second Book.

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Whitgift elected Archbishop of Canterbury. Reads a schedule assenting to the election. The Queen's letters to the Bishop of London, and other Bishops, to confirm him. His confirmation. A Popish lying report printed of his consecration. The University of Cambridge congratulate him. His trouble and disquiet by the increase of sectaries: and the favour borne them by great men.

THE Queen had her eye upon our Bishop, to prefer him to the top of ecclesiastical honour in her Church; and had a mind, as some say, to put him into Archbishop Grindal's room before his death. But the Bishop utterly refused, out of that honour he had to that most reverend and well-deserving man, though then under a cloud: and likewise out of regard, no doubt, of his own reputation, that he might avoid the censure of ambition in a too greedy catching at advancement. It is certain, that the Archbishop was desirous to resign, and to spend the little remainder of his life privately and in retirement, with the grant of a pension for his life, to be allowed him out of the archbi-

Anno 1583. Whitgift refuseth the archbishopric, Grindal being alive.

BOOK III.

shopric. And from that great esteem that Archbishop had conceived of Whitgift's government, and other his virtues and worthy parts, as he did by his last will bequeath him a ring with a sapphire, so he did heartily desire he might succeed him. But Whitgift could not be persuaded to comply with it. And in the Queen's presence begged her pardon, in not accepting thereof, on any condition whatsoever, in the lifetime of the other. But soon after, that most reverend Metropolitan departed this life, and so left the room open to him.

Anno 1583.

Sir George Paul's Life of Whitgift.

The election of the Bishop of Worcester for Archbishop.

Archbishop Grindal died July the 6th: the Queen's letters soon followed, to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, for the choosing another Archbishop. Their certificate of their election of the Bishop of Worcester followed. And the procuratory or proxy of the Dean and Chapter, 112 namely, of Thomas Godwin, Professor of Divinity, Dean of Canterbury, and the rest of the Chapter, bore date August the 24th, directed to Thomas Goodwin, Paul French, B. D. John Winter, M. A. John Incent, and Thomas Cranmer, Public Notaries; making and appointing them, or any of them, their certain lawful Proctors, Actors, and Ministers for them. Given in their chapter-house the day and date abovesaid.

The said Bishop accepts it, and yields his assent.

The said Dean of Canterbury, in a certain upper gallery within the Dean of Westminster's house, exhibiteth the proxy for the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. And then offered the process of the election to the said reverend Father, the Bishop of Worcester; and prayed him to consent thereunto. Which reverend Father (as it ran in the instrument) first and chiefly thanked the Dean and Chapter, who were pleased to elect him: yet asserting, that he was unfit for to take so heavy a weight of government upon him: and added, that there were many others in this realm more worthy, and more able to obtain and manage this office. Nevertheless, that he might not seem to resist the divine will, by the instinct of whose Holy Spirit he was persuaded he was called to this office, and not to resist the good pleasure of the Queen's Majesty, he yielded

his consent and assent to the said election; and read something out of a schedule to this effect.

In Dei nomine Amen. Ego Johannes permissione divina Wigorn. Episcopus, in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis et metropoliticæ Christi Cant. ritè et legitimè nominatus et electus, atque ad consentiendum electioni de me et persona mea in ea parte factæ et celebratæ, ex parte et per partem venerabilium virorum, Decani et Capituli ejusdem ecclesiæ cathedralis et metropoliticæ instanter rogatus et requisitus, Dei omnipotentis clementia fretus, electionis hujusmodi de me et persona mea (sic ut præmittitur) factæ et celebratæ, ad honorem Dei omnipotentis Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, consentio, eidemque electioni consensum et assensum meos, semel ac iterum rogatus et interpellatus, præbeo in hujus scriptis.

Signed,

Joannes Wigorn.

Whereof there was an instrument made by Incent, the Notary.

The Queen's letters to confirm him.

The Queen's letters commissional for the confirmation of the said election of our Bishop, bearing date at Weald-hall, [in Essex,] August 27, in the 25th year of her reign, were directed to John, Bishop of London; Edmund, Bishop of Peterburgh; Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln; and John, Bishop of Sarum; together with the reverend Fathers, Edmund, Bishop of Norwich; John, Bishop of Rochester; and John, Bishop of Gloucester; with this clause, *Quatenus vos omnes, et quatuor vestrum ad minus, sufficienter et specialiter constituti*, &c. And accordingly the confirmation was performed at Lambeth, Sept. 23, between eight and eleven before noon, before the reverend Fathers the Bishops of London, Peterborough, Lincoln, and Sarum.

The confirmation.

At the aforesaid time and place, the Queen's said letters to the Bishops were read by Dr. Aubrey. And then the said Bishops took upon them the burden: sitting judicially, *et pro tribunali*, in honour and reverence of the

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

said most illustrious Queen; and decreed to proceed according to the form and tenor of the letters: and took John Incent, Public Notary, for the Scribe of the Acts: present, Aubrey, Vicar General in spirituals, and Official of the said reverend Father; Bartholomew Clark, Official of the Court of Arches; William Drury, Keeper or Commissary of the Prerogative Court; William Lewis, Commissary of the Faculties; Creak and Hone, Doctors of Laws. Present also Thomas Cranmer, Public Notary; who was one of those whom the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury appointed their Proctor at this confirmation, together with Paul French, &c. as before was said. Which Cranmer then certified the process of the election at Canterbury; and Paul French, in the procuratorial name of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, exhibited the original mandate of those as were cited *contra oppositores*[a].

Thomas Cranmer.

113

The Bishop of London reads the definitive sentence.

Then the said reverend Father, John, Bishop of London, with the assent and consent of the foresaid reverend Fathers, Edmund Peterburgh, Thomas Lincoln, and John Sarum respectively, the said Bishop's colleagues, read the definitive sentence, or final decree in this cause, to be pronounced and decreed; and did other things as were contained and mentioned in the said sentence; and to the same they subscribed their hands. And lastly, the said four Bishops send their mandate to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, or his deputy, declaring their confirmation of Whitgift Archbishop, and to induct him, or his Proctor, into the real and actual possession of the said archbishopric. Dated September 23.

A Popish tale, that the Queen laid her hand on Whitgift's head.

And now after this exact and punctual relation of Whitgift's confirmation, taken by me faithfully out of the register book of this Archbishop, I may expose an account of his consecration, as it is, with a strange confidence, set down and printed by a Papist, namely, Fitz-Herbert first; and printed and published again to us, in a book, called

[a] Et ego Thomas Cranmer Cantuar. dioc. publica aucte. regia suprema Notarius, atque in pnti. electionis negotio in actor. scribam assumptus et deputatus. *Regist. Whitg.*

The Politician's Catechism, by N. N. at Antwerp, 1658. *Permissu Superiorum*]: "We may believe without the least "notice of credulity, saith he, what he printed anno 1612, "after setting down this story of a reformed ordination "related by Sherer, *viz.* A few years since, not far from "Vienna, a certain noblewoman did call the master of "her children to the office of a Preacher or Minister; and "did order and consecrate him by the imposition of her "hands, and of her apron, which he did use instead of a "stole. Whether any such impositions of hands or ker- "tles were used in the first preachers by Queen Elizabeth, "saith Fitz-Herbert, I know not; but I have been credibly "informed, that Mr. Whitgift would not be Archbishop of "Canterbury, until he had kneeled down, and the Queen "had laid her hands on his head. By which I suppose, "*ex opere operato*, he received new grace. And then he "adds, according to Protestant principles, [if you can be- "lieve him,] Queen Elizabeth might and ought to ordain "Bishops, seeing she was baptized: and ordination is but "baptism in their religion. Let not our modern Protest- "ants censure Mr. Whitgift. He understood the grounds "of reformation, and their practice also in those days, "better than any that will now condemn the receiving or- "dination by imposition of Queen Elizabeth's gracious "hands. If she was Pope, why could she not give or- "ders, and consecrate Archbishops?"

Anno 1583. Fitz-Herb. Pref. to Parsons's Discussion of Mr. Barlow's Ans. in fine. p. 427. Sherer, Postilla Conc. 1. de S. Stephano.

I have taken the pains to transcribe this passage, and leave it to others to make their reflections upon the Popish slander and ridiculous malice appearing in it.

It was before the expiration of the said month of September, that the University of Cambridge (*viz.* the Heads and Scholars of the same) congratulate the Archbishop (some time their scholar, afterwards one of their chief Heads) the great honour he was advanced to, in a handsome well-penned Latin epistle; and themselves also: "who declared themselves greatly delighted with the tid- "ings of it, in respect both of the honour and security "that must accrue to the University hereby. And that

The University congratulate the new Archbishop.

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

"since both the safety and glory of their University consisted in the practice of learning, and in the favour and authority of learned men; what was more agreeable to academies, than to wish all prosperity to their best scholars, and more pleasant than to hear the events of things corresponding to their wishes? And therefore that they could not do less than to give some signification of their joy, and to congratulate him this great accession of honour, as well in his own name, as in that of the University; and that chiefly, because of the expectation the University had of him, for the encouragement and preferment of such as had there attained to good degrees in learning; knowing his ready mind and will towards learning. And the singular kindness of the Prince toward him had given them good assurance, that now he should enjoy a power to do that which he always before had a good-will to do. And in short, that they 114 committed all their concerns to his benevolence, as to a most faithful keeper." But it is far better to read the eloquent letter itself at large; to which therefore I refer the reader in the Appendix.

Num. I.

Upon his entrance, the Archbishop finds great trouble. Whence occasioned.

Whitgift came with a great disadvantage to his high charge, occasioned by the suspension of his predecessor for divers years; being hindered thereby from looking to the affairs of the Church, and from giving seasonable checks to such as bore no good-will towards the government and public worship exercised in it; which created our new Archbishop trouble and disquiet all the time after that he lived. For now (under the former Archbishop's suspension and neglect at Court) the courtiers and honourable personages took their opportunities to get their friends and their creatures whom they pleased, into places and preferments in the Church; which ought to have gone through the Archbishop's hands, or by his advice, and the persons to have been such as should have had his approbation for learning and affection to the established order. Whereas many of these who were preferred, were such as little cared for episcopacy, and the divine service settled

by law: and so the sectaries by this means got strength. And many of them were planted, not only in his province, but in his own diocese of Kent, as we shall see hereafter. And he had great application of gentlemen to him in their behalf; that he would connive at them in their non-compliances with the laws of the land. But when our Archbishop came in place, the courtiers and gentry found their power in dispensing benefices shortened; which created him divers great enemies, when he hindered their sway, as formerly. Whereupon they, with others, linked themselves against him, and gave him many thwarts at the Council Board, now at the beginning of his government. Upon which occasion he wrote to some of them certain expostulatory letters; which are set down by Sir George Paul, in his Life. To which I refer the reader, as well worthy the reading and considering.

Anno 1583.

Life of Whitgift, p. 42.

In which letters the Archbishop shewed, "That he had "risen up early and sat up late, to yield reasons and "make answers to the contentions of the sectaries, and "their seditious objections." And this will abundantly appear by the process of this history.

CHAP. II.

The Archbishop sets forth articles to be observed for Church matters. Sends to the Bishops to execute them. His direction for prosecution of recusants. The opposition the articles met with, especially from the men of the Discipline. A letter of a lawyer, to answer and confute them. Other articles from the Privy Council sent to the Archbishop about religion. The Archbishop enjoins them.

AND now we will go on to declare how this vigilant and industrious Prelate began his government in his province; which he did, first, by drawing up wholesome ar-

BOOK III.

ticles for the regulation of the Clergy, and for the better observation of the laws and usages of the Church established. And then, by a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of his province: both which he presently set himself about.

Anno 1583.

Articles agreed upon for the regulation of the Church. Allowed by the Queen.

For in the month of September, divers good articles were drawn up and agreed upon by himself and the rest of the Bishops of his province, and signed by them. Which the Queen also allowed of, and gave her royal assent unto, to give them the greater authority. For the

115 state of the Church was evidently now but in a tottering condition, both from the Papists on the one hand, and the disaffected Protestants on the other. Therefore the former sort were to be watched, and the laws for the restraint of them by no means to be slackened. And among the Protestants, there were many of the Ministers who undermined the present constitution of the Church, by disaffecting the people's minds against the Common Prayer Book, by framing many objections against some of the rites and ceremonies, and expressions used in it. And for the more secret doing this, there were meetings in private houses upon a pretended religious account; as, to read the Scripture and good books, to catechise and instruct youth, and to pray and confer together. But the state had a jealousy that at these meetings they vented opinions and disputes among themselves, in prejudice to the religion established. And very many preachers there were now started up that would do nothing but preach, and neither read the Liturgy, nor administer the Sacraments, as disliking the manner and form thereof prescribed in our Communion Book. And some of these undertook to preach, that either were not ordained Ministers at all, or ordained differently from the English book, of conferring holy Orders; nor had subscribed to the three articles before the Ordinary of the diocese, according to the act of Parliament, that is, to the Queen's Supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Convocation, anno 1562. The things therefore which were

Practices dangerous to the Church.

now under the Archbishop's consideration to be digested into articles, to be issued out and observed in the Church, had a chief regard unto these and such like neglects. And they were these that follow. Anno 1583.

" First, That the laws late made against the recusants " be put in more due execution; considering the benefits " that have grown to the Church thereby, where they have " been so executed; and the encouragement which they " and others do receive by remiss executing thereof. The articles. Regist. Whitgift, fol. 97.

" Secondly, That all preaching, reading, catechising, and " other such like exercises, in private places and families, " whereunto others do resort, being not of the same fa- " mily, be utterly extinguished: seeing the same was " never permitted as lawful under any Christian magis- " trate; but is a manifest sign of schism, and a cause of " contention in the Church.

" Thirdly, That none be permitted to preach, read, and " catechise in the church or elsewhere, unless he do four " times in the year at the least say service, and minister " the sacraments according to the Book of Common " Prayer.

" Fourthly, That all preachers, or others in ecclesiastical " Orders, do at all times wear and use such kind of ap- " parel as is prescribed unto them by the book of Adver- " tisements, and her Majesty's Injunctions, *anno primo.*

" Fifthly, That none be admitted to preach or interpret " the Scriptures, unless he be a Priest, or Deacon at the " least, admitted thereunto according to the laws of this " realm.

" Sixthly, That none be permitted to preach, read, cate- " chise, minister the sacraments, or to execute any other " ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be " admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe " to these articles following, before the Ordinary of the " diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechiseth, or " ministereth the sacraments: *viz.*

" I. That her Majesty, under God, hath, and ought to " have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of per-

BOOK III. Anno 1583.

" sons born within her realms, and dominions, and coun-
" tries, of what estate ecclesiastical or temporal soever
" they be. And that none other foreign power, prelate,
" state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdic-
" tion, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority eccle-
" siastical or temporal, within her Majesty's said realms,
" dominions, and countries.

" II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering
" Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing in it
" contrary to the word of God. And that the same may
" be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form
116 " of the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and ad-
" ministration of the sacraments, and none other.

" III. That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion,
" agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops in both
" provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation
" holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, and set
" forth by her Majesty's authority. And that he believeth
" all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the
" word of God.

" Seventhly, That from henceforth none be admitted to
" any Orders ecclesiastical, unless he do then presently
" shew to the Bishop a true presentation of himself to a
" benefice then void, within the diocese or jurisdiction of
" the said Bishop: or unless he shewed to the said Bishop
" a true certificate, where presently he may be placed, to
" serve some cure within the said diocese or jurisdiction:
" or unless he be placed in some cathedral or collegiate
" church or college in Cambridge or Oxford: or unless
" the said Bishop shall then forthwith place him in some
" vacant benefice or cure.

" Eighthly, And that no Bishop henceforth do admit
" any into Orders, but such as shall be of his own diocese,
" unless he be of one of the Universities, or bring his let-
" ters dimissory from the Bishop of the diocese, and be of
" age full twenty-four years, and a Graduate in the Uni-
" versity; or at the least able in the Latin tongue to yield
" an account of his faith, according to the Articles of Reli-

" gion agreed upon in Convocation. And that in such
" sort as that he can note the sentences of Scripture,
" whereupon the truth of the said Articles is grounded: Anno 1583.
" and bring a sufficient testimonial with him of his honest
" life and conversation, either under the seal of some col-
" lege in the Universities where he hath remained, or
" from some Justice of the Peace, with other honest men
" of that parish where he hath made his abode for three
" years before. And that the Bishop which shall admit
" any into Orders, being not in this manner qualified, be
" by the Archbishop, with the assistance of some other
" Bishop, suspended from admitting any into Orders for
" the space of two years.

" Ninthly, And that no Bishop institute any into a be-
" nefice, but such as be of ability before prescribed. And
" if the Arches by *double quarrel*, or otherwise, proceed
" against the said Bishop for refusal of such as be not of
" that ability, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, either
" by his own authority, or by means procured from her
" Majesty, may stay such process, that the endeavour of
" the Bishop may take place.

" Tenthly, That one kind of the translation of the Bible
" be only used in public service, as well in churches as
" chapels. And that to be the same which is now author-
" ized by consent of the Bishops.

" Eleventhly, That from henceforth there be no commu-
" tation of penance, but in rare respects, and upon great
" consideration; and when it shall appear to the Bishop
" himself, that that shall be the best way for winning and
" reforming of the offender. And that the penalty be em-
" ployed, either to the relief of the poor of that parish, or
" to other godly uses: and the same well witnessed and
" made manifest to the congregation. And yet, if the
" fault be notorious, that the offender make some satisfac-
" tion, either in his own person, with declaration of his
" repentance openly in the church; or else that the Min-
" ister of the church openly in the pulpit signify to the
" people his submission and declaration of his repentance,

BOOK III. Anno 1583.

"done before the Ordinary; and also, in token of his repentance, what portion of money he hath given to be employed to the uses above named.

"Twelfthly, As persons of honest, worshipful, and honourable calling may necessarily and reasonably have occasion sometimes to solemnize marriage by licence for the *banns* asking, or for once or twice without any great harm; so for avoiding generally of inconveniencies noted in this behalf, it is thought expedient, that no dispensations be granted for marriage without *banns*, but under sufficient and large bonds, with these conditions following. First, That there shall not afterwards appear any
117 lawful let or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consanguinity, affinity, or any other lawful means whatsoever. Secondly, That there be not at that present time of granting such dispensation, any suit, plaint, quarrel, or demand, moved or depending before any Judge, ecclesiastical or temporal, for and concerning any such lawful impediment between such the parties. And thirdly, That they proceed not to the solemnization of the marriage, without the consent of the parents or governors. Lastly, That the marriage be openly solemnized in the church. The copy of which bond is to be set down, and given in charge, for every Bishop in his diocese to follow. Provided, that whosoever offendeth against this order be suspended *ab executione officii* for one half year.

"Jo. Cant. Jo. London, Jo. Sarum,
"Ed. Petriburgh, Tho. Lincoln, Edm. Norwich,
"Jo. Roffen, Tho. Exon, Marmad. Meneven."

These articles set forth.

The Archbishop and the Bishop of London soon after, upon a review of these articles, and the addition of three more, (*viz.* against the printing and publishing of books and pamphlets without licence from the Archbishop or Bishop; against granting dispensations to persons absent; and for writs to go forth, *de excommunicato capiendo*, upon the *Significavit*,) set them forth (having got the Queen's

allowance thereunto) for all persons concerned to take notice of, at their own perils, being resolved to put them in force. CHAP. II. Anno 1583.

And in the next month [*viz.* October] the Archbishop issued out his letters to the Bishops and Ordinaries of his province, for their diligent putting in execution the above specified articles: the copy of his letter is extant to the Bishop of London, dated from Lambhith, wherein these articles are recommended to his care. And certain directions about the first article were subjoined to the same letter. The Bishops were enjoined in the same letter to certify him about certain particulars for his better knowledge and understanding of the present state of the Church and the Clergy thereof. The Archbishop's letter is as follows: The Archbishop to the Bishops, to put the articles in force.

"After our hearty commendations unto your Lordship. His letter. Regist. Whitgift.
"Where, of late by advice, as well of your Lordship, as of
"certain others of my brethren, the Bishops of my pro-
"vince, I have set down certain articles for good orders to
"be observed in the Church of England, the true copy
"whereof I have sent unto you herewith, whereunto it
"hath pleased her Majesty, of her princely clemency, to
"yield her most gracious assent and allowance; to the in-
"tent the said articles may take the better effect through-
"out your diocese of London, I have thought good to will
"and require you, that with such care and diligence as
"appertaineth, you cause the same articles effectually to
"be put in execution throughout the same diocese of
"London.

"And because I am desirous to know the state of the
"Clergy of my province, that I may be the better fur-
"nished to govern the same, I have thought good to pray
"your Lordship to send unto me a catalogue of the names
"of all the ecclesiastical persons within your diocese, with
"signification of their benefices and promotions, degrees
"of school, and of the conformity of every of them to the
"laws and orders any ways established by her Majesty,
"and to require my brethren to do the like in their se-

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

"veral dioceses: and to certify your Lordship as well "thereof, as also how these articles are put in due execu- "tion. That I thereupon may receive certificate of all "from your Lordship. And so I commend you to the "grace of God. From my house at Lambhith, this 19th "of October, 1583."

Then follow in the same letter certain directions for the better prosecution of the first article, which was against Popish recusants; *viz.*

"First, That every Minister in his own cure, the first "Sunday in every month, give warning openly in the
118 "church, to such as be of his parish, of what state soever "they be, to repair to their parish churches in such sort "as by the laws of the realm is appointed, upon pain to be "presented for the same.

His direction to the Ordinaries for their better proceeding in the execution of the first article touching recusants.

"*Item*, That Ministers and Churchwardens of all pa- "rishes do diligently, from time to time, observe what "they are that come not to the church accordingly, but "forbear the same by the space of a month, contrary to "the statute made in the last session of Parliament.

"*Item*, That the said Ministers and Churchwardens do, "under their hands and seals, present to the Ordinary, or "to some such as he shall assign, what they are that do "otherwise. And this to be done every quarter, *viz.* "fourteen days before each assizes and sessions. That "the parties may be there indicted according to the sta- "tute.

"*Item*, If the Ordinary shall perceive, that either by "slackness of the Justices, or waywardness of the juries, "they cannot be indicted according to the statute, that "then the Ordinary shall convent the said persons offend- "ing. And if they shall refuse to conform themselves, to "denounce them excommunicated. And if they stand in "their excommunication by the space of forty days, to "procure the writ *De excommunicato capiend.* against "them."

Such another letter of the same import did the Archbishop send with his articles to Dr. Griffith Lloyd, for Ox-

ford, who had the care of that see now vacant, and so more immediately under the said Archbishop's charge, together with his directions to inform him of the state of the Clergy there. This was dated from Lambhith, October the 29th. Anno 1583.

But these articles gave the discontented party (that called themselves *the maintainers of the discipline of God*) great offence; and they now struggled with all their might to have them vacated and thrown aside, by endeavouring to persuade the Queen to disallow them, whether by humble petition, or interest of some great persons about her. One of this side, that resided in London, broke his earnest desire to a certain unknown person of the laity, skilled in the laws of the land, that he would draw up some sound reasons why the articles lately crept abroad (as he expressed it) from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, might by her Majesty's authority be rejected, as matters frivolous, and unworthy her royal assent. That so execution against divers godly Pastors and Preachers, if it were possible, might graciously be stayed. The gentleman was ready at hand to do this job, and accordingly framed a large laboured answer and confutation, in a bitter angry style, of the said articles, by way of letter, *written from a Gentleman in the Country unto a Londoner, touching an Answer to the Archbishop's Articles.* It bore date November the 6th, 1583. Many labour to hinder these articles from taking place.

He began his letter by affirming, "That such *sound reasons* would little avail in his opinion, unless they by "humble supplication would procure some favourable "grace from the Lord of heaven, to turn the Archbishop's "heart, and to reform his mind. And yet one thing he "dared encourage them in, that were her Majesty truly "and substantially informed what calamity was like to ensue by the execution of those articles, such undoubtedly "was her holy zeal unto the honour and truth of God, yea, "such her clemency also to her people, that her Highness "would rather lose as many Archbishops as there were "articles, than that she would have some one of them put A letter from a gentleman in the country, in answer to the Archbishop's articles. Part of a register, p. 132.

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

" in execution. Then, in order to his laying down his rea-
" sons against the articles, he first falls foul upon the Arch-
" bishop and Bishops, charging them with divers crimes
" and accusations of their breaches of the laws.

That the Archbishops and Bishops by these articles were breakers of the laws.

" And that partly, in their disorder and carelessness in
" the government of the Church committed unto their
" fidelities; and partly, that they in word and semblance
" pretended law and obedience, and yet indeed and in
" truth had been utterly without law, and exempted from
" obedience. That they agreed, in their Synods and Con-
" vocations, upon things by word and writing, and dis-
" agreed from themselves in deed and practice. That
" their often and open neglect of certain acts of Parlia-
119 " ment, and her Highness's Injunctions of weighty import-
" ance, established for the good government of the Church,
" did evidently betray the want of such faithful obedience
" and true service to her Majesty. That with greater
" lenity than beseemed the sword-bearers of the Lord,
" they had in some places urged the outward observation
" of the Book of Common Prayer against some Papists,
" wilful contemners of the Lord's pleasure; whose malice
" and contempt against religion and policy, the laws and
" lawmakers *only* meant to bridle; when again, and not
" without sharper severity than was commonly for the
" professors of the Gospel, they executed the same law
" against the greatest friends and lovers of the Gospel:
" and that altogether by a rule in law, *prohemium statuti*
" *est causa finalis statuti.* And that he that would always
" observe the word and letter of the law, should oftentimes
" be no observer, but a breaker of the law. That the laws
" of the weal public, will they, nill they, did constrain
" them to the necessary observation of such ecclesiastical
" policy, as heretofore had been practised by them; and
" that, until the law be reformed, they have no authority
" to reform what is amiss. And that, partly by what he
" had to offer concerning these articles, and by an abstract
" of other canons, he would make appear, that the posi-
" tive laws of England, in this age and time of the Queen's

" noble government, were rather opposite, than any ways " agreeable to this ordinary position.

" And that therefore, sithence by these articles they Anno 1583. " had published the abuse of the knowledge and learning " of themselves and their officers in the laws heretofore " practised, to the trouble and disquiet of the Church; the " same Church therefore was humbly and reverently upon " her knees to entreat her excellent Majesty, and the ho- " nourable governors and fathers of the empire, by some " more exact and absolute form of inquiry, to have the " laws of the Church revisited; and that the execution " thereof hereafter might be committed to such chosen " men for the purpose, as might and would skilfully and " boldly administer justice in the Church affairs, in such " sort as the truth and equity of the said laws should war- " rant." [That is, to petition the Queen at once to overthrow all the present ecclesiastical constitution; and to appoint, that no Bishops, or other ecclesiastical officers, have any more to do to judge in Church matters, but others whom she should think meet.] " And he doubted " not but the Lord would provide unto her Majesty, not " only men skilful in all manner of knowledge in the laws, " but also men faithful in all manner of service unto the " Lord." And towards the conclusion he repeats this project again, saying, " It remaineth, that you with others " diligently, and in the spirit of meekness, labour by " humble supplication to her Majesty and honourable " Counsellors, to vouchsafe the Church this grace, to take " the affairs thereof into their own hands, and to visit her " land by men faithful and zealous in the service of the " Lord."

The rest of the letter was to make these articles to thwart some way or other, by the writer's interpretation, either the statute laws, or the civil; or to prejudice the Queen's Injunctions, or to encroach upon her sovereignty, as chiefest governor in causes ecclesiastical.

In the next month were other articles or inquiries drawn up by the Privy Council, with some instructions for the Archbishop himself. Still further, in order to a better

BOOK III.

regulation of the affairs of the Church. Which seem to have been occasioned from some petitions against the Archbishop's articles, and complaints therein about connivance at Papists, and of many defects and neglects in the Ministers and government of the Church. But whether from this cause, or some other, so it was, that on the last day of November, it was ordered by the Council, that the Archbishop should be spoke withal upon these several points following.

Anno 1583.

Articles of Inquiry for Church affairs, sent from the Council to the Archbishop. Regist. Whitgift.

I. A general examination to be taken by the Bishops in the Archbishop's province, of all the several schoolmasters, as well public as private; with order that such as be unsound may be removed according to the statute in that behalf provided.

II. Inquiry to be made, how the children of the recusants have been brought up; and how many within their several dioceses, as well recusants as others, have their children beyond the seas.

120

III. What number of preachers each Bishop hath within his diocese; and how many of them resident.

IV. What livings there are in the said dioceses fit for preachers. In whose gift. And how many furnished.

V. What Ministers have been made by the Bishops in his said province, from the thirteenth of her Majesty's reign. And whether they have been qualified, as is prescribed by the statute.

VI. That such as are found to be insufficient, and of scandalous lives, be removed: and care hereafter to be used, that none of the like insufficiency be made.

VII. That such pluralists as are preachers, and have livings in the infected countries, may be ordered to reside upon the same for a season.

VIII. That his Lordship, upon conference with some learned in the civil law, set down, and put in practice, some way to redress the abuses of excommunication for light causes, according as was moved in the last Parliament.

IX. That his Lordship likewise take order for the reformation of abuses in the commutation of penance.

X. Last of all, That these excessive charges in visita-

tions may be abated. And such fees only as by law and reason are due, to be set down in a table, to be hung up in every church within the several archdeaconries and judicial courts in every diocese; to the end that men may know what they ought to pay: and no greater fees to be exacted or paid by any.

These inquiries and instructions were so heartily approved, and readily complied with by the Archbishop, (having first seriously consulted with his brethren the Bishops about them,) that soon after he sent the copy of them, with his letter, to the Bishop of London, to recommend the same to his own diocese, and to disperse them to the rest of the Bishops in the province. Which letter ran to this tenor:

His letter, ordering the dispersing them to the Bishop. Register. Whitgift.

"After my very hearty commendations to your good "Lordship. I have herein sent to your good Lordship, "enclosed, a copy of such articles as the Lords and others "of the Queen's Majesty's most honourable Privy Council "have lately recommended to me. Wherewith I have al- "ready made your Lordship and some other of my bre- "thren acquainted, that were conveniently to be had and "to be conferred withal: and have thought good to pray "your good Lordship, with all convenient speed, to send "copies thereof to all the Bishops of this province, and to "require them in my name, by your several letters mis- "sive, to make diligent inquisition of every such of the "said articles, whose nature doth so require: and certify "me speedily the truth, and what they shall find in every "of them. And to see the two last articles, for commuta- "tion of penance, and for setting up of the table of the "fees, being rather executive than inquirable, to be care- "fully put in execution within their several charges: not "doubting but that your good Lordship also, within your "own diocese, will inquire exactly, and make certificate "to me, as it doth appertain. And so for this time I "heartily commit your Lordship to the grace and direc- "tion of the Holy Ghost. From Lambhith, December "12, 1583."

121

CHAP. III.

The Archbishop strictly requires subscription to the three articles; which procured him many ill-willers. A libel against subscription, called, The Practice of Prelates. *Begins his metropolitical visitation. His dealing with some Ministers in Kent, non-subscribers. Some of their principles and opinions. The evil consequences of non-subscription shewed by the Archbishop. Some Suffolk Ministers refuse. Their complaints to the Council against the Archbishop. His excellent letter to the Council concerning them. And his challenge. Ministers of Sussex suspended.*

BOOK III.

THUS the Archbishop began his government in this Church, by beginning with divers strict articles framed by him for the keeping good discipline, and for the reformation and regulation of Ministers; and that a watchful eye might be kept upon Popish recusants. And particularly he took care to press subscription to the three articles; which subscription before, the Bishops in their dioceses did more slackly regard, and winked at many of the Clergy that did it not, for the sake of the use that was made of them; many of them being preachers, and some of them endued with learning. Which sort of Ministers there was great need of in the Church in these times. Whilst most of those in Orders had not abilities and parts to preach the Gospel to the ignorant people that wanted instruction in the religion reformed; their skill extending no further than to the reading the Common Prayer and Homilies. But by this winking at subscription in some, who though preachers, yet very hotly bent upon a new ecclesiastical discipline, the holy religion reformed and established in the beginning of the Queen's reign, was judged now to be in imminent danger of being overthrown, since both the government of the Church by Bishops, and the forms of public prayer, and consecration and ordination of Bishops and Ministers,

Anno 1583.

Subscription to the three articles neglected;

was wholly disliked and disallowed by many of these preachers, and a new discipline and new forms laboured by them to be brought in. Anno 1583.

Insomuch that it was now thought highly necessary to prevent this danger, by a diligent requiring of subscription by all the Ministers (none excepted upon any pretence whatsoever) that enjoyed office or benefice in this Church. And there is no doubt the Queen was sensible of this, and gave strict commandment unto the Archbishop, now upon his first entrance into this his charge, to take resolute order about it; that such of the Clergy that had that ill-will to the constitution of the Church should no further be harboured in her bosom, and be maintained by her, to undermine the good religion established. And therefore the Archbishop, with the Bishops, framed the articles, as before was mentioned; whereof one particularly enjoined subscription to the three articles. The second of which, *viz.* the approbation of the Common Prayer Book and the form of ordering Ministers, to be agreeable to the word of God, would not down with many that had offices and places in the Church. But all the blame lay upon the Archbishop; and these malecontented Ministers did most heavily complain of him, and spared not for very grievous language, and writings of reproach, which were published against him for his urging this subscription, and suspending some of them that refused it.

Now by the Archbishop strictly required.

Their spleen and hard censures of the Archbishop may in part appear by a book which came out this year, entitled, *The Practice of Prelates:* invidiously giving it the same title that William Tyndal had given a book he writ in King Henry VIIIth's days, against the tyranny of the Popish Clergy. It aggravates his rigorous proceedings, "in depriving many faithful Ministers for not subscribing. "And as touching the author of those articles set forth "lately, who could deny but that it came from the humour "of one man, [*i. e.* the Archbishop,] as might be esteemed "more carried away with private conceit, than with any "grave counsel and godly experience, perhaps (as he him-

122

Hard speeches against the Archbishop in a book called, *The Practice of Prelates.* Part of a register, p. 282.

BOOK III. Anno 1583.

" self [the writer of this pamphlet] said, he understood of " some of themselves) against the tide of the advice of " many of their own coat [the Bishops]; but undoubtedly " against almost the former practice of three or four and " twenty years experience of the peaceable government " that had been under her sacred Majesty, and some of the " best of those grave and Christian predecessors of his. And " that howsoever towards some particular good men some " hard dealings here and there had been shewed, by the in- " stigation of some ignorant and half-popish persons, for " lack of judgment and knowledge; yet that none ever " dealt so generally against the whole ministry, and so ea- " gerly against the stream and light of all men's judgments " in so learned an age, before this new plot [as he called " *the articles*] was heard of; and now (alas!) with so " much calamity was felt."

And then the writer asketh, " But came all this alone " from himself?" He presently answereth, " That Satan " herein had also his finger without all doubt. For what " more pernicious counsel could hell itself contrive, in a " time when Jesuits, those of the Family of Love, and " others of all sorts swarmed; when traitors were so busy " on all sides, &c. now to thrust out godly and learned preach- " ers, that only were in a manner found to be men that " stood up against them and their endeavours?—This reach " most certainly must needs be drawn out of the very in- " ward closets of hell."

And then, the purpose and end of this subscription being inquired into, " The intent hereof, added this writer, as " they would have men believe, was peace. But that, " said he, by these men was inviolable. For who of them, " demandeth he, ever dealt disorderly or tumultuously? " Who ever of them, in word or deed, gave out any just " suspicion of unpeaceable dealing? Nay, had they not " striven for peace in their ministry, in their writings, in " their example, more than any? If their discipline had been " sought for so long by them, never disorderly, but by all " lawful and dutiful means, what use, he asked, might this

" new device have?" He answereth himself, " Verily, what " use could it have, but for his [*i. e.* the Archbishop's] ex- " ercising tyranny upon his fellow Ministers, upon a mere " ambition, with the starving up of many thousands of " souls, by depriving them, [*i. e.* that refused subscription,] " and discouraging thereby other godly and sufficient men " to enter into the ministry? or rather, to keep out such " as would not comply with the happy reformation of reli- " gion, as it was at first, with great deliberation of pious " and learned men, consulted and concluded, and then " confirmed by the laws of the land."

Afterwards, the writer sets down the reason why these preachers would not or could not subscribe. Which he thus expresseth, to render the Archbishop the more odious; " And all, saith he, because they could not agree to his " Popish opinions; I say *Popish*, because they stand " upon the same legs, and must be upholden by the same " arguments that our Ministers of Rheims allege, and " such Popish Doctors as wrote before them, Hosius, Ec- " cius, &c. For who else would ever defend the tyranny of " the Popish hierarchy, and set themselves against the " discipline of Christ, generally and particularly avouched, " practised, and continued, till Antichrist prevailed and " thrust it out? Who would maintain, that ignorant men " should be placed and continued in the ministry of Christ; " making the substantial and necessary part of their office " to be but an *idea;* a thing rather to be aimed at than " attended unto? Who but such would maintain such plu- " rality, *totquots*, non-residence; the Apocrypha to be " read instead of canonical Scripture, nay, rather as serv- 123 " ing more to edification; the solemn, public seals of the " word [he means the Sacraments] to be private, and to " be ministered lawfully by private persons, by women or " boys; alleging the example of such of the Fathers, as " playing in sport did the like."

I have set down these passages out of that book the more at large, because the pamphlets of those times are some-

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

what rare to be met with, and to shew the spirit of these men; and how maliciously this our good Prelate was treated, upon his first coming to his office; vilely representing him, and the ecclesiastical government, truly primitive and apostolical, and our grave and godly Liturgy; and as though it lay in the Archbishop's power to dispense with conformity to them; and when indeed they were twisted into the laws and constitutions of the realm by several statutes of Parliament; and especially that Parliament that confirmed the reformation of our religion, purged from the superstitions of Rome, primo Elizab. and the Parliament, anno 1571, in the 13th of Elizabeth. Such little comfort had this good man in his advancement.

Enters upon his metropolitical visitation.

This first year of his translation to Canterbury he began his visitation metropolitical; that he might as early as possible apply some remedy to the neglects of Ministers in the observance of the laws and customs of the Church, and to reduce them to better obedience, and compliance therewith: having, as was shewn before, prepared articles for the better making his way: and so his visitation continued for divers years after; the Archbishop appointing by commission divers able Civilians and Divines, together with the Bishop of the diocese sometimes, in this business.

Diocese of Bangor visited;

The first diocese visited was that of Bangor. And a commission was issued out from the Archbishop for that purpose, to Nicolas, the Bishop of Bangor, and William Merick, LL. D. his Vicar General in spirituals. And they administered the articles, entitled, *Articles touching Preachers*, and other Orders in the Church. *Item*, Articles to be inquired of in the visitation. *Item*, Articles sent from the Lords of the Privy Council, ult. Novemb. which we heard of before. The same year was the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield visited; and the visitation committed to Thomas Bickley, S. T. P. Richard Cosins, and John Lloyd, LL. D. and Edmund Merick, LL. D. Residentiary of Litchfield, and Luke Gilpin, S. T. B. Archdeacon of Darby. The last diocese this year visited was that of Sarum. The

And of Coventry and Litchfield, and Sarum; Regist. Whitgift.

commission to visit was to John, Bishop of Sarum, and William Aubrey, LL. D. The Vicar General in spirituals, Thomas White, LL. D. and John Sprint, S. T. P. Anno 1583.

Some Peculiars also were this year visited, as the deanery of Bocking; the Archbishop, October 21. appointing John Mullins, Archdeacon of London, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and Rector of the parochial church of Bocking, and John Still, S. T. P. Rector of Hadleigh, his Commissaries for the visitation thereof. And the Peculiars.

This first year our Archbishop began his trouble and concern with the non-subscribing Ministers; divers whereof were of Kent, of his own diocese, and that of Rochester. The names of these Ministers and Preachers were, Carslake of Great Chart; Nicholls of Eastwell; Halden of Selling; Brimston of Horton Monacharum, no Graduate; Minge of Ashford; Elvin of Westwell; Elye of Tenderden; Grimston of Limming, no Graduate, lately a tailor; Fenner of Cranebrook, no cure, nor a Graduate; Knight of New Rumney, no cure; Case of Allington; Calver of Egerton, no Preacher; Green of Hawkhurst; Gulleford of Rownden, a schoolmaster without cure; Mr. Wyborn, Rothoric, Fawcet, Gladwel; these four last of Rochester diocese; Mr. Evans of Newington. The Archbishop deals with certain Kentish Ministers, that had not subscribed.

The opinions of these men, and their doctrines preached and maintained, are summed up in short notes, which the Lord Treasurer Burghley himself took of them; which I have seen under his own hand; *viz.* "No more holydays "than Sundays ought to be. No days to be named by "saints. No fasts to be appointed to saints' evens. "None of the Apocrypha to be read in the Church. The "attire for Ministers to be as it was the 2d of Edward "the Sixth, is against the commandment of the Holy 124
"Ghost. The length of the Litany hindereth sermons. "No prayers ought to be over long. The Book [*i. e.* of "Common Prayer] is unperfect, containing extraordinary "prayers against war, famine, pestilence, &c. and contain-"eth not prayers of thanksgiving. At the Communion, Their opinions and doctrines.

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

" the communicants, being private persons, do pray with " the Minister, where the Minister only ought to pray, " and the communicants only to say, *Amen*. It is not " well said, that all children baptized are saved. The Book " allows to the Clergy a superiority, and establisheth not " the authority of the Elders. It is contrary to God's " word, to order these degrees in the Church, Bishops, " Priests, and Deacons." These were all objections by them made against subscribing to the Book of Common Prayer.

Other sentences and principles of Puritans in Kent.

To which I will subjoin another paper, entitled, *Sentences and Principles of Puritans in Kent*. Concerning which the Lord Burghley writ with his own hand these words, viz. *These sentences following are gathered out of certain sermons and answers in writing, made by Dudley Fenner.* " There ought to be no Archbishop in the Church of God; " because he hath no office therein by the word of God.

" From the Pope to the Cardinal, and from the Cardi- " nal to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the " Lord Bishop, and from the Lord Bishop to the Priest, " they can give no reason of any calling they have out of " the word of God. But all are the inventions of men, to " deface the true word of God, and the true governors of " the same; by whom all such matters are to be governed, " as appeareth to thee in the word of God.

" *Adveniat regnum tuum.* The spiritual part of this " kingdom is the government of the Church, as I taught " the last day, out of the seventh of the Romans: where " I set down the whole government of the Church. Thus " he that teacheth in doctrine is *Doctor;* he that exhort- " eth in exhortation is *Pastor;* he that distributeth in sin- " gleness is *Deacon;* he that ruleth in diligence is *Senior;* " he that sheweth mercy in cheerfulness is *Widow*. And " these ought by the word of God to be in every Church.

" To minister any sacrament in any private house, ei- " ther Communion to the sick, or Baptism to infants, is di- " rectly against the word of God. The words of the prayer

" at Baptism, viz. *Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that* " *it may be born again*, &c. are not agreeable to the word " of God, but contrary to the same.

" The people ought in every church, by the word of " God, to choose their own Ministers: and as long as " they do well, to give them *double honour*. And when " they do not, to put them out, and choose another.

" Every church, by the prescript rule of God's word, " ought to have a perpetual government of Doctor, Pastor, " Seniors, Deacons, &c. which ought to rule and govern " the whole church, and every member of the same.

" The people are not bound to keep any holydays, but " to be at liberty, by the word of God, to work; and ought " not to cease from their labours. For no man can con- " stitute an holyday. For that is idolatry.

" That any one man, either Archbishop or Lord Bishop, " should take upon them to control, or have dominion over " others that are their fellow Ministers, is directly against " the word of God, Luke xxii. &c."

To this paper is added this that follows:

A supplement to the Prayer, since the time of my Lord Archbishop [*Whitgift.*]

" Ye shall pray also, that God would strike through the " sides of all such as go about to take away from the Min- " isters of the Gospel the liberty which is granted them " by the word of God.

Names given in Baptism by Dudley Fenner.

" Joy again. From Above. More Fruit. Dust.

" The Minister of Boulton Quarry was married accord- 125
" ing to the use of Geneva, of late; [* or, according to
" the usage of Scotland.]"

* Added by the Lord Burghley's hand.

These tenets, expressions, and practices of the Ministers of Kent, are enough to shew their disaffection and aversion to the Established Church, and its Orders. Which the Archbishop well understanding, required them to subscribe the three articles in his presence. Which articles I

BOOK III.

will here set down at length, once for all, as they were published by the most reverend Father in April, 1584. Anno 1583. *To the which, Ministers, &c. were to subscribe, before they be admitted either to the ministry, or any spiritual promotion,* as it ran in the title.

The articles to be subscribed, published by the Archbishop.

First, That her Majesty under God hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all persons, born within her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be: and that no other foreign power, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within her Majesty's said realms, dominions, or countries.

Secondly, That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God: and that the same may be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

Thirdly, That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the Clergy in Convocation, holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, and set forth by her Majesty's authority. And that he believeth all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God.

The ill consequence of not subscribing shewed by the Archbishop. Ex manuscripto Col. Caii Gonv. Cant. Rev. Thomas Baker, B.D.

Let me subjoin to these articles what the Archbishop briefly drew up, to satisfy these Kentish Ministers, or any other that scrupled subscription to them, by shewing the inconvenience and ill consequence that would follow. "I. If you subscribe not to the article concerning the Book "of Common Prayer, then by necessary consequence must "follow, there is not the true service of God, and right "administration of the sacraments in the land. II. If you "subscribe not to the book of ordering Ministers, then it "followeth, your calling is unlawful, and the Papists' ar-"gument is good; *No calling, no ministry, no Church,* "&c. III. If not to the last article, then you [deny] true

"doctrine to be established in the churches of England; "which is the main note of the churches. And so I see "no reason why I should persuade the Papists to our religion, and to come to our Church, seeing we will not "allow it ourselves." But to return to the Kentish Ministers.

The Kentish Ministers appear before the Archbishop.

They had been called by some of the Archbishop's officers in the county of Kent to subscribe these articles; and refusing, they were there pronounced *contumaces, reservatâ pœnâ;* and referred to answer at law the 11th and 13th of February following. But fearing they should be prosecuted with much trouble, and no resolution (as they said) to their consciences, they with others (to prevent these inconveniencies) repaired unto his Grace. To whom they made known some of their doubts concerning the Book then enjoined them (as it seems) to observe; and many more concerning the first and second articles, and some concerning the third, they had reserved to say. But in short, the Archbishop (after two or three days spent with them in a very friendly manner, without success) suspended them from their ministry. And in pronouncing this sentence it was declared, that in denying to subscribe the two former articles, they separated themselves from the Church, and condemned the right service of God in prayers and administration of the sacraments in the Church of England, and the ministry of the same; and disobeyed her Majesty's authority.

126

The Kentish Ministers appeal from the Archbishop to the Queen's Council.

Collection of Papers of Whitgift.

Whereupon in the next place they addressed themselves to the Queen's Council, with a long bill of complaints. Therein they shewed, "how they had repaired "privately to the Archbishop, and suggested to him their "thoughts and scruples concerning these articles. And "notwithstanding, how the Archbishop had suspended "them from their ministry, and pronounced sentence "against them; namely, that in denying to subscribe "to the two foresaid articles, they separated themselves "from the Church, &c. They professed, on the contrary, "that in all reverence they judged of the authority esta-

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

"blished: and as for the persons that were authors of "these books, that they did highly, to the glory of God, "promote the true religion of God, and the glorious Gos- "pel of Jesus Christ. And that they so esteemed of these "books. And that there was nothing in them to cause "them to separate themselves from the unity of the "Church. Which in the execution of their ministry, and "participation of the word and sacraments, they had in "their own persons testified. And that they maintained, "that the word preached, and the public administration of "the sacraments, exercised in this land according to au- "thority, was, touching the substance of it, lawful, and "greatly blessed of God. And that they would always "shew themselves obedient to her Majesty's authority, in "all causes ecclesiastical and civil, to whomsoever it "should be committed. But they added, that many "things needed reformation; and therefore they could not "subscribe." And so subscribed themselves, *Their Honours' daily and faithful Orators, the Ministers of Kent, suspended from the execution of their ministry.* This their letter may be read at length in Fuller's Church History, where it is transcribed.

Church History, book ix. p. 144.

Ministers in Suffolk refuse subscription.

There were also at this time divers Ministers in Suffolk, of the same temper and disposition with those in Kent; to them also were the three articles offered by the Bishop of that diocese, and refused. These also, under censure for refusal, had preferred supplications and letters of complaint to the Privy Council. But the Lords sent their letters, together with those of the Kentish Ministers, to the Archbishop himself, by Beal, Clerk of the Council, and a great favourer of them. These letters were brought to him on Sunday afternoon, with this further message, that it was their desire, that the Archbishop would repair to the Court the next Sunday.

The Archbishop writes to the Lords upon the complaints

Upon this, the Archbishop wrote a long letter to the Lords; where he first insisted modestly, yet justly, upon his own authority, as Metropolitan, and her Majesty's direct charge committed to him; noting to them, "how it

Anno 1583.

of these Ministers. Collections of Let. and Pap. of Archbishop Whitgift.

" seemed strange to him, that the Ministers of Suffolk, " finding themselves aggrieved with the doings of their " Diocesan, should leave the ordinary course of proceed- " ing by law, which was, to appeal to him, the Arch- " bishop, and extraordinarily trouble their Lordships, in " a matter not incident, as he thought, to that most ho- " nourable Board; seeing it had pleased her Majesty her " own self, in express words, to commit these causes ec- " clesiastical to him, as to one who was to make answer " to God and to her Majesty in that behalf, his office " also and place requiring the same." Then he proceeded to answer the several passages in those letters. The contents whereof were, " That whereas they said, they " were no Jesuits sent from Rome to reconcile, &c. not- " withstanding, said the Archbishop, they are contentious " in the Church of England; and by their contention min- " ister occasion of offence to those which are seduced by " Jesuits; and give them arguments against the form of " public prayer used in this Church, and by law esta- " blished; and thereby increase the number of them, " and confirm them in their wilfulness. That they also " made a schism in the Church, and drew away others of " her Majesty's subjects to a misliking of her laws and " government, in causes ecclesiastical. And whereas they " said, they had faithfully travelled in persuading to obe- " dience, &c. what stirs and dissensions they had made " amongst those that professed the Gospel, before they " were taught by them, he thought it was apparent. That " it was notorious, that in King Edward's time, and in the " beginning of her Majesty's reign, for the space of divers " years, when this selfsame Book of Public Prayer was " uniformly used, &c. by all learned preachers maintained, " and impugned by none; the Gospel mightily prevailed, " took great increase; and very few were known to refuse " to communicate with us in prayer, and participation of " the sacraments. But since the schism and division, the " contrary effect hath fallen out. And how, added the 127
" Archbishop, could it otherwise be, seeing we ourselves

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

"condemn that public form and order, &c. as in divers "points contrary to the word of God; from the which "the Papists absented themselves, as in like manner con- "demning the same? That whereas they said, that the "most learned writers* of our times had shewed their "mislikings of some of our ceremonies, he wondered either "at their ignorance or audacity; since the most learned "writers in those very times had not so done, but rather "reproved the mislikers. And that those few that had "given contrary judgment therein, had done more rashly "than learnedly; presuming to give their censures upon "the doings of such a Church as this was; not under- "standing the truth of the cause, nor alleging any reason "worth the hearing; especially one little college in either "of our Universities, containing in it more learned men "than in their cities. But if the authority of men so "greatly moved them, as he proceeded, why made they "so small account of those most excellent and learned "Fathers, who were the penners of those books; whereof "divers had sealed their religion with their blood?"

* Viz. Bullinger, Gualter, P. Martyr.

Gives the Council account of his conference with the Kentish Ministers.

Then the Archbishop proceeded to inform the Council concerning the Kentish Ministers, being of his own diocese, and so bound to him by oath in canonical obedience; "That their complaint made him more to wonder; that "they, most of them unlearned and young, and such as, "he said, he would be loath to admit into the ministry, if "they were not already admitted thereunto, much less to "allow them preachers, should dare presume to bring his "doings against them in question before their Lordships, "seeing he had done nothing but that which God, "the law, her Majesty, and his duty, forced him unto: "dealing with them, not as an Archbishop with the in- "ferior sort of the Clergy, nor as a Master of a college "with his Fellows, nor as a Magistrate with his inferiors; "but as a friend and a brother. Which, as he thought, "had so puffed them up, and caused them to be so pre- "sumptuous, that they came to him unsent for, in a mul- "titude; which, he said, he reproved; because it imported

"a conspiracy, and had the shew of a tumult, or unlawful "assembly. Notwithstanding, he was content to hear "their complaints; and that he spent with them the Anno 1583. "whole afternoon, from two of the clock till seven; and "heard their reasons: whereof some, he said, were frivo- "lous and childish, and some irreligious; and all of them "such as gave him occasion to think, that they rather "sought a quarrel against the Book, than to be satisfied. "Which indeed was true, as appeared by some of their "own confessions. Which, he said, he was able to shew, "when he should be thereunto urged. That the two "whole days following he spent likewise, for the most "part, in dealing severally with them; requiring them to "give unto him the chief and principal reasons which "moved them not to subscribe: meaning to hear them in "the rest, if he could have satisfied them in it; or else, "not to spend any further time. Which reasons (if he "might so term them) they gave unto him. And he had, "and meant to make known, when occasion should serve.

And a little way after, the Archbishop asketh, "Of "what spirit it came, that they being no otherwise than "they were, dared to the greatest authority in this land, "next to her Majesty, so boldly to offer themselves, thus "to reason and dispute, as in their bill they vaunted, "against the state established in matters of religion; and "against the Book, so learnedly and painfully penned, and "by so great authority from time to time confirmed?" And then suggested, how by allowing these practices, his own power and place in the Church was infringed and weakened; saying, "That it was not for him to sit in that "place, if every Curate within his diocese should be per- "mitted so to use him: neither were it possible for him "to perform that duty which her Majesty looked for at "his hands, if he might not without interruption proceed "in execution of what her Highness had especially com- "mitted unto him.

"That the Gospel could take no success; neither the 128 "number of Papists be diminished, if unity were not pro-

BOOK III. Anno 1583.

" cured. Which, he said, he was not of doubt in short to " bring to pass, without any great ado, or inconvenience " at all, if it were not hindered: and further, that the " number of those which refused to subscribe was not " great: in most parts of his province, not one; in some, " very few; and in some, none. Whereof many also, and " the greater part, were unlearned, and unworthy the min- " istry. That in his own little diocese of Canterbury, " threescore preachers and above had subscribed; where " there were not ten, worthy the name of preachers, which " had as yet refused; and most of them also not allowed " preachers by any lawful authority. And so, he said, he " knew it to be in all other dioceses within his province; " the diocese of Norwich only excepted. Wherein never- " theless the number of the disordered was far less than " the number of such as were obedient, and quietly dis- " posed." And then shewing the Lords the ill event, " If " these few, which the Church might, he said, well spare, " having meeter men to place in their rooms, should be " countenanced against the best, the wisest in all respects, " the worthiest, and in effect the whole state of the " Clergy; it would not only discourage the dutiful and " obedient persons, but so increase the schism, that there " would after be no hope of appeasing the same.

" He interpreted the disorderly flocking together of " them at this time to argue a conspiracy among them, " and some hope of encouragement, and of prevailing, " which he was persuaded was not meant, nor should ever " be by him consented unto. He could not but take no- " tice of something concerning himself, which might re- " flect upon him, how some of them had bruited abroad, " (as he was informed,) that their Lordships had sent for " him, to answer their complaints; and that they hoped " to be delivered: wherein he said, he knew they reported " untruly, as their manner was. For he could not be per- " suaded, as he added, that their Lordships had any such " intent, as to make him a party, or to call his doings into " question; which from her Majesty were immediately

" committed unto him, and wherein, he supposed, he had " no other judge but herself. And forasmuch as he had " been by God and her Majesty lawfully, without any ex- Anno 1583. " traordinary or unlawful means, called to that place and " function, and appointed to be their Pastor, and to have " the greatest charge over them in matters pertaining to " the soul, he was (as he said resolutely) the more bold to " move and desire them to aid and help him in matters " belonging to his office, namely, such as pertained to the " quietness of the Church, the credit of religion esta- " blished, and the maintenance of the laws made for the " same." And in the conclusion of this his excellent letter, fully to satisfy them, he used these peremptory words; " *And here I do protest, and testify unto your Lordships,* His challenge. " *that the three articles, whereunto they are moved to sub-* " *scribe, are such as I am ready by learning to defend, in* " *manner and form as they are set down, against all mis-* " *likers thereof in England, or elsewhere.* And so de- " siring their Lordships to take this his answer in good " part, and to forbear his coming thither, in respect of this " advantage that might be taken thereof by these way- " ward persons, he beseeched Almighty God long to pros- " per them. From Lambeth, February 4, 1583. Sub- " scribing himself,

" Your Lordships' in Christ,

" JO. CANTUAR."

I find yet again another company of these fault-finders with the Book of Common Prayer, in another diocese, namely, that of Chichester; whose names and livings were these: William Hopkinson, Vicar of Salehurst; Samuel Norden, Parson of Hamsey; Anthony Hobson, Vicar of Leominster; Thomas Underdown, Parson of St. Mary's, in Lewes; John German, Vicar of Burienam; Richard Wheataker, Vicar of Ambreley; John Bingham, Preacher of Hodeleigh; and Thomas Heley, Preacher of Warbleton: all these, with some others, had been suspended by Dr. Langworth, Canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Dr. Ministers in Sussex refusing subscription, suspended. Regist. Whitgift, fol. 348. 129

BOOK III.

Worley, Commissary of the Archbishop, for refusing subscription. Soon after this, they came up, and appeared before the Archbishop, and some Bishops and other ecclesiastical Commissioners. But the Archbishop found better success with these Ministers than with those of Kent and Suffolk. For they modestly propounding their objections and doubts, which had stayed them from subscribing, and giving ear without prejudice to the Archbishop's discourse to them for their satisfaction, were all well satisfied; and before they departed, subscribed the articles.

Anno 1583.

Their scruples and objections, with the Archbishop's answers.

What their scruples concerning the book, and the Archbishop's resolutions thereof, were, do appear by a schedule, sent unto the said Langworth and Worley, from the ecclesiastical commission, with order to take off their suspensions, and to restore them to the execution of their ministry again. Which schedule was as followeth:

Regist. Whitg. ubi supra.

"At which day and place [*i. e.* London, December 6,] "the persons underwritten appeared before the most re- "verend Father in God, John, by the providence of God, "Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; John, Bishop of Lon- "don; John, Bishop of Sarum; and John, Bishop of Ro- "chester; and Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster; "and being required to subscribe to the Book of Common "Prayer, set forth and allowed by the laws and statutes "of this realm; they alleged, that there were certain ru- "brics in the said book, wherein there was contained "some ambiguity or doubt; which moved them to inquire "of the said most reverend Father, and the rest afore- "named, the interpretation of the said rubric. Which be- "ing made and given, according to the said most reverend "Father, and the rest; and signified unto them, that "touching the rubrics (which they thought doubtful, and "named unto the said most reverend Father) their sub- "scription was not required unto [in] any other sense, "than such as was not against the word of God, and "agreeable unto the substance of religion, now professed "in this Church of England, and by law established,

" and according to the analogy of faith. And that their " subscription is not to be extended to any thing not " expressed in the said book. And hereupon they did vo- Anno 1583. " luntarily subscribe. 1. William Hopkinson, Vicar of Sale- " hurst. 2. Samuel Norden, Parson of Hamsey, &c. [and " the rest before specified.]

" The rubrics in the former act specified, and which " they named unto us, and made their doubts of, were, " that in the latter end of the Preface set before the Ca- " techism in the Communion Book in these words, *And* " *that no man shall think that any detriment shall come* " *to children, by deferring of their confirmation, he shall* " *know for truth, that it is certain by God's word, that* " *children being baptized have all things necessary to* " *their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved.* Upon which " words they moved this doubt, whether by these words " the book confirmed this opinion, that the sacrament did " of itself confer grace, *tanquam ex opere operato*, that is, " that whosoever is baptized must of necessity be saved " *ex opere operato*, though otherwise a hypocrite or infidel. " Whereunto it was answered, that the book had not such " meaning; and that by these words it only dissuaded " from the opinion which the Papists had of their con- " firmation, called *Bishoping;* which they believe to be " necessary to salvation; and do think that children are " not perfectly baptized, till they be also Bishoped. And " therefore they make *confirmation* a sacrament; and bring " their children thereunto, being infants. Whereas this " Church of England hath no such opinion thereof, but " doth use it to this end especially, that children may " know what their godfathers promised for them in their " baptism; and also learn to perform the same: and like- " wise that it may be known, whether the godfathers have " performed their promise, in seeing these children in- " structed as the book requireth. And therefore that ru- " bric to contain nothing in it contrary to God's word, to " the substance of religion now professed in this Church 130

The rubrics whence their doubts arose.

BOOK III.

" of England, and by law established, or to the analogy of " faith. With which answer they were satisfied.

Anno 1583.

" The second doubt of this rubric was in the form of " baptism: *Then the Priest shall make a cross upon the " child's forehead.* Whether thereby the crossing of the " child were made an addition to the sacrament, as a part " thereof, and as though baptism were imperfect without " it? Wherein it was answered, that the book had no " such meaning; and the crossing of the child was only a " ceremony significant, and a profitable circumstance, ac- " cording to the words expressed in the book. With which " answer they were also contented.

" The third doubt was of these words in the book of " Ordering Deacons and Priests, *Receive the Holy Ghost.* " And whether thereby it is meant, that the Bishop had " authority to give the Holy Ghost. It was answered, " that the Bishop did not thereby take upon him to give " the Holy Ghost, but only *instrumentaliter;* even as the " Minister giveth baptism, when he saith, *I baptize thee " in the name of the Father,* &c. Whereby he doth not " take upon him to be the author or giver of baptism, but " the minister thereof only, as John the Baptist did. For " Christ only is the giver of the Holy Ghost. And of bap- " tism, John and others are the ministers of the sacra- " ment and of the ceremony.

" The words are Christ's words, used in the admitting " of the Apostles to the ministry. And therefore used by " us in the like action, to signify that God by our min- " istry and imposition of hands, as by the instruments, " doth give his Holy Spirit to all such as are rightfully " called to the ministry. With which answer they were " likewise satisfied.

" The last doubt was of *baptizing by women.* Where- " unto it was answered, that the book did not name wo- " men when it spake of private baptism. And that their " subscription was not required to any thing that was not " expressed in the book. Upon these answers given unto

" them by us, they did voluntarily, and without any pro-
" testation at all, subscribe to the three articles set down
" for all Preachers and Ministers to subscribe unto." Anno 1583.

This being done by these Sussex Ministers, Dr. Aubrey, the Archbishop's Vicar General in spirituals, had orders the same day to despatch his letter to Dr. Langworth and Dr. Worley, of their satisfaction and subscription, and to restore them to their respective ministries. The letter ran to this tenor:

" After my hearty commendations. Where the Min-
" isters, whose names are expressed in a schedule here
" enclosed, being suspended by you from the execution of
" their functions, have appeared the 6th day of this month
" [of December] before my Lord's Grace of Canterbury,
" accompanied with the Bishops of London, Sarum, and
" Rochester, and Master Dean of Westminster, and have
" conformed themselves to his Grace's contentment, as
" may appear unto you by the copy of the said schedule,
" here enclosed; to the original whereof every one of them
" hath subscribed with his own hand. These are to re-
" quire you to release your suspension, and to permit and
" suffer them, and every of them, to execute their places
" freely, as they did before they were suspended, as well
" in preaching and saying of divine service, as in all other
" things. And where other Ministers remain suspended
" by you for other like causes, his Grace's good pleasure
" is, that they shall be also released, subscribing according
" to the meaning expressed in the said schedule, as those
" have done. And this my letter shall be your sufficient
" discharge in that behalf. Thus I bid you right heartily
" farewell. From London, December 6, 1583.

" Your loving friend,
" Wil. Aubrey."

To the right worshipful my loving friends Mr. Dr. Langworth, and Mr. Dr. Worley, and to either of them, yeve these.

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

The controversies moved by these dissatisfied persons, and the favour they obtained with some of the great men, were the occasion of divers other letters both from the 131 Lords and the Archbishop; which we shall give a relation of under the next year.

CHAP. IV.

Commissions for the dioceses of Ely and Winton, vacant. Other commissions for Chichester and Hereford. The ill condition of the diocese of Winchester by reason of recusants. A Bishop of Winton confirmed by the Archbishop. His commission to the Suffragan of Dover. Unites two Churches. Preaches at St. Paul's the 17th of November. The contents of his sermon. Obtains a commission for ecclesiastical causes. Shews reasons for the necessity thereof. Draws up articles and interrogatories for Ministers.

Ely diocese vacant, visited. Regist. Whitgift.

THE see of Ely was now vacant, since anno 1581, upon the death of Dr. Richard Cox, the last worthy Bishop thereof. In this vacancy the Archbishop granted a commission, October 22, 1583, to *exercise episcopal jurisdiction* there, to John Bell, S. T. P. and Richard Bridgwater, LL. D. A commission also was granted to visit the city and diocese of Ely, to Andrew Perne, S. T. D. Dean of the church, and to the other Divine and Civilian before-mentioned. And the several sessions appointed for this visitation, both for times, places, and preachers thereat, *viz.* March the 18th, Wednesday, at Sauston; the preacher to be Dr. Bell. March the 19th at Fulmer, the preacher to be Dr. Pern. March the 21st at Elseworth, the preacher Mr. Holbene, if he will, or Mr. Best. March the 26th at Landbeach church, the preacher Mr. Williams. March the 30th, the cathedral church of Ely, in some decent place within the choir, for the visitation of that church, the preacher Dr. Norgate. March the 31st, the church of the Holy Trinity in Ely, the preacher Mr. Barwel. At this visita-

tion several articles were dispersed, to be inquired into, in the parishes to be visited. As first, whether the church be void. And if it be, who gathereth the fruits thereof. And if it be full, whether the incumbent hath any benefices more than one, &c. Anno 1583.

Commission to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of Winton.

Upon the vacancy of the see of Winton, by the death of John Watson, the last Bishop there, who died January the 23d, 1583, a commission was given forth by the Archbishop to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, during the vacancy, to Richard Coozin, [Cousin,] LL.D. William Saye, and Hugh Lloyd, LL. BB. dated January 28, 1583.

The condition of the diocese of Winton by reason of recusants.

The condition of this diocese was at present but ill, as to its religion. For by reason of the vacation for three or four months, upon the death of Horn, the predecessor of Watson, and this Bishop's remissness, the non-residence of the Ministers, and the diligence of seminary Priests, and want of an ecclesiastical commission, Papistry had got much ground in those parts in Hampshire. Which therefore Dr. Bennet, a learned and good man, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated from St. Cross's, the day next after the Bishop's death, acquainted him with, and earnestly desired that by his means some prudent, active, and godly man might be preferred to that see, and that with as much expedition as could be. Whose careful letter therefore I esteem worth recording, to shew the present state of that diocese, and some other matters relating thereto. 132

The Master of St. Cross's letter upon the Bishop's death.

" Right honourable my good Lord, may it like your
" Honour. It hath pleased to call out of this life, the 23d
" of this month, our Bishop. Who was, after your Lord-
" ship, the greatest stay I had for procurement of my
" credit, and bettering my poor estate. Whereof I had
" good cause to be in some expectation, because his for-
" mer bounty in this house [St. Cross's] hath laid a fur-
" ther burden upon me [namely, constant preaching] than
" I am well able to endure. But so it hath pleased God.
" For this country, it pitieth me. It hath been in ill case
" long time; partly by occasion of the former vacation,

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

" which the Seminarists took as an opportunity to overrun " the whole shire; partly by this man's too much lenity. " I do what lieth in me, God is witness; but the word " wanteth his edge, [an ecclesiastical commission,] which " is *virga disciplinæ*, (which must proceed from your Ho- " nour's Board,) to give the preacher credit, and punish- " ment to the contemner. Which jurisdiction, while it " was here established, there was no such recusancy heard " of in this country.

" The consideration whereof forceth me in conscience " humbly to beseech your Lordship, in zeal of the further- " ance of his truth, and regard of the peace of this corner " of the land, to provide for succession of this place a " man full of wisdom, faithfulness, and spirit in his call- " ing: that may, as in his place, so in gifts of diligence, " zeal, wisdom, government, and hospitality, shine before " the rest. And that the vacation be not long; lest " the insolency of recusants grow to too great an height " of pride. In the mean time of vacancy it were an happy " course that the Dean might be given in charge to at- " tend and keep hospitality, with some assistance for ex- " ecution of laws: and that the custody of spirituality be " not committed unto such as will make a gain of it.

" Lastly, If it might stand with your good Lordship's " favour, (whereof I have received a great testimony, and " for which I acknowledge my bounden duty and readiness " in all service,) I am humbly to crave your Honour's fa- " vour for the keeping of certain meadows behind my " house belonging to the Bishop, for the time of vacancy; " which I am informed are in your Lordship's disposition, " and may do me great benefit. Thus humbly beseeching " your Lordship to pardon my boldness in this kind of " writing, I commend your Honour to the grace and mercy " of God. From St. Cross's, the 24th of January, 1583.

" Your Honour's most humble and bounden,

" Robert Bennet."

Another commission was granted by the Archbishop,

February 7, 1583, to John Longworth, S. T. P. and Henry Worley, LL. D. *ad exercend. jurisdictionem episcopalem* in the diocese of Chichester; Curtes, the Bishop of that diocese, being now either dead, or lying under some suspension or disability.

Anno 1583. Another commission for the diocese of Chichester. Reg. Whitg.

Likewise there was a commission this year made by the Archbishop to Edmund Threskil, LL. D. to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of Hereford; Scory, the Bishop, being, I suppose, either dead or superannuated.

Another for that of Hereford.

Thomas Cooper, the Bishop of Lincoln, was by the Queen's pleasure appointed to succeed in the see of Winchester, lately vacant: her letters patent to the Archbishop, to confirm the election of him, bore date the 20th of March, the 26th Elizabeth. Accordingly he was confirmed on Monday, March the 23d, in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, to be Bishop and Pastor of the church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Winton. The instrument of the *procuratorium* of the Dean and Chapter of Winton bore date March the 12th, 1583, granted unto Laurence Humfrey, Dean of Winton, Michael Reniger, D.D. William Say, LL. B. and Prebendaries of the said church, and John Incent, and Edward Orwel, Public Notaries. 133

Bishop of Lincoln translated to Winton.

In the month of December, the Archbishop by a commission appointed Richard Rogers (who had been consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Dover by Archbishop Parker, anno 1568) to perform in his place, and in his stead, divers things proper to his office: as, to catechise and confirm the children of his diocese and province of Canterbury, according to the present manner and custom of the Church of England: and to ordain such for Priests and Deacons, in the diocese and province of Canterbury, as should be found fit and able in respect of their age, behaviour, and learning. Which he laid solemnly to his conscience before God. And to do all and singular other things, properly pertaining to the office of a Bishop. This commission ran, Rev. Richard Rogers, *Confratri suo Suffragan. sedis Dover*, &c. and bore date the 11th of December, 1583. The instrument whereof I have reposited in the Appendix. Wherein

The Archbishop's commission to the Suffragan of Dover. Regist. Whitgift.

Num. II.

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

the difference may appear between the commissions granted to Suffragans in former times of Popery, (as blessing of altars, chalices, and vestments, consecrating holy oil and chrism, christening of bells, &c.) and those that were granted by reformed Bishops.

The Archbishop united two parishes. Regist. Whitgift.

In the month of November did the Archbishop unite the churches of Hurst, alias Fawkes Hurst, and Bonnington, lying in the diocese of Canterbury, by occasion of a petition preferred to him from the inhabitants of Hurst; setting forth, that the fruits and revenues of the church of Hurst, amounting but to four pounds, eighteen shillings and four pence per annum to the incumbent; and besides, the parochial church ruinous and broken; so that no divine offices could be said in it for forty years past; and that there were but four houses in the parish, and they not great neither: and that they were very near and contiguous to the parochial church of Bonnington, *viz.* not above an English mile from the same; and that they made use of the said church for divine offices and sacraments. That the fruits of Bonnington living arose but to ten pounds, thirteen shillings and three pence. And that this union was with the consent and assent of all parties concerned; namely, of James Hales, Kt. Patron of the said parish of Bonnington, and William Shelly, Esq. Patron of the parochial church of Hurst, and of William Wood, Rector of the said church of Hurst. On these reasons the Archbishop united, annexed, and incorporated the said two churches. *Unimus, annectimus, incorporamus, et consolidamus*, &c. as the instrument ran. Dated at Lambeth, the 16th of November, 1583.

The Archbishop preaches at St. Paul's the 17th of November. Life of Bishop Aylmer, p. 104.

The next day, being the 17th day of November, falling on a Sunday, being the anniversary day of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, (which was every year observed with great joy and solemnity,) the Archbishop was prevailed with by Elmer, Bishop of London, to preach at St. Paul's church. And after sermon, all the great Lords present upon that Bishop's invitation went to his palace to dinner. The Archbishop took his text out of the third

chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, at the beginning; *Put them in remembrance to be subject unto principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to every good work*, &c. According to the notes of this notable sermon of the Archbishop, as I find them in some of my papers, I might give here an account of the chief matters then spoken. In the beginning of his sermon he propounded three things for his discourse. CHAP. IV. Anno 1583.

First, It was to be answered, why the Apostle was so earnest to charge Titus, that he warn and preach to the people that they be obedient to magistrates.

Secondly, That obedience is of necessity; and that all Christians ought to obey.

Thirdly, That St. Paul did set down the notes and marks how a man should know such as were not obedient, ver. 3. *For we ourselves were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another.* But the notes of this sermon being very large, I choose rather to recommend the reading thereof to the reader in the Appendix, where he shall find them. Numb. III.

The ecclesiastical commission, that gave such effectual check to the disaffected in religion, (especially Archbishop Whitgift being now at the head of it,) was struck at by many. And great complaints were made of the rigors and unjust proceedings of it, especially to the Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel. And they laboured now that the Queen might be prevailed withal to forbear the issuing out of such commissions, unless more seldom; and perhaps for such places only, where most Popish Priests were, and seminaries busiest: and as being a thing needless in effect, since the Bishops in their several dioceses might press conformity to the established religion, and had power to punish other misdemeanors. Which things, it may be, the Lord Treasurer had mentioned to our Archbishop, as discourses at the Court to stay the commission; or upon the Archbishop's motion to the said Treasurer, that an ecclesiastical commission might speedily be issued out The ecclesiastical commission complained of. 134

BOOK III.

Anno 1583.

from the Queen to him and other Bishops and sufficient persons; the better to curb the insolence of all the enemies, comprised under each disaffected party, Papist and Puritan; the great work that now lay upon him to do, upon his entrance into this charge in the government and preservation of the Church.

And for these reasons and purposes, I find a paper consisting of divers arguments drawn up shortly by the Archbishop for such a commission, and sent to the Lord Treasurer. On the back-side of which paper is written by the said Lord's own hand, *Reasons for the commission ecclesiastical, primo Novembris*, 1583. The title of the paper was,

Reasons for the Necessity of the Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical.

The Bishop's reasons for an ecclesiastical commission. MSS. Whitgift.

"I. First, The ecclesiastical censures are too short to "meet with notorious adulteries and incests; which were "punished only by a white sheet. But by the commission "they are punished by fine, which is very commodious to "the Queen; or by imprisonment, &c.

"II. If any such notorious offender fly the diocese of "his Ordinary, he cannot be gotten to be punished but by "the said commission.

"III. If any man put away his wife, *sine alimoniis*, and "fly into another diocese, and so from diocese to diocese, "he cannot be called but by the commission; nor she "relieved.

"IV. If any wife, either contracted or married, flee from "her husband into another diocese, and so from diocese to "diocese, she cannot be come by but by the commission.

"V. There is no law to compel any man or woman to "stay, *lite pendente*, from contracting and marrying, but "the admonition of the Judge, which they contemn. But "the commission bindeth them not to contract.

"VI. The commission seeth that search be made for "unlawful books; and examineth the writers, printers, and "sellers, upon their oaths: which the Ordinary cannot do.

"VII. Disordered persons (commonly called Puritans) "contemn the censures ecclesiastical. So that the realm "will swarm with them, if they be not met withal by the "commission.

"VIII. If a benefice be litigious, the church door shall "be shut up, service shall be unsayed, and great quarrels "shall grow about the fruits, yf the commission do not "by sequestration helpe it. For the Bishopps sequestra- "tion they will contemne, because he can but excommu- "nicate. And by that time the writ *De excommunicato* "*capiendo* can be sued out, the service of God shall be "intermitted peradventure a yere or two.

"IX. No notorious fault in any Ministre can be notori- "ously ponished but by the commission.

"X. The whole ecclesiastical law is a carcasse without "a soul; yf it be not in the wantes supplied by the com- "mission.

"XI. The lack of the commission one half yere, would "breed great inconveniences; and more than would in "long time after be well redressed."

135 A commission necessary against Popish Priests about London.

The danger of Popish Priests, who were very busy about this time in perverting the Queen's subjects, and sowing sedition, (and that even in London,) hastened this commission. For the Lord Treasurer now sends to the Bishop of London to make search in his registry, and in the registries belonging to the prisons, concerning Priests committed thither, and particularly (for some special reason) what number of them had been taken up about London for the first eight or nine years of her Majesty's reign. To whom the Bishop answered, "That though he could not "find any thing to the purpose, the jailors being so oft "changed, and that he could find nothing therefore in "that registry for those years certain. But that he found "among them, and especially in the Marshalsea, that those "wretched Priests, which by her Majesty's lenity lived "there, as it were in a college of *caitiffs*, did commonly "say Mass within the prison, and enticed the youth of "London, to his great grief; and, as far as he could learn,

BOOK III.

"did daily reconcile them." The names of one of these officious reconcilers was Hartly. Whom the Bishop shut up, and laid irons upon him, till he should hear from their Lordships what course herein they should take hereafter. "But the commission being renewed, he doubted not but "my Lord of Canterbury would look to these dangerous "persons on that side; namely, in the Borough of South-"wark, so near to his own dwelling." And so taking his leave of his good Lordship, he prayed God to defend him with the shield of his providence in those days, which he called *malicious* and *dangerous*. This was writ from Fulham, the 5th of December, 1583. And this undoubtedly hastened the commission.

Anno 1583.

For in this matter the Archbishop had success; and a commission was issued out soon after to him, the Bishop of London, and divers others: as appears by what was related before concerning the proceedings of that Archbishop, and the commission at Lambeth, with the Kentish, Suffolk, and Sussex Ministers; as well as with the Popish Priests.

Anno 1584.

The labour of the Archbishop in behalf of the Church, occasioned by the Puritans.

Thus the good Archbishop (to welcome him into his high place and dignity) had his hands full, as you have been told in part, by means of the Puritan controversy: which created him a great deal of business, both before the Parliament sat, and by reason of their bills and petitions during their sitting this 26th of the Queen. And all to preserve the constitution of the Church, as it was framed in the beginning of the happy reformation of it; and then established by law: and in obedience to the Queen, who had charged him to redress and maintain the state of the Church, that shook by reason of this faction.

Articles or interrogatories drawn up by the Archbishop, to be answered by Ministers *ex officio*.

And first, let me relate how in this his second year, he, with other the Queen's Commissaries and Delegates for ecclesiastical causes, framed certain *articles* or *interrogatories*, 24th of November, to be objected to all Ministers, whom they, by virtue of their commission, were pleased to summon; for them to answer *ex officio mero*. Especially such as they had reason to suspect, upon information

of their non-observance of the orders of the Book of Common Prayer; and for their preaching, teaching, and writing against the present government of the Church, by Bishops, Archdeacons, and their courts and officers. These articles were drawn up at Lambeth, in the month of May. Whereby any Ministers were to be examined concerning their Orders, and the time and manner of their ordination; and whether it were by the book allowed for Ordering Priests and Deacons; concerning their admission and calling into the ministry; whether they judged it to be not repugnant to the word of God: of their swearing, at that time of their ordination and admission, to the Queen's Majesty, and canonical obedience to their Ordinary, and to the Metropolitan: and many other particular matters did those articles consist of. Which I will briefly set down with the rest already mentioned: as, concerning the using of the form of Morning and Evening Prayer, and administration of each Sacrament, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book; and none other or otherwise. Concerning their deeming and judging the same to be a godly and virtuous book, and agreeable to the word of God: concerning the using their ordinary apparel in their ministration, and not the surplice: concerning their using or refusing to use the sign of the cross in baptizing of infants: concerning the refusing or neglecting to baptize weak infants, till they died without that sacrament administered to them: concerning the celebrating of matrimony, otherwise than by the book was prescribed; and without a ring, and the words then to be used: and concerning not using those words, that "by matrimony was signified "and represented the spiritual marriage and unity between "Christ and his Church:" concerning the using or refusing to use the form of thanksgiving for women after childbirth, according to the book: concerning the baptizing infants otherwise, and in other manner, than the book prescribed; and about not using the interrogatories to the godfathers and godmothers, in the name of the infant: concerning the using of any other form of Litany in divers

136

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

or some points from the said book; and concerning refusal to use the Litany at all: concerning the omitting of reading divers lessons prescribed by the book, and concerning reading of others in their places: concerning the using either not at all, or another manner of common prayer, or service at burial, from that which the book prescribed; and the refusing to use these words, "We com- "mit, &c. earth to earth; in sure and certain hope of the "resurrection to eternal life:" concerning the neglecting or refusing of other parts of the Common Prayer Book, as being persuaded that in such points it is repugnant unto the word of God: concerning adding unto, or diminishing, altering and transposing, according to their own pleasure, at the Communion and other parts of their ministration: concerning preaching, teaching, declaring, setting forth, or publishing, publicly or privately, matters against the said book, or some things therein, as repugnant to the word of God, or not convenient to be used in the Church: and concerning writing or uttering some things to the depraving, despising, or defacing any things contained in the said book. Further interrogatories were, concerning continuing in their former opinions against the said book; and concerning their settled purpose to continue such additions, diminutions, or alterations, as heretofore unlawfully they had done in their public ministration: concerning their private conferences and assemblies; or being present at conventicles, for the maintenance of their doings herein; and for the animating and encouraging of others to continue in the like disposition; concerning their having before been defamed, presented, or detected publicly, for being faulty in all and singular the premises, or some of them, and having been oft admonished by the Ordinary and other ecclesiastical magistrates to reform, yet had refused or deferred the same: concerning their being required absolutely, for the testimony of their future unity with the Church of England, and conformity to the laws established, to subscribe with their hands, that her Majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty

and rule over all manner of persons within her own realms, of whatsoever state, ecclesiastical or temporal, they be: and that the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, &c. contained nothing contrary to the word of God; and that they allowed the book of Articles of Religion to be agreeable to the word of God: and concerning their taking upon them to preach or expound the Scriptures, in public places, and in private houses, not being licensed by their Ordinary. Of these articles and interrogatories an authentic copy at full length, which the Archbishop sent to the Lord Treasurer, is reposited in the Appendix. Numb. IV.

CHAP. V. 137

Some Kentish gentlemen intercede with the Archbishop for their Ministers. The communication between them and the Archbishop. Some account of these Ministers: and particularly of Nicolls, Parson of Eastwell: and Elye another. The Archbishop procures their places to be supplied during their suspensions. Mr. Beal's book in behalf of the Puritans. He affronts the Archbishop; who sends the sum of it to the Lord Treasurer: and his own collections and animadversions thereupon.

THE Kentish Ministers we spake of under the last year, notwithstanding all the interest they used with their great friends, and their applications to the Privy Council, yet still remained under suspension. But now in the month of May, divers gentlemen of that county repaired unto the Archbishop in their behalf; making their requests to him, that those Ministers might be restored; urging, that they used the Book of Common Prayer in their ministry; and what need there was of preaching in those parts, since these were put to silence, being chief preachers there. And such like arguments were used by them to obtain the Archbishop's favour towards these persons.

Application to the Archbishop in behalf of the Kentish Ministers.

But to take the whole of the communication between

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

them and our Archbishop, I offer it from an authentic paper, giving an account thereof; drawn up by the Archbishop himself, to satisfy the Lord Treasurer Burghley, as it seems, to whom great addresses were made in their behalf. Which paper is entitled, *The Summ of the Talk betwixt the Kentish Gentlemen and the Archbishop of Canterbury*, May 8, 1584.

The communication between the gentlemen of Kent and the Archbishop concerning these Ministers. MSS. Whitgift. penes me.

"First, they made their request in the behalf of their "Ministers, now suspended.

"It was aunswered, that if those Ministers wowld be "content to yelde and submitt them selves to that order "which was taken for the procuring of true unitie and "peace of the Churche, and mayntenance of orders, &c. by "law established, they might be restored, otherwise not. "It was further declared unto them, how pernicious a "thing discorde and variaunce in the Churche was, and "what an offence this division wrought in the myndes of "manye: how it was the principal cause that some alto-"geather revolted from the Gospel, and others made a "small accompt of religion: besides that how intollerable "it was, that a few men, for the most part younge in "years, and of very small readinge and studie, and some "of them utterlie unlearned, should oppose them selves to "that, which, by the most notable and famous men in "learninge, and otherwise, hath bene and is allowed and "confirmed from the first renewing of the Gospell in the "realme of England in this age, even to this verie daye, "the same also beinge by law established: in the use "whereof God hath hitherto so wonderfullye blessed this "kingdome.

"It was likewise said unto them, that the effect of "theire contention shawed the inconvenience thereof: for "in Kynge Edward's tyme, and for the space of VII. or "VIII. yeres in the begynnynge of her Majesties reigne, "when this self same book was uniformly without quar-"rellinge thereat used, the worde of God mighteley en-"creased, tho' it immediatelie succeeded Poperie, and "bredde the most famous professors that eyther then

" were or now are; as the number of martyrs, and of
" such as fled beyond sea in Queen Maries tyme, and also
" the number of professors in these days, sufficiently de-
" clareth; neither was there anye revoltinge then, or ab-
" senting from the Church, but daily converting and bring-
" ing thereunto: the contrarie whereof hath altogeather
" followed, synce the said book, &c. began to be impugned,
" as it manifestlie appeareth at this daie.

" It was by them aunswered, that these men (for to some
" they spake) had not at any tyme spoken against
" the said book in their sermons, and that they used
" it in theire ministrie.

" To this it was said, that if it were so, then was there
" no cause why they should refuse to subscribe; seeing it
" is lesse to subscribe then to doe: and that it was to be
" thought, that they would not doe anye thing which they
" supposed to be contrarie to the word of God, and that
" theire subscription to the Communion Booke was no
" otherwise required, then that there is nothinge therein
" contrarie to the word. But (said I) these men aunswere
" deceiptfullie; for when they saye they observe the Booke,
" they meane not that they observe it whollye, as they
" ought to doe, but in parte, as it pleaseth them: else it
" should manifestlie appeare, that they do contrarie to
" their owne consciences; forasmuch as they have made
" objections against the Booke which they take to be of
" greate importaunce, and wherein they pretend not to be
" as yet satisfied: and whether they have preached against
" the said Booke or no, I canne not tell: but sure I am,
" they have exhibited articles, not onely against it, but
" also against the whole order, state, and government of
" this Churche of England, and in effect they condemne
" all.

" It was agayne by them aunswered, that these were
" but their objections exhibited to my self, wherein
" they were desirous to be resolved.

" I told them, that though they were termed by the
" name of *objections*, yet in deed they were *assertions;*

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" and that although I had bestowed much tyme in reason-
" inge with them, and aunswering the same, and that they
" signified unto me, them selves to be satisfied in divers of
" the said objections, yet nevertheles doe they still persist
" in theire wilfulnes: neither can I gett them to sett downe
" wherein they are satisfied, and wherein they are not. I
" added further, that they did not onely deliver their ob-
" jections to me, which had bene tollerable; but they also
" gave out diverse and sundrie coppies abroade to others
" contrarie to their dutie, to the manifest breache of the
" law, by act of Parliament established, to the advance-
" ment of their own glorie, and to the encrease of the con-
" tention and schisme by them and others maynteyned.

" The gentlemen again said, that it were verye harde
" to deale in this manner against preachers, as did in
" all points of doctrine and substaunce agree with us,
" differing onelye in rites and ceremonies.

" I aunswered, that they differed from us in some poynts
" of substance: and if they did not, that yet they were not
" to be suffered, unlesse they could be content to conforme
" themselves to obey the orders and rites of the Churche:
" and that no Churche in Christendome, being under one
" and the same government and governors, (one onelye to
" my remembrance excepted,) did tollerate any man to
" breake theire lawes and orders, or to varie therefrom:
" no, not the Churche of Geneva, which in that poynte
" is most streight: and that they may not thinke so base-
" ly of this realme of England, that therein schisms and
" sectaries should be tollerated, and everie man doe what
" he list, contrary to the example of all other well govern-
" ed Churches and commonwealthes.

139 " They said that these men were no *hereticks* nor *schis-*
" maticks.

" I aunswered, that hówsoever they avoyded the name of
" *heresie*, yet they could not avoid the name of *schism:*
" for he is an *heretick* that erreth in principal points of re-
" ligion, and matters of substaunce, if he therein persevere:
" and he is a *schismaticke*, which consentinge with the

" Churche in all articles of salvation and of substaunce, " yet nevertheless varieth therefrom in orders and ceremo- " nies, and for the same contendeth in the Churche: " which distinction I told them was St. Augustynes, as " indeed it is: who further addeth, that suche men are not " of the Churche. And Chrysostome saith, that it is, *non* " *minus malum Ecclesiam scindere, quam in hæresim in-* " *cidere.*

" They said agayne, that they lacked preachinge, by " reason that these men were put to silence.

" I aunswered, that that could not be, for there were in " my diocese fourescore preachers, I might have said, one " hundreth and more, as in truthe there is: all which have " subscribed and doe preache, five, or seven, or ten at the " most onelye excepted; whereof eight of the saied tenne " are not, nor ever were licensed to preache by anye Bi- " shop, or other ordinance or lawful authoritie: and that " some of them were so unlearned, that I for my part " would be lothe to give them licence to preache, though " they should subscribe: and likewise, I made this offer " unto them, that wheresoever I displaced any Preacher or " Minister, I would place as good or better in his roome, " if I might have the disposition thereof: so that in that " respect they should have no cause to complayne, unlesse " they had the word of God in respect of persons, and " thought that no man would preache it but theire Minis- " ters, which opinion I hoped was farre from them. I told " them moreover, that most of them which then came to " me had no cause themselves to fynde fault for lacke of " preachinge, manye of them beinge resident in the Innes " of the Courte, and some of them dwellinge in other parts " of my diocesse, where preachinge is plentiful. I further " added, that the proffit of preachinge did not consist in " many sermons, or muche talkinge, but in learned, mate- " rial, and effectual sermons: alledging further, that the " chiefe and principall frute which these men work by " their preachinge, is division and contention. Which ap- " peareth in this, that their parishes are all, or for the

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" most part, divided, and at debate amongst themselves,
" synce theire comynge thither, which maketh them odious
" to the said parishioners, and to the common people, (as
" I am crediblie enformed.)

" To the which Mr. Haymond aunswered, that that was
" an especial token of the Spiritt of God; because
" Christ said, that he came not into the world to send
" peace, but the sworde.

" I aunswered, that he was deceived in the meaning of
" that place, and that Christe ment thereby onelye that
" he came to divide Christians from infidells, and not to
" divide Christians one from another amongst themselves.
" Indeed the Anabaptists (whose names for some cause I
" then concealed) proceedinge in the begynnyng, in the
" self same order and manner that these men now doe, al-
" ledged that very text for the mayntenance of their con-
" tentions, which they stirred up in like manner amonge
" the people, and they were aunswered, even as I have aun-
" swered now."

Account of these Ministers sent the Archbishop, by Dr. Lakes, Commissary of the Court of Canterbury.

But notwithstanding the fair characters these gentlemen gave of their Ministers, Stephen Lakes, the Archbishop's Commissary in those parts, an active man, in his letter to his Grace, dated June 28, 1584, from St. Stephen's near Canterbury, (who well knew them,) gave another account of them.

This Lakes was Doctor of Laws, Canon of Christ's Church, Canterbury, and made by our Archbishop's predecessor Grindal, his Commissary, (together with one John Gibson, LL. D.) of his Court at Canterbury. Whose
140 grant bore date Jan. 30, 1581. " To take cognizance of,
" and proceed in, all causes and businesses, suits and com-
" plaints within the city and diocese of Canterbury. And
" to do, exercise, and despatch all things whatsoever that
" by right or custom were known to belong of old to the
" office of his Consistory there[a]." This person still conti-

[a] Cæteraque omnia et singula, quæ ad officium Commissarii Cons. nostri ibm. de jure vel consuetudine ab antiquo spectare dinoscuntur, faciend. exercend. atque expedienda, &c. *Regist. Grind.*

nued Commissary of the Consistory Court to this Archbishop. And now (according to his duty) acquainted him with his proceedings, and particularly with the qualities and behaviours of these Puritans. "That concerning one "of them, Mr. Nicolls by name, being the chief or ring- "leader of the rest out of order; (yet in that supplication "by the gentlemen of Kent, by that often repeated verse, "the tenor verse of their supplication, viz. *None can tell "better than we; None can tell better than we;*) it was "verified [certified] and pretended, that these men "(whereof he was sure they meant Mr. Nicolls to be one, "one on whom they most relied) were men of good order "and peaceable behaviour in the Church, no way derogat- "ing, neither in any word digressing or varying from the "Book of Common Prayer, but executing the divine ser- "vice, and administration of the sacraments, according to "the said book. That his Grace seeing now a bedroll "(which Lakes had sent up) of disorders committed by "Mr. Nicolls, (one of the rest whom they would most jus- "tify,) would now rather muse and inquire, what one point "there is in all the whole book not transgressed by him. "And so withal perceive, what little credit was to be "given to those gentlemen in so rash and boldly justifying "so many persons, and so many disorders in one of them, "but by that arrogant and presumptuous verse, *None can "better tell than we.* And that by this note of Nicolls, "one of them, his Grace, he said, might conjecture of the "misrule of the rest. And he left his censure of the man "to his Grace's wisdom and discretion."

Anno 1584.

Mr. Nicolls.

Which information of Lakes against this man was as follows:

Misorders committed against the Book of Common Prayer by the Person of Eastwell, May 1584.

First, The order of prayer was not used according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer, appointed to be used in the churches. For divers things were pretermitted: as, the exhortation in the Absolution, the ninty-fifth Psalm,

Misorders by the Parson of Eastwel.

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

called, *Venite, exultemus, Te Deum Laudamus,* the Creed, the three Collects, the Creed called Athanasius's Creed, the Litany.

For the Parson of Eastwel began sometimes with the General Confession, or the Lord's Prayer, and the Psalms and Lessons, and the sermon continuing one hour and an half; and singing a Psalm before and after the sermon, ended their prayer.

If there were a Communion, the table being set in the body of the church, he used the Lord's Prayer, the Collect, *Almighty God, unto whom,* &c. the Epistle and Gospel, the General Confession of the communicants: and then used these words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, "which was given for us, preserve our bodies and souls "into life everlasting." And delivering the sacramental bread to the communicants, sitting in the pews in the body of the church, saith to them, "Take and eat this in remem- "brance that Christ died for thee," &c. And taking the cup, said, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which "was shed for us, preserve our bodies and souls into life "everlasting. And we drink this in remembrance, that "Christ's blood was shed for us," &c. And the Clerk delivereth the cup to the first communicant. And one taking the cup of another, they drink all of it, singing the Psalm of thanksgiving; and depart. [Which Psalm is that set after our Psalms in metre, entitled, *A Thanksgiving after the receiving of the Lord's Supper;* beginning, "The Lord be thanked for his gifts," &c.

Also, at the ministering of baptism, the father is commanded to be present, and to answer to the questions with the godfathers and godmothers: and omitteth the signing of the infants with the sign of the cross, with other things there appointed to be used.

141 *Item,* The chancel is unpaved in divers places; and the paving tiles carried home to the Parson's house. The stools which were in the chancel were set in the body of the church. The choir doors are pulled down, and set in the churchyard. And neither chancel nor the body of

the church have the Ten Commandments set up in them: but lieth very undecently and unorderly, contrary to her Majesty's Injunctions.

Also, whereas by order the woman that cometh to church to give her thanks after childbirth, by order of the Book, should sit nigh to the communion table, and the Minister to stand by her, to use the form of prayer there set down; he hath appointed them to keep their own seats; and contrary to the order appointed, useth some part of the prayer, standing in his seat, appointed for public prayer.

And at marriages, useth such order as seemeth best to himself, omitting the order of the Book.

One Wood; his character and deprivation.

Another of these refusers was one Leaver Wood; Commissary Lakes called him *Cor fatuum ac puerile*. Him the Archbishop had, it seems, for his obstinacy deprived. He told the Archbishop in the same letter, "That his Grace "had taken the best course with him; perceiving that "folly and ignorance had left no place in him for wholesome "nurture and understanding, though his Grace had given "him never so long time to be reformed." Adding, "That such examples sometimes were good and profitable "for the Church; that such as could not be cured might "be cut off from it. And what want, said he, could the "Church find of such members, which being incurable, "and so corrupt through their foolishness, were not once "felt when they were cut off. Whether it were that "those members were so unprofitable to the Church; or "for that new members, by his Grace's godly care and "provision, did so shortly succrease instead of those." Thus he thought fit to open his judgment to the Archbishop concerning these men, and the punishment inflicted on them.

Elye complies.

Another of this sort was Mr. Elye; who upon the Archbishop's patience, and allowing him time, did at last comply. Of this man, thus did Mr. Lakes, aforesaid, inform the Archbishop. "That he, though somewhat late, for "his own discharge of his cure, and for the benefit of the "Church, yet in good time for his own safety, had sub-

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" mitted himself to obedience to his Grace's proceedings: " and that he had good cause to be thankful to his Grace " for his forbearance in his so long resistance of his Grace's " lawful commandment. But that the last Sunday, as he " heard, he executed very orderly, and preached the same " day; saving, that some could have wished him to have " used a word or two of his reconciliation to the peace " and unity of the Church; from whence he had so long, " so far withdrawn himself. And lastly, he acquainted the " Archbishop with the occasion of his submission." That having sent for the churchwardens there, his partial friends, (as he called them,) who, as he had, he said, experience thereof, accounted it more service to God, against their oath, to exempt their Vicar from presentments, than by presenting a truth, to perform a good conscience: them he called to answer certain articles: whereby to find out the defects of their Minister; and to deal with them for concealing of the same. They were very loath to be so sifted. And their Vicar, the said Mr. Elye, had much sought that they might be spared. And this very thing he took to be not the least reason to induce Elye to conformity. Whereunto he now being come, the Commissary added, that he should want no exhortations to stand therein; and that he should be more looked unto than heretofore: [since the want of regarding him, and such as he, gave encouragement to their breaking of the laws in their disorderly ministration.]

All this account of these men, and the particular circumstances of these his proceedings with them, did this officer of the Archbishop relate to him. And his letter, wherein these matters are set down, the Archbishop thought fit to communicate to the Lord Treasurer; whereby he might himself the better judge of the temper of these Ministers, (notwithstanding the intercession made
142 for them,) their small learning, their labour to create disquiet and disturbance in the places where they dwelt; and to do what in them lay to hinder the supply of those cures they were suspended from; the better to make their slan-

ders believed, *viz.* that the churches, since their suspensions, were unserved.

Anno 1584.

Which was not true. For the Archbishop, as he suspended these Ministers, or ordered them to be suspended or sequestered from officiating in their places and parishes, so he took care to have them well supplied; especially being in his own diocese. These parishes were Horton, Estwel, Westwel, Selling, Aldington, Egerton, Hawkherst, Chart Magna, Boughton, Mountchensey, and Ashford. For the sufficient supply of which cures, he sent order to the Archdeacon, and his beforesaid officer there at Canterbury. And what was done therein, together with some account of these refusers, the same officer, by his letter mentioned before, signified to the Archbishop. Namely, that the cure of Horton was discharged by the Vicar of Stowting, distant about a mile from Horton. Estwel and Westwel, as not distant a mile asunder, were discharged by one Mr. Coxon, a sufficient man, licensed by authority to serve them both: and did accordingly discharge the same; though the Vicars of each place did much repine at him, to weary him away, as the manner, he said, of those men was. Selling was supplied by the Vicar of Brabourne. But complaint having been made unto his Grace of the want of divine service there, the said officer had charged therewith Mr. Halden, the Vicar there, and also Mr. Wreak, Vicar of Brabourne; which two undertook before him to discharge the same. But they both avouched (notwithstanding the false reports) that the same had been well and orderly served ever since he took that order; saving one or two days only in the forenoon, when the Vicar of Brabourne ministered the Communion to his own parishioners. And the said Commissary Lakes further made inquiry thereof by the churchwardens there: who likewise under their hands, with others of the same parish, avowed the same to be so, and not otherwise.

The Archbishop supplies the places of the suspended, and by whom.

Aldington was served by Mr. Merick, a sufficient man, a Graduate, and licensed Curate there. Egerton was furnished of a Curate lately placed there by the Archbishop's

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

Commissary, aforesaid: his name was Hynde, whom his Grace lately had instituted to the parsonage of Pevington, little above half a mile from Egerton. Hawkherst indeed had been very ill served, and had been so ever since the Curate's departure. But this (not by the Commissary's fault, but) was wholly to be imputed to Mr. Grene, the suspended Minister himself; who neither could quietly permit a Curate there, but never rested till he was gone; nor at any time since would take a course for the service of the same cure; though he had often received admonition thereof. For which Lakes would (as he told the Archbishop) have dealt with him before, but that his Grace had [in kindness] forbade him to proceed with him any further; and that he himself meant to take order with him otherwise.

Great Chart was also badly served; whereof Mr. Carslake could not be excused; who therefore had been sequestered long before this time by the Commissary, but that Mr. Archdeacon told him, that my Lord of Dover [Suffragan Rogers] entreated his Grace for his son-in-law, that the service of the cure might be at his provision; and that it should be well and sufficiently discharged. Howbeit, that promise was not performed. For neither did the Suffragan of Dover remain there; whereby some part of that charge might have been fulfilled, as was promised; neither was there any special Curate commended to the Commissary to serve there. Neither had he made any reasonable supply by the next adjoining neighbours; but let it lie destitute. The Commissary therefore sent for Mr. Grene and Mr. Carslake, to be with him at a day, and to bring such Curates with them as might supply for them, or else to shew cause why he should not sequester their benefices.

Curates difficult to be procured, and why.

As for Boughton Mountchensy, he sent word to the Archbishop, that it should be provided with all convenient speed: but he said, that indeed there was such scarcity of sufficient Curates, and that such as had been sent to those suspended places had been so badly entreated, that

hardly any might be gotten for those churches. For those wayward Ministers, (as he wrote to the Archbishop,) such was their vainglory, that this was all their practice, to work all ways they could, that there should be no supplies in their rooms. That the magistrates might be murmured at thereby, and the populary desired again. Or if any supply were made by any other, then so to traduce them by slanderous reports, that they might appear vile and contemptible in comparison of themselves. Of this conceited and haughty behaviour Mr. Lakes told some of them enough to their faces, as occasion had been offered. 143

Ashford also had reasonable provision for their service; as also for the continuance of their Saturday's exercise; for as the Archbishop had assigned some thither for that purpose; unto them were others adjoined to take their turns with them, for the more certain and easy performance of that duty. And they were, Mr. Walsal, Parson of Estlinge; Mr. Lynsey, Parson of Little Charte; Mr. Graunge, Parson of Frittendon; and Mr. Bourne, Parson of Hinxhil; and, if need were, Mr. Walter, Vicar of Charing.

The Archbishop affronted by Mr. Beal. His book.

This diligence in the good Archbishop, of reducing the Ministers of the Church to an uniform observance of rules, created about this time a great deal of disturbance, by means of a zealous taker of their parts, and so a great friend to these incompliant Ministers. This was Robert Beal, a Clerk of the Queen's Council, and a man of parts and some learning: who now thought fit more openly to shew his good-will towards them, partly by a book of his own writing in their behalf; and partly by his intemperate language and rude behaviour used towards the Archbishop, and that in his own house at Lambeth. Where, in the month of April, he came and presented his book to him, which did so much reflect upon the constitution of the Church, upon the Archbishop, and upon the Queen herself, that he took the pains to draw up a summary of it, to communicate it to the Lord Treasurer. Whom as he bore the Archbishop a special kindness, and was ready to countenance and assist in his affairs for

The Archbishop draws up a summary of it.

BOOK III. the service of the Church, the Archbishop acquainted with all his proceedings and occurrences. Which sum
Anno 1584. or contents of the said book, so by him drawn up, was as followeth.

Lett. and Pap. of Whitg. penes me. "Whereas it is a most glorious part of her Highness "style to be *Fidei Defensor*, and so of preaching and all "other things, *conducentium ad fidem*, I do not take "away, alter, and abase that high style so much as others "doe, principally to extend that authoritie in steed of "faith, to be a defendress of beggerlye, Popish, Antichris- "tian rites and ceremonies, *quæ fidem impediunt et de- "struunt.*

"Her Majesties *authoritie* is used, yea abused, as a "cloak, by the suppression of such as mislike some rites "and ceremonies *obliquè*, to cover and maynteyne such "foul abuses and enormities, which the prelacie is de- "sirous (as experience hath taught) not to have touched "nor reformed, and yet her Majestie hath promised and "commanded it should be redressed.

"The name of *obedience* is verie plausible, and therefore "subtellye wrested and turned from her Majesties true "meaninge, to serve private turns: and manye tymes "upon surmises, suggestions, and wronge informations, "both prynces and theire lawes are drawne from their "true use and intention, to be made and applied for other "particular purposes. As was the law against Daniell "craftily devised, under a fair shew of the King's author- "itie, and yet proceedinge of his enemyes malice, and "compassed and executed by importunitie against the "prynces will.

"The Bishops have no authoritie by the law of God, or "positive law of this realme, to impose ceremonies as "they have done.

"Sundrie points in the Book of Common Prayer are "not authorised by law; and so enforced without law, "and contrarie to the meaning of the Parliament, *viz.* the "kalender, certain lessons, faste uppon saynts evens, a "most godlie prayer for her Majesty, and the Bishops, "wafer cakes in the Communion, &c.

" Seinge the statute made 1°. of her Majesties reigne is " penall, and therefore to be literally and strictly under- " stood, (and it alloweth but of a book with three addi- " tions, and not otherwise:) if there be no first book, nor 144 " ever was with suche three additions, and not otherwise, " then there is no allowance or confirmation of any law: " and forasmuch as this booke which we have, hath more " additions, it is another book, and diverse from that " which the law requireth and confirmed. And so hitherto " there hath bene no booke published according to law at " all.

" It maye appeare that many thinges bear the cloke and " colour of the law which are not law, and have bene and " are obtruded as law; whereupon I thinke manye good " and simple men have been condemned and punished " contrary to law.

" He saith, that the corner'd cap, tippett, square gowne " or cloke, are not mencioned in the law, and therefore " have no force of law, &c.

" He goeth about to prove, that diverse ceremonies " which were used in the second and third year of Kinge " Edwarde the Sixt, which he termeth *superstitious* and " *absurde*, and not meete to be observed, are by law in " force, and yet now omitted contrarie to law.

" He playnelie denieth, and goeth about by sundrie " reasons to prove, that prynces and magistrates have no " authority to make lawes in things indifferent, to bynde " men to the observation thereof.

" He saith, that to geve that authority unto prynces " lawes, and decrees of magistrates, that all theire pre- " scriptions in indifferent thinges ought to rule men's con- " sciences, and make them absolutely good, he holdeth for " no Christian, but for a doctrine fit for Antichriste, who " must in such sorte sitt *in templo Dei*.

" No prynce, yea, not all the prynces in the world, have " authority to ordeyne, but that indifferent things are in- " different things; and so must contynew still without " any alteration, or changing of their own nature, &c.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" In indifferent things, (saith he,) *multa sæpe non faci-*
" *enda, quæ lex imperat.*

" No law positive whatsoever can have more authoritie
" than the law of Moses had, concerninge the observance
" of the Sabboth and circumcision; which nevertheless
" was to be kept or not kept, as the rule of charity did
" require.

" But the troth is, (saith he,) whensoever indifferent
" things are abused, contrarie to the rule of charity, and
" the cause of the first establishment, they ought to be
" abrogated.

" Wherefore it is first to be proved (saith he) that God
" hath geven authoritie unto prynces touching indifferent
" thinges, to make them absolutelie good and lawful by
" commandment, and of necessitie to be observed by the
" inferiours. And untill then, because I fynde no suche
" doctrine in God's booke, your L. must pardon me, if I
" canne not be of your L. opinion, but think it to be verie
" impertinent and dangerous.

" The yoke of Papisticall ceremonies ought not to be
" layed upon any against their willes.

" The ordinances made by the Apostles, Acts xv. pro-
" ceeded from the Holie Ghost, and persons of greater au-
" thoritie than anye Councell, Parliament, Prince, or Pre-
" late ever synce had, and yet was without anye special
" revocation abrogated by the rule of charitie.

" Yea, where *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* is, rites are
" not to be exacted, but left to the libertie *Spiritum ha-*
" *bentis.*

" Surely a magistrate's office (saith he) extendeth so
" farr as God hath appointed it, which is Lorde unto bothe,
" and is not to be drawn further. But the Lord hath re-
" served the conscience of man to be settled by hym self
" in his good tyme, as he thinketh meete in these indiffer-
" ent thinges of dayes and meates, (as the Apostle saith;)
" and therefore the magistrate ought not to entermeddle
" with that case, which the Lord hath reserved to hym
" self: and as the Lord hath not left the judgment of

" Christian doctrine unto the commandment of any ma- CHAP.
" gistrate whatsoever, either spiritual or temporal, but V.
" unto the particular conscience of everie one of his sheepe, Anno 1584.
" which *vocem ejus audiunt, et alienum non recipiunt;* 145
" so hath he done for this parcell of doctrine, touchinge
" the true use of indifferent things: and so as well for the
" one as the other, the rules are to be observed; *Cavete a*
" *pseudo-prophetis*, &c.

" He goeth about to prove, that they extend the author-
" itie of the magistrate farther than by the word of God
" it should be, which say, that the judgement of the rule
" of charitie, touchinge the usinge of indifferent thinges,
" dothe consist in the magistrates, and should not be left
" to the particular conscience of everie man.

" He saith, that a magistrate may restrain excesse and
" vanitie in apparell; but if he should goe about to bringe
" it unto a certein forme, the use whereof might be offen-
" sive to a Christian man's conscience, then should he
" exceede his authoritie.

" Because the Apostle will have obedience for con-
" science sake, he concludeth, that therefore no things in-
" different must be commanded that is against the con-
" science of anye, for then no true obedience is sought.

" He is persuaded, that the ordinances of such ceremo-
" nies, which are prescribed to be necessarilie observed in
" this Churche, have not been made accordinge to the
" rule of charitie and edifyinge; and therefore he thinketh
" them unlawfull, and that the partie which with a good
" conscience refuseth to observe them, committeth no
" disobedience, nor offendeth anye law.

" In the Communion Booke he misliketh the readinge
" of the Apocrypha in the churche; private baptisme;
" the crosse in baptisme: interrogatories ministred unto
" infants; the ringe in marriage; theise names, Mattyns,
" Evensonge, Collects, Anthems, Offertorie, Letanye, Ro-
" gations, Advent, Epiphany, Septuagesima, Wafer Cakes,
" kneelinge at the Communion," &c.

This paper was thus endorsed by the Lord Treasurer's

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

own hand, April — 1584. *A Summary of a Book written and presented unto the Archbishop of Canterbury by Mr. Robert Beal.*

There is another sheet of the Archbishop's Secretary's writing, being the Archbishop's collections and animadversions upon the foresaid book, and arguments of Beal against the Bishops, and Book of Common Prayer, and the usages of divine service; also bitterly by him inveighed against: which sheet bears this title, *Some Points in Mr. Beal's Book, exhibited to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Absurdity and Inconveniencies which follow thereof.* Which writing the Archbishop sent also, together with Beal's book, to the Lord Treasurer; that he might have a fair sight of the merits of the cause, and the matters controverted between them. This paper had also an endorsing of the Treasurer's hand; *viz.* April — 1584. *Certain Notes out of Mr. Beal's Book, sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury; with Inconveniencies ensuing thereupon.* This excellent paper being somewhat long, (that it may not interrupt our history,) I have laid in the Appendix, as worthy the reading.

The Archbishop's answer to Beal's book.

Number V.

146 CHAP. VI.

Beal's rude carriage and speeches to the Archbishop at Lambeth. He acquaints the Lord Treasurer therewith: and asketh his advice. Beal's insulting letter to the Archbishop. The contents thereof. The Archbishop clears himself of Beal's imputations in a letter to the Lord Treasurer. Beal still abusive of the Archbishop. Advice to the Lord Treasurer about a printing press at Cambridge.

Beal falls into a great passion with the Archbishop.

BUT this matter of the book ended not so, but proved the occasion of much disturbance to the Archbishop, by reason of the uncivil and insolent usage that Beal gave

Epist. Whitgift. penes me.

him a while after: it was on the 5th of May that he comes to Lambeth, and demands his book of the Archbishop: who refused to give it him; because, as he told Beal, it was written to him, and therefore no reason he should require it again. And that he had, he made no doubt, a copy of it: which if he had not, he would cause it to be transcribed for him. But Beal fell immediately into a great passion with the Archbishop, for proceeding in the execution of the articles, &c. and told him in effect, that he would be the overthrow of this Church, and a cause of tumult; with many other bitter and hard speeches, (which the Archbishop thought was the true end of his coming.) All this he bore patiently, and wished Beal to consider with what spirit he was moved to say as he did. For, said the Archbishop, it cannot be the Spirit of God. Because the Spirit of God worketh in man humility, patience, and love: and your words, said he, declare you to be very arrogant, proud, impatient, and uncharitable. Anno 1584.

Beal's irreverent behaviour towards the preachers before the Queen.

This man was observed to have carried himself very irreverently at the Lenten sermons lately preached before the Queen; gybing and jesting openly thereat, even in the sermon time, to the offence of many; and especially of such sermons as did most commend her Majesty, and the state, and moved the auditory to obedience. For which misbehaviour the Archbishop took this occasion to reprove him, telling him, how the Spirit of God moved men to hear the word of God with meekness, &c. but that he had heard with disdain almost every sermon preached before her Majesty that Lent. Which notwithstanding Beal confessed, and justified: accusing some of the preachers of false doctrines, and wrong allegations of Doctors, &c.

The Archbishop tells him what he thought of his book.

And again, he began to extol his book, and to say, that they [the Bishops] were never able to answer it, neither for matter of divinity, nor yet of law. But the Archbishop told him, as the truth was, that there was no great substance in the book; that it might be very soon answered; and that it did appear, that neither his divinity nor law

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

was great. He further wished him to be better advised in his doings; and told him, that indeed he was one of the principal causes of the waywardness of divers, because he gave encouragement unto them to stand in the matter; telling them, that the articles should be revoked shortly by the Council, and that his hands should be stopped, and such like. Which, said the Archbishop to him, was spread abroad in every place; and was the only cause that so many forbore to subscribe. Which (as the Archbishop told the Lord Treasurer, to whom he gave all this relation) was true, and he could not deny it.

All this while the Archbishop talked with him privately in the upper part of his gallery, the Bishop of Winchester, and divers strangers, being in the other part thereof. But Mr. Beal beginning to extend his voice that all might hear,
147 the Archbishop began to break off. Then he being more and more kindled, uttered very proud and contemptuous speeches in the justifying of his book, and contemning the order established, to the offence of all the hearers. Whereunto, being desirous to be rid of him, the Archbishop made but small answer; but told him, that his speeches were intolerable, that he forgat himself; and that he would complain of him to her Majesty: whereof he seemed to make small account: and so he departed in great heat.

Threatens to complain of him to the Queen.

Acquaints the Lord Treasurer with Beal's behaviour towards him, and consults with him.

But before the Archbishop would do this, he by a letter, dated May 6, (being the next day after,) acquainted the Lord Treasurer, his friend, with all this discourse, and required his advice therein. He told the said Lord, "how "much he had borne with Beal's intemperate speeches; "unseemly to him to use, though not in respect of him- "self, yet in respect of her Majesty whom he served, and "of the laws established, whereunto he ought to owe "some duty."—And then having related his ill behaviour and speeches, he subjoined, "That he was loath to hurt "him, or to be an accuser; neither would he proceed "therein further than his Lordship should think it conve- "nient. But that he was never more abused by any man

Epist. MSS. Whitg. penes me.

" at any time in all his life, than he had been by him since " his coming to that place, in hardness of speech, for doing " his duty, and for things belonging to his charge. Assuring his Lordship that Beal's talk tended wholly to the " increasing of the contention, and to the animating of the " wayward in their waywardness; casting out dangerous " speeches: as though there were likelihood of some tumult in the respect thereof. Whereas indeed (for which " the Archbishop thanked God) the matter grew to greater " quietness than, he thought, the other wished; and would " be soon quieted, if they, the Bishops, were let alone, and " those discontented persons not otherwise encouraged. " That it seemed that Beal was some way discontented, " and would wreak his anger upon me, said the Archbishop. The tongues of these men, added he, taste not " of the Spirit of God." And then he applied to his Lordship in these words; " Your Lordship seeth how bold I am " to impart unto you my private causes. Truly, if it were " not that my conscience is settled in these matters, and " that I am fully persuaded of the necessity of these proceedings, in respect of the peace of the Church, and due " observation of good laws; and that I received great " comfort at her Majesty's hands, (as I did most effectually at my last being at the Court,) and that I were " assured of your Lordship's constancy in the cause, and " of your unmoveable good-will towards me; I should " hardly be able to endure so great a burden: which now, " I thank God, in respect of the premises, seems easy unto " me. Neither do I doubt, but that God will therein prosper me. Thus being desirous (as he concluded his letter) to impart this matter to your Lordship, to whose " consideration I leave it, I commit you to the tuition of " Almighty God. From my house at Lambehith, May 6, " 1584.

" To your Lordship's most bound,

" Jo. Cantuar."

I have transcribed these things out of the very original

BOOK III.

letter of the Archbishop. A copy whereof Mr. Fuller in his Ecclesiastical History hath given us, but very faultily and defectively transcribed; and without the date of the month and year.

Anno 1584. Book ix. p. 149.

Beal writes an angry letter to the Archbishop.

When Mr. Beal, who departed from the Archbishop in great heat, came home, his ferment was not yet over: but the very next day writ an angry letter to the Archbishop; wherein he let him know, "how causelessly he had the "day before charged him to be malapert, a maintainer of "disorders, and a mocker of preachers. Which charge "though he would gladly have passed over, yet consider- "ing how these things touched his credit, he could not "leave them unanswered, that so his Lordship at lei-
148 "sure might consider of the same. That for malapert- "ness and pride, he dared boldly to avouch, that his be- "haviour both at home and abroad, with all sorts of per- "sons, was such, as no man could justly charge him with "those faults. And that he dared so boldly stand upon "the honesty and credit of his behaviour, as any Clergy- "man in England. And that he was as little an inter- "meddler as any of his calling. That he did the less "weigh his Lordship's words, because he remembered the "last sessions of Parliament, when the Lower House "pressed a reformation of sundry disorders in the Church, "he [the Archbishop] did in like sort charge the whole "house in general with such malapertness, as not becom- "ing them to deal with their betters. That when things "could not be answered in learning, nor justified by law, "then it was the common wont to charge men with "malapertness; as though the Spirit of God, and all "learning, consisted only in some few men, and apper- "tained nothing unto any other: which must be led as "buffels, by respect of persons, and not by the verity of "God's word; as was the custom in Popery. Which "grieved him to see, as he wrote, to encroach so much; "and would do still, if better order were not taken," &c. And then afterwards, touching the favourite cause, he tells the Archbishop, "That he dared boldly say, that he had

" studied, and was able to say as much as his Lordship or " any other could,——That he had read his Lordship's " great book, and divers other unlearned and foolish pam- Anno 1584. " phlets, for the defence of that cause: wherein he offered, " upon the hazard of his life, to discover manifest gross " absurditics, falsehoods, misconstruing of Scriptures, and " impertinent allegations of the Fathers, after the Popish " manner," &c. This is enough to shew the strain of this letter, and the conceitedness of the man, and the freedom of his language. But the letter being very long, those that are minded to see more of it may have it exactly exemplified from the very original. Brief notes, taken out Number VI. of it by the Archbishop, he sent to the Lord Treasurer, (as he did the whole letter,) which were as follows.

The contents of Mr. Beal's letter, written to mee the Archbishop of Canterbury, May 7, 1584.

" First, he doth most arrogantlie commend himself, for The contents of it; sent to the Lord Treasurer. " his integritee, learning, and policie; and maketh verie " odiouse comparisons: as,

" That he dare as boldlie stand upon the honestee " and integritee of his behaivour, as any Clergie-man in " England whatsoever.

" That he hath served without blame or spott this " twelve yeres: wishing, that all Bishopps in England " could say the lyke:

" That he is hable to serve in his calling, aswell as most " of the Clergie-men are in theirs:

" That he knoweth the state of the Churches abrode " and at home, as well as any of them:

" That in this cause he dare boldly say, he is hable to " say asmuch as my self, or any other:

" That he hath readd my great book, and diverse other " unlearned and foolish pamphlettes, made for the defense " of this cause: upon which he offereth, upon hazard of " his lyfe, to shewe manifest grosse absurdities, false- " hoodes, mysconstruing of Scriptures, and impertinent " allegations of the Fathers, after the Popish maner, &c.

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" That in knowledge of the state, he thinketh himself " inferiour to never a Prelate in this realme, and that his " knowledge in this matter is equal with any others:

" That his knowledge of the state of the Churches " abrode, &c. is not inferiour to any Bishopps or Clergie- " mans in England:

" That he hath studied the civil laws XXVI years, and " would be loth, that the greatest Doctor, that is about " mee, could so teach him what law is, but that with a " little studie hee could discerne, whither he say truely " or no:

" That in divinitee he hath readd asmuch as any Chap- " len I have:

149 " That neither I, nor all my Chaplens are hable to aun- " swer his booke particularlie, and yet the larger and most " forcible parte thereof remayneth behinde, &c.

" Secondlie, He bitterlie inveigheth against the pro- " ceedinges nowe in hand for uniformitee in matters of " religion, saying,

" That he feareth the relapse of this realme into Po- " perie, whereof his conscience persuadeth him, that theis " actions are fore-runners:

" That suche is the state nowe, that if these proceed- " inges go so forward as they have begunne, both the " Church and State of the whole realme will receave great " prejudice and hurt thereby:

" That the gentlemen knowen to be best affected to " God and her Majesty are therewith greeved, the adver- " sarie to them both comforted, Poperie and Atheisme " increased:

" That our enemies abrode, which doo attend any op- " portunitee to annoy us, are lykely to lay hold on this " opportunitee to worke their mischief:

" That these proceedinges are derogatorie to the glory " of God, and advancement of his worde, and lyke to " bring great inconvenience both abrode and at home.

" That he will not be guiltie of the ruines to come, " howsoever by service his danger may be sooner, than of

" those, that are, and will be the chieffest causes and in-
" struments of it:

" That the Scottish Queene lyketh well of their proceed- Anno 1584.
" inges, and alloweth better of the order, that is meant to
" be established by mee in this Churche, then shee doeth
" of the Churches in France or Scotland: for that here
" lacketh nothing, but onely the setting up of the Masse
" agayne:

" That it is vehementlie suspected, that the Archebi-
" shopp of St. Andrewes is lately departed hence, with
" suche an approbation of our rites here, as carieth with it
" a condemnation of the forme used there. Whereon it is
" not unlike, but at the first some hold will be taken, to
" the great disadvantage of the Churche. And if that hap-
" pen, (as he verilie thinketh it will be attempted,) what
" accompt of fidelitee or friendshipp towardes her Ma-
" jesty and this state can be reposited in others?

" Thirdly, He toucheth my self, and speaketh of mee
" his pleasure, namely,

" That I should the last Parlament charge in generall
" the Lower House of Parliament with malapartnesse,
" which is most untrue.

" That when things cannot bee aunswered in learning
" nor justified by lawe, then it is the common wont to
" charge men with malapertnesse.

" That Calvin, Beza, Junius, and the Ministres of Scot-
" land, men nothing inferior in learning to mee, have
" hadd as ill, or worse wordes.

" That hee can see no aunswere to his booke, more then
" *ipse dixit:* and that I must pardon him, if he bee not
" ledd by the nose with any Pythagoricall or Papall *ipse*
" *dixit.*

" That Poperie is least untouched, and findeth more
" favour: and that those which instruct the people to be-
" ware of it, are put to silence, &c.

" That his conscience forceth him to tell mee playnely
" *in libertate Spiritus Domini Jesu, me non incedere recto*

BOOK III. " *pede, prout convenit veritati Evangelii et saluti hujus* " *regni.*

Anno 1584. " That the sheepe, beeing bereafte of their good shep-
" wardes, doo want foode, and are lyke to die, both bodie
" and soule. The penaltee whereof *irremissibiliter* will be
" exacted at my handes.

" That the traitor Throgmorton, since his commitment,
" recommended mee to bee the onely meetest Bishopp of
" this realme: and added, that both his father and hee
" were muche beholding to me: and that the rest of that
" crue have conceaved the same opinion and courage; not
" without cause.

" Last of all, speaking of some one Bishop's sermon be-
" fore her Majesty, he saith, it was suche, as Prince,
" Counsellors, and all the auditorie departed with very ill
" satisfaction, yea derision of his dooinges; adding, that
150 " he may say the lyke of others: concluding thus, yf
" falsely and impudently they alleage and surmyse thinges
" which are not found so, may they not be myslyked and
" tolde of it? With other unseemly speeches."

The Archbishop hereupon writes to the Lord Treasurer, vindicating himself. MSS. Epist. Whitg. penes me.

This letter then, so extravagantly applauding himself, and his own knowledge and reading, so terribly reflecting upon the Church and State, and so insufferably abusive and slanderous of the Archbishop, he sent the next day to the Lord Treasurer, enclosed in a secret letter, dated May the 8th, all of his own writing, to the same. Wherein, besides his observations on this man, he carefully vindicated himself from several malicious hints, as though he, the Archbishop, were not true to the religion nor the Queen. In that letter to the said Lord, he observed to him, " how Beal's stomach, great vanity, and exceeding
" malice appeared in his letter: that he seemed by several
" passages in it, as though he would charge him with
" great matters, if he could: as valuing himself above the
" Parliament, and speaking rudely of the Lower House,
" and charging them with malapertness. That he held
" dangerous conferences with a Scotch Bishop, *viz.* the

"Archbishop of St. Andrew's, lately gone home, in order "to overthrow the religion settled in Scotland. That the "Popish Mary, Queen of Scots, much approved of his "doings against the Puritans: how favourably Throg- "morton, a Papist, then in prison for high treason, spake "of the Archbishop; and that there was a good acquaint- "ance between them. And finally, how disrespectfully he "spake of Beza, and Calvin, and Junius, and the Min- "isters of Scotland." Of these accusations the Archbi- shop vindicates himself to the said Lord Treasurer, and declared the truth of what he said, and of what he had done in those matters: viz. "That of his words towards "Beal, and Beal's words to him, there were sufficient "witnesses, namely, the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Byng, "and divers others then present. That of Beza and Cal- "vin he had no otherwise spoken than became him. "That Junius deserved whatsoever he had said of him. "And that his [Beal's] hard terms upon the Apocrypha "were intolerable, offensive, and unjust. That he [the "Archbishop] so termed the nether House of Parliament "was most untrue; though perhaps he might speak some "words of some in that House, deserving what he said. "It might be also, that he had spoken in the mislike of "the Churches in Scotland, but not of late; nor upon any "conference with the Bishop of St. Andrew's. For what- "soever his opinion was, as he added, of that platform, "yet he had learned not to be curious *in re aliená*. That "all the conference that ever he had with that Bishop, he "had made known to his Lordship; sithence which time "he had not seen him; neither had he his hand to any "thing. What the Queen of Scots thought, he knew not, "neither was it any thing material to him. But he be- "seeched God, that he never should see that day, wherein "she might do him either good or harm. That he loved "Sir John Throgmorton whilst he lived with him, [being "then Bishop of Worcester,] neither had he any other oc- "casion. For that he served her Majesty painfully in "that place [of the Council, I suppose, for the Marches of

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" Wales, or in the commission of the peace in those parts:] " and he wished there were in that respect the like now. " But that as for his son Francis, he was never in his " company, to his remembrance, but once, and that in " his father's time, when he [then Bishop of Worcester] " sent for him by process, to answer to certain matters " wherewith he was then to be charged. Sithence which " time, the said criminal, Throgmorton, had not, to his " knowledge, much remained within his jurisdiction." And then the Archbishop, having thus declared the truth of these matters objected to him, asketh this question; " But what would Mr. Beal's malice [as it appeareth] " work against me, if it could? Or when was it ever seen, " that one in his place durst in this manner write to an " Archbishop, for doing his duty towards God, his Prince, " the laws, and the Church? Well, it is a fruit, said he, " of that spirit; and it causeth me to feel, that *Qui epi-* " *scopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat;* and that in- " deed there is in it *plus oneris quàm honoris.*" And as for Beal's book, wherein he so much gloried, and said, it could not be answered by the Archbishop, or any Clergyman of them all, the Archbishop told the Treasurer, " that
151 " it was without method, and very frivolous, and easily " answered, both in divinity, law, and policy. And so he " beseeched God to give unto his Lordship health. From " Lambeth, the 8th of May, 1584. [Subscribing,]

" To your Lordship most bound,

" Jo. Cantuar."

Beal still insolent.

What satisfaction Beal gave to the Archbishop I do not find; but I find some weeks passed, and Beal remaining in the same temper and spirit, and as abusive of the Archbishop as before. Which he was so sensible of, that he could not forbear reminding the Lord Treasurer of it, in a letter of the 26th of May, " Beseeching him to remember " Mr. Beal's letters written unto him, and to give to him " [the Archbishop] his good advice therein, [as he had be- " fore desired.] That they touched him so near in credit,

" that he could not lay them up. That the man also was " so insolent, that he gloried in them, even as he did in his " intemperate speeches, which he had used to him in the " council chamber at the Court, and in his [the Archbi-" shop's] own house. And that bearing with him did but " puff him up." We shall hear more of him and his books (which he caused to be printed, giving thereby further offence to the Archbishop) before this year be expired. Anno 1584.

The Archbishop jealous of having a printing press in Cambridge.

For these principles against the Church, and the ecclesiastical government of it, were not a little promoted by dispersing them abroad in printed books. And here I must insert another care of our Archbishop; and that was, for the laying restraint upon the press. That which gave occasion to have a more special regard to this at this time, was a book newly printed at Cambridge, (that University having a privilege of keeping a printing press,) describing the new platform, in derogation of the present episcopal government. But the impression, or the most part thereof, was seized. And the Vice-Chancellor acquainted the Lord Treasurer, their Chancellor, with it; and he, the said Lord, desiring to advise with the Archbishop for remedying such inconveniencies of that press for the future, the Archbishop gave him his opinion in a letter, dated the last day of June, to this purpose: " First, " he thanked him heartily for his great care in these mat-" ters of the Church, and for his unfeigned and most con-" stant friendship towards him. And then he proceeded, " that he thought it very convenient that the books " should be burnt, being very factious, as he said, and full " of untruth." He further informed the said Lord what this book was, namely, the same with that which Travers was supposed to have set forth in Latin before, without any addition or detraction; only now, as it seems, put into English. And which, I suppose, was the book of the new platform proposed to the Parliament the latter end of this year, to take place in the room of episcopacy by all means; and that afterwards, being found among themselves to have something amiss in it, was referred to Tra-

Survey of Discipl. p. 66.

BOOK III.

vers to revise; and came out again in the year 1586, in the Parliament time.

Anno 1584. Shews his advice about it to the Chancellor of that University.

The Archbishop further told the Lord Treasurer, "That "ever since they had a printing press in Cambridge, he "greatly feared that this and such inconveniencies would "follow. And that he thought it would not so stay. For "although, as he added, Mr. Vice-Chancellor that then "was were a very careful man, and in all respects greatly "to be commended, yet it might fall out hereafter, that "some such as should succeed him would not be so well "affected, nor have such care for the public peace of the "Church and of the State. But that whatsoever his "Lordship should think fit to be done in that matter, or "would have him to signify to his Vice-Chancellor there, "either in his [the Chancellor's] name, or in his own, he "prayed him to signify the same to the Dean of West-"minster, or otherwise; and he would perform it accord-"ingly: advising nevertheless, that if printing did there "continue, sufficient bonds, with sureties, should be taken "of the printer, not to print any books, unless they were "first allowed by lawful authority. For if restraint, said
152 "the Archbishop, be made here, and liberty granted there, "what good can be done?" This care of the press will further appear by the articles drawn up by the Archbishop and the ecclesiastical Commissioners the next year, for rectifying abuses in printing.

CHAP. VII.

Gifford of Malden suspended; brought before the High Commission. Ministers of Lincoln and Ely dioceses non-subscribers. Letters in their favour from the Council. The Archbishop's letter hereupon. Expostulates with the Lord Treasurer about these refusers. Is threatened. Draws up a schedule of all the preachers, both Puritans and subscribers. Sir Francis Knollys writes to the Archbishop, and so does the Lord Treasurer, about those men. The Archbishop's earnest letter to him in answer.

WE leave Beal for a while, one of the heads and patrons of this disaffected party; and shall look more generally upon them all, especially their Ministers and friends, which were not a few, and some even of the Queen's Council; and withal observe the conflicts the Archbishop had with them. Anno 1584.

First, I meet with Mr. George Gifford, Minister of Malden in Essex, who now in May lay under a suspension, inflicted on him by the Bishop of London, for not subscribing to the three articles; he being dissatisfied in some things required. He was valued much there for the good reformation he had made in that market-town by his preaching; where very notorious sins reigned before his coming; and others had been by his diligence nourished and strengthened in grace and virtue, (as the inhabitants in a petition to the Bishop in his behalf had set forth at large;) and that in his life he was modest, discreet, and unreproveable; that he never used conventicle; but ever preached and catechised in the church. That he had once before been suspended, and summoned up before the ecclesiastical commission, and remained in durance; but the accusers not being able to prove the matters alleged against him, he was dismissed by the Bishop of London to his preaching again. But now being this second time suspended, his character was presented so fair to the Lord Gifford of Malden under suspension.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

Treasurer, that he sent to the Archbishop to shew him favour. Who having informed himself further by the Bishop of London, Gifford's Diocesan, concerning him, the answer the Archbishop gave to that nobleman was in these words; "It appeareth that the said Gifford is a ringleader "of the rest; against whom also I have received certain "complaints, to the answering whereof we mean to call "him by virtue of the high commission. In the mean "time, I think it not convenient to grant him any further "liberty, or release of his suspension, until he have purged "himself. His deserts may be such as will deserve de-"privation." Thus impartial and unmoveable was the Archbishop in the discharge of this commission.

The Archbishop's account of him.

Ministers in the diocese of Lincoln suspended for not subscribing.

In the large diocese of Lincoln, though several Ministers had subscribed before the Archbishop in commission, yet there were others there that were suspended for non-subscription; and so remained. Concerning whom the Archbishop sent this message, in the month of May, to one Mr. Barfoot, a member of that church of Lincoln, whether Archdeacon, or some other officer there, I know not: appointing him to exhort those recusants in his name no longer to forbear, but to subscribe. Which accordingly Barfoot did, and advised them to leave off their fantasies, conceived without any great ground of learning, and to listen unto his Grace, and other Fathers and learned counsel; telling them also, that it was his Grace's pleasure and resolution, that [without compliance] they should still remain in the state of suspension. Which probably he thought fit to let them know, that they might not flatter themselves with the pretended interest they had among some great men.

153

Some Ministers of Ely diocese be for the Archbishop.

Some of these Ministers were found (as in other dioceses mentioned before, so) also in the diocese of Ely; whom the Archbishop in commission was now dealing with. These also obtained a letter in their favour from the Council Board, dated the 26th of May, for further day of respite for their subscription. Now again did the wary but steady Archbishop acquaint the Lord Treasurer with

this letter, and gave answer to it in a letter to the said Lord, dated from Croydon, the same day, *viz.*

Anno 1584.

His answer to the letter wrote in their favour.

"That it might please him to be advertised, that these "had had now almost half a year's space to resolve themselves in: and that some of them also had been with "him for the same purpose. And that to them he had not "only granted longer space, but also conferred with them "of their doubts, until they neither had any thing to object, neither yet to answer. And without doubt, as he "said, it was his courtesy offered to them, in deferring "them from time to time, that had done both them and "others more harm than good. Yea, that some of those "persons who now were petitioners had greatly abused "his [the Archbishop's] lenity in that behalf. And therefore he heartily prayed their Lordships not to be offended "with him, if he forbore to grant such requests. The "which, if granted to them, would also be looked for of "all others in that case. Which would overthrow whatsoever had hitherto been done; and so animate the wayward sort, which were the fewest, and to his knowledge (a very small number excepted) the worst; and "discomfort the most and the best, who had yielded their "obedience. That for his own part, he had rather die, or "live in prison all the days of his life, than to be any occasion thereof, or ever to consent unto it. Nevertheless, "he added, that he had dismissed for this time these present petitioners, without any time limited unto them; "meaning hereafter, at convenient leisure, to send for "them one by one, and to proceed against them by the "ecclesiastical commission, in such manner and sort, as he "was well assured by the best learned in both the laws to "be warrantable. That in the mean time he humbly desired his Lordship, and others, rather to reprove them, "than by their letters to seem to give unto them any "countenance at all; which they were apt to take and to "abuse. So should his trouble be the less, they the "sooner reformed, and the Church reduced to unity."

From other dioceses likewise (that the Archbishop

BOOK III.

might go through with this business) were some summoned up before him and the commission. In the mean time the Lord Treasurer was his friend at Court, against ill turns that some great men there endeavoured to do him, being his enemies only for executing his office, and the Queen's command, in checking these men that transgressed the laws. And for this true friendship of that Lord, he despatched a private letter to him, written all with his own hand, dated from Croydon, June the 14th, declaring, "That he could not but still heartily thank him "for his carefulness in his behalf, touching the matters "then in action." And whereas those gentlemen had charged him much for checking such useful men as they were, being preachers of the Gospel in the nation, and in respect of their learning; and blamed his too much rigor therein at that time of day; he proceeded thus in his discourse with the said Lord: "That he rather feared just "blame for his remissness hitherto, than for any extremity "or rigor. And that he did not a little wonder that such "kind of persons as those were, as hitherto he had to "deal with, being the worst sort of preachers, (if they "might be termed preachers, being rather so in name
154 "than deed,) and such as by their doings and preachings "rather wrought in the hearts of their auditors a mislik-"ing of the laws and governors, than obedience, should "have such and so many patrons. That he thought it "neither was, nor ever had been so, in a settled state and "good kind of government. That his conscience bore "him witness, that he did nothing which in duty he ought "not to do, and which the extremity of the disease did "not force him unto. That the laws were with him, "whatsoever Mr. Treasurer*, and some lawyers, (whose "skill, he said, was not great,) said to the contrary. That "her Majesty moved and earnestly exhorted him there-"unto, with strait charge, as he would answer the con-"trary. And yet nevertheless, some others, (said he,) who "must seem to rule and overrule all, would needs have "their wills.

Anno 1584. Expostulates with the Lord Burghley concerning the favour of some great men towards these refusers of subscription. MSS. Chart. et Epist. Whitg. penes me.

* Sir Francis Knowles.

"That, as to what was written (up to somebody at the "Court) of the rejoicing of Papists in Cheshire and elsewhere, it was either untrue, or not much material. For "first, Cheshire was out of his province, and the Ministers "there not as yet touched with those matters. And if "they were, he asked, what cause had the Papists to be "glad thereof? They were urged to subscribe against the "usurped power of the Bishop of Rome. How could that "please the Papists? They subscribed, that in our Book "of Common Prayer there was nothing contrary to the "word of God. This could not please the Papists, who "wholly condemned it. They likewise subscribed to the "book of Articles, which the Papists counted for heresy. "That there was therefore no likelihood that a Papist "could receive any encouragement by this subscription. "But that if they were encouraged at all, it was because "this subscription was refused; and thereby their opinion "of our service and religion by some of ourselves ve-"rified.

"That it was Mr. Goodman, a man for his perverseness "sufficiently known, [who resided in Chester now, if I "mistake not,] and some other ill disposed persons, which "instilled these things into his Lordship's* head; or else "were they devised on purpose to hinder the course "begun, &c.

* Perhaps my Lord of Leicester.

"That time would not serve him to write much; and "he referred the rest to the report of the bearer; trusting "his Lordship would consider of things as they were, and "not as they seemed to be, or as some would have them. "That he thought it high time to put these men to si-"lence, who were and had been the instruments of such "great discontentment as was pretended. That con-"science was no more excuse for them, than it was for the "Papists or Anabaptists, in whose steps they walked. He "knew, he said, that he was especially sought; and many "threatening words came to his ears, to terrify him from "proceeding.

"But I am at a point, said he, and say with David, *In*

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" *manibus tuis, Domine, sortes meæ:* they cannot do no " more against me than He will suffer them. And if there " be no other remedy, I am content to be sacrificed in so " good a cause: which I will never betray, nor give over, " God, her Majesty, the laws, my own conscience and " duty, being with me. And then in conclusion he be- " seeched his Lordship to continue constant in these " causes, whereof he doubted not. And so with his hearty " prayers to God he committed him to his tuition. From " Croydon, the 14th of June, 1584. Subscribing,

" To your Lordship most bound,

" Jo. Cantuar."

The Archbishop threatened.

What danger the good Archbishop was in, even of his life, and from what men, appears not only from this letter, but also from another secret letter, written to the same Lord before this month of June expired, which he desired that Lord to tear or burn when he had read it. Whence may be gathered what apprehensions he had from a certain Lord, (whom he styled my Lord of L——,) and that arising from an intimation privately given him by the Bishop of Chester. The sum of what the Archbishop wrote
155 concerning this matter was to this tenor; "That the Bi- " shop of Chester wrote unto him of late; and that in his " letter a little paper was enclosed; the copy whereof he " sent to his Lordship. You know, saith the Archbishop, " whom he meaneth. But it moveth me not; (as he " added, with a right Christian confidence;) he can do no " more than God will permit him. It is strange to under- " stand what devices have been used to move me to be at " some men's becks. And that the particularities of it, " he said, he would one day declare to his Lordship. But
His resolution. " he concludes in these words, (implying both his resolu- " tion and firm trust in God,) *Dominus illuminatio mea,* " *et salus mea: quem timebo?*"

And then, to keep up the Lord Treasurer's heart from desponding, who had hitherto joined with him, he applied himself thus unto him: "I beseech your Lordship, be you not

" discomforted. The cause is good, and these complaints " [made of the Bishops] are vain, and without cause, as " it will appear when they descend to particularities."

There were also some numbers of these recusants, and repugners of the rites and practice of the Church, in the dioceses of Norwich and Peterborough; and not many more elsewhere, besides the places already mentioned. The diligent Archbishop, to satisfy the Lord Treasurer, and all others, (to whom it was loudly reported what great numbers of learned preachers throughout all the dioceses of England were of this sort and persuasion,) had by this time made inquiry, throughout most of the dioceses in his province, into the truth of this matter. And now in June he had an exact account thereof in some of the dioceses; (which he received from his several brethren and Suffragans, the Bishops;) together with the rest of the conformable preachers in their respective dioceses. And drawing the same into a schedule, shewing the numbers and degrees of all the preachers, as well those who had yielded to conformity, as such as had refused so to do, he sent it to the Lord Treasurer, accompanied with his letter, dated from Croydon, June 24, importing, "That he had sent " unto him a note of so many dioceses as he had received " certificates from: and that the rest should be sent to " him as soon as they should come to his hand. That he " was assured, that in all that province there would not " be many more recusants, unless it were in the dioceses " of Norwich and Peterborough. Where, he said, they " were animated by some which might have been better " occupied. Certainly, added he, the recusants for the " most part were men of no account, either for learning or " otherwise, but very troublesome or contentious; rather to " be repressed by discipline, than any way favoured. And " yet that the third part of these wilful persons were not " suspended, but only admonished: which mild kind of " proceeding with them, he said, did them rather harm " than good. He said further, that he knew there would " now be, by some, great reports made: but they would

Puritans in the diocese of Norwich and Peterborough.

Sends to the Lord Treasurer a schedule of the numbers and degrees of the Puritan preachers.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

"prove in the end to be vain. And so wishing to his "Lordship as to himself, committed him to the tuition of "Almighty God."

The short sum of the said preachers. Numb. VII.

The abovementioned schedule that the Archbishop had gathered of the preachers, subscribers and non-subscribers, within his province, I have cast into the Appendix. The short contents whereof are as follows:

The whole number of those that were conformable.

Doctors	45	
Bachelors of Divinity	82	
Masters of Art	339	786
Bachelors of Art	134	
No Graduates	186	

156

The whole number of recusants.

Doctors	2	
Bachelors of Divinity	2	
Masters of Art	22	49
Bachelors of Art	13	
No Graduates	10	

As the Privy Counsellors had written to the Archbishop but a little before in behalf of these refusers of subscription, so one of them particularly, *viz.* the most zealous Sir Francis Knollys, Knight, Treasurer of the Chamber to the Queen, and her kinsman, writ an earnest letter to him, to be favourable to these men, and that their suspensions might be taken off, with his reasons wherefore; namely, "for the preventing the increase of Popery, and the safety "of the Queen's person, and preserving the reformed re- "ligion against subtile Jesuits and traitorous scholars of "Rome. That his Grace knew how much he [Sir Fran- "cis] was bound to wish and to be careful of her Ma- "jesty's safety, not only by general duty of conscience, but "also by the strong bands of nature. And that he him- "self knew, that she reposed the politic government of "the Church of England especially into his hands. But "that it imported her Majesty greatly, that in this go-

Sir Francis Knollys to the Archbishop, to open the mouths of the preachers. MSS. Epist. Nobil. pen. me.

"vernment a special care should be had of her safety, and "of her crown and dignity: and that it should not be laid "wide open to undermining Jesuits and their treacherous "scholars; but fenced with plenty of diligent and zealous "preachers, to stir up true obedience to her, and to with- "draw her subjects from treasonable obedience to the see "of Rome: especially as his Grace, in his wisdom and "learning, well knew how her subjects, by natural cor- "ruption, were headily given to superstition and idolatry; "which were as it were the arms of the Pope, to draw us "into his pompous, glittering kingdom; who in his "throne of majesty looked disdainfully upon the despised "flock of Christ, in this world, that would not be marked "in their forehead, nor drink of the cup of that whore of "Babylon. And that since this mighty enemy of God "and her Majesty could not be understood, but by open- "ing the mouths of preachers, therefore he did presume "again, as he had done aforetime, humbly to beseech his "Grace to open the mouths of all zealous preachers that "were sound in doctrine, however otherwise they refused "to subscribe to any tradition of men, not compellable by "law." This whole letter I have preserved in the Appendix. Somewhat before this, Sir Francis had sent the Archbishop a book of his, containing certain notes, for his perusal: which, I suppose, were proofs of the equality of Ministers, (which he was very zealous for,) and how the superiority of Bishops was an encroachment upon the Queen's supremacy. For such notes of his own writing I have seen.

Num. VIII.

Sends the Archbishop a book.

The Lord Treasurer addressed to by these Ministers and their friends.

The Lord Treasurer both with the Queen and also with the Archbishop) was continually importuned by addresses, not only from these Ministers themselves, but from their friends; and some of them of great name and quality. He professed how he was wearied with petitions from these men, and with the recommendations of them from many others of credit, as peaceable persons in their ministry, however they were complained of to the Archbishop, and other Bishops in the

BOOK III.

ecclesiastical commission, and put to trouble. Nay, as he signified in a letter to the Archbishop, he was daily charged

Anno 1584.

by Counsellors and public persons to have neglected his duty, in not staying of their proceedings so vehement against Ministers. And that Papists thereby were generally encouraged, and ill disposed subjects animated; and so the Queen's Majesty endangered. But the said Lord answered such importunity, that he thought his Grace did nothing, but what, being duly examined, tended to the maintenance of the religion established, and to avoid schisms in the Church. And when it was urged by these Puritans, what a mighty scarcity there was of preachers in the realm, and by reason thereof what danger the Queen's subjects were in of going back to Popery, if these preachers, who were many and learned, should be suspended from their office, or laid aside; the said Lord shewed them certain papers which the Archbishop had sent him, that certified how well furnished the Church was with preachers, and such as had taken degrees in the Universities; and how small a number there was, in comparison, that did contend for singularity. Which papers of the exact number of conformable preachers, with their degrees of school, and the small proportion of the disaffected preachers, we have given account of a little before.

His answers to them.

157

The Lord Treasurer offended with the Archbishop for his inquisition upon the twenty-four articles.

But when the said Lord Treasurer understood that two of these Ministers, living in Cambridgeshire, whom for the good report of their modesty and peaceableness he had a little before recommended unto the Archbishop's favour, were by the Archbishop in commission sent to a Register in London, to be strictly examined upon those four and twenty articles, (before mentioned,) he was displeased. And reading over the articles himself, disliked them, as running in a Romish style, and making no distinction of persons. Which caused him to write in some earnestness to the Archbishop; and in his letter he told him, that he found these articles so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the Inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their

preys. And that this juridical and canonical sifting of poor Ministers was not to edify and reform. And that in charity he thought they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy: begging his Grace to bear with that one fault, (if it were so,) that he had willed these Ministers not to answer those articles, except their consciences might suffer them. He added, that however he had sharply admonished them, that if they were disturbers in their churches, they must be corrected. And in conclusion, that upon his Grace's message to him, he would leave them to his authority, as became him; nor would he put his sickle into another man's harvest. This letter was dated July 1, 1584. Which at full length I have exemplified, and placed among the records in the Appendix, however it hath been once before printed by Mr. Fuller in his Ecclesiastical History, (set under a false year,) because the copy he made use of was very faulty and imperfect, and the date omitted. The errors will be rectified in this transcript.

Anno 1584.

Numb. IX.

Eccles. Hist. book ix. p. 154.

The Archbishop writes to him hereupon.

It was but two days after, that the Archbishop, troubled at his honourable friend's discourse in his letter, gave him a large answer, dated from Croydon, all written with his own hand, for the more privacy, importing, "That he had "in the very beginning of this action, and so from time to "time, made his Lordship acquainted with all his doings; "and had so answered the objections and reasons to the "contrary, that he persuaded himself no just reply could "be made thereunto. And that, by his Lordship's advice, "he had chosen this kind of proceeding with them. Be- "cause he would not touch any for not subscribing only, "but for breach of order in celebrating divine service, ad- "ministering the sacraments, and executing other ecclesi- "astical functions according to their fancies. That the "complaints made against him, and other his colleagues, "were general; but if they charged them with any par- "ticularities, he doubted not but they should be ready "to answer them, and to justify their dealings. That "his proceedings were not so vehement nor so general

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

"against Ministers and Preachers, as some pretended; "doing him therein great injury. And that he had sundry "times satisfied his Lordship therein. That if he had any "thing offended, it was in bearing too much with them, "and in using them too familiarly; which caused them "thus to trouble the Church, and to withstand him their "ordinary and lawful judge.

"That the objection of encouraging Papists by this "course had neither probability nor likelihood. For he "asked, how could Papists be animated by urging of men "to subscribe against the Pope's supremacy, or to the "Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles of Religion; "both which they so greatly condemned? But rather, he "shewed, that Papists were animated, because they saw "these kinds of persons (which herein after a manner
158 "joined with them) so greatly friended, so much borne "with, and so animated in their disorderly doings against "both God's law and man's law, and against their chief "governors, civil and ecclesiastical. This it was encou- "raged the Papists. And he wished to God that some "of them which used this argument had no Papist in "their families, and did not otherwise also countenance "them.

"That his Lordship might assure himself that the Pa- "pists were rather grieved at his doings, because they "tended to the taking away their chief argument; which "was, that we could not agree among ourselves, and "lacked unity; and therefore were out of the Church. "And that he was credibly informed, that the Papists "gave encouragement to these men, and commended "them in their doings. Whereof, he said, he had some "experience.

Vindicates his examination upon articles.

"That touching the twenty-four articles, which his "Lordship seemed so much to dislike, as written in a "Romish style, and smelling of Romish inquisition, he "marvelled at his Lordship's vehement speeches, seeing it "was the ordinary course in other courts: as in the Star "Chamber, in the Courts of the Marches, and other

" places: and that he [the Archbishop] thought these
" articles were more tolerable, and better agreeing with
" the rules of justice and charity, and less captious than Anno 1584.
" others in other courts. Because men were there exam-
" ined at the relation of a private man, concerning private
" crimes; whereas here men were only examined of their
" public actions, in their public calling and ministry.
" Whereunto in conscience they were bound to answer,
" and much more then in the case of heresy. Because the
" one touched life, the other not. And therefore he saw
" no cause why their judicial and canonical proceedings in
" this point should be misliked. And whereas his Lord-
" ship said, that 'these articles were devised rather to
" seek for offenders, than to reform any;' the like might
" be said of the like orders in other courts also. But that,
" he said, should be the fault of the Judge, not of the law;
" and that he trusted his Lordship had no cause to think
" so evil of him; and that he had not dealt as yet with
" any, but such as had refused to subscribe, and given
" manifest tokens of contempt of orders and laws. And
" that his acts, remaining in record, would testify with
" him.

" And concerning the two Ministers, whereas his Lord-
" ship spake for them, that 'they were peaceable, ob-
" served the Book, denied the things wherewith they were
" charged, and desired to be tried, &c.' the Archbishop de-
" manded, now they were to be tried, why did they refuse
" it? *Qui male agit, odit lucem*, i. e. He that doeth evil,
" hateth the light. That the articles he ministered to
" them were framed by the best learned in the laws, and
" who, he dared to say, hated both the Romish doctrine
" and Romish Inquisition. And that he ministered them
" to the intent only, that he might truly understand whe-
" ther they were such manner of men or no, as they pre-
" tended to be; especially seeing by public fame they
" were noted of the contrary; and one of them presented
" by the sworn men of his parish for his disorders; as he
" was informed by the Official there. And that he had

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" written nothing to his Lordship of them, which their " own behaviour did not prove to be true. And therefore " he beseeched his Lordship not to believe them against " him, either upon their own words, or upon the testimony " of such as animated them in their disobedience, and " counted disorder, order, and contention, peace; before " they were duly and orderly tried, according to that law " which was yet in force; and in his opinion would hardly, " in these judicial actions, be bettered; though some " abuse might be in the execution thereof, as there was " also in other courts likewise; and that peradventure " more abundantly."

His Lordship also found fault that the Register did examine them. To which the Archbishop answered, as he proceeded in his letter, "That it was as other officers did " in other courts likewise; and that the law did allow of " it. And that nevertheless they were repeated before a " Judge; where they might reform, add, or diminish, as " they thought good. And that no man had thus been " examined, which had not before been conferred with: " these two especially, even until they had nothing to say.
159 " And that if they reported otherwise to his Lordship, " *antiquum obtinent*, he said, and reported untruly: a " quality, the Archbishop added, wherewith this sort was " marvellously possessed, as he himself, of his own know- " ledge and experience, could justify against divers of " them.

" The Archbishop knew (as he went on) that his Lord- " ship desired the peace of the Church. But how, asked " he, was it possible to be procured, after so long liberty " and lack of discipline, if a few persons, so meanly quali- " fied as the most, as he said, of them were, should be " countenanced against the whole state of the Clergy, of " greatest account for learning, years, steadiness, wisdom, " religion, and honesty? And open breakers and impugners " of the law, young in years, proud in conceit, contentious " in disposition, maintained against their superiors and " governors, seeking to reduce them to order and obedi-

" ence? And then alleging a passage out of St. Cyprian's " Epistles, agreeable to these men, concerning the be- " ginning and qualities of *heretics* and *schismatics*. Anno 1584.

" That for his own part, he neither did nor had done " any thing in this matter, which he did not think himself " in duty and conscience bound to do. Which her Ma- " jesty, as he said, had, not without earnest charge, com- " mitted unto him; and which he was able to justify to be " most requisite for this State and Church; whereof next " to her Majesty (though most unworthy, or at the least " most unhappy) the chief care was committed unto him. " Which he might not neglect, whatsoever came upon him " therefore. He added, that he neither esteemed the ho- " nour of the place, (which was to him a most heavy bur- " den,) nor the largeness of the revenues, (for the which, he " said, he was not yet one penny the richer,) nor any other " worldly thing, he thanked God, in respect of doing his " duty. Neither did he fear, he said, the displeasure of " men, nor regarded the wicked tongues of the uncharita- " ble; which called him tyrant, Pope, Papist, knave, and " laid to his charge things which he never did nor thought. " That so Cyprian himself was used, alleging a sentence " of his to the same purpose, and for the self-same causes, " and other godly Bishops; to whom, he humbly said, he " was not comparable. That the day would come, when " all men's hearts should be opened and made manifest. " And that in the mean time he would depend upon him, " who had called him to that place, and would not forsake " those that trusted in him."

And then returning to the two Curates that had been the occasion of all this argument between the Treasurer and the Archbishop, he told the said Lord, who had advised them not to answer to those articles, " That if his " Lordship did keep those two from answering, according " to the order set down, it would be of itself setting at " liberty all the rest, and an undoing of all that which hi- " therto had been done. And that he should not be able " to do that which her Majesty expected at his hands, and

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" was then in very good towardness. And therefore in " conclusion, he begged his Lordship to leave these men " to him. And that he would not proceed to any sentence " against them, until he had made him privy to their an- " swers; and further conferred with him thereof: because " he saw his Lordship so earnest in their behalf; whereof " they had also made public boasts, as he was informed, " which argued of what disposition they were.

" And so prayed his Lordship to take not only the " length, but also the matter of his letter in good part: " and to continue unto him [his favour] as he had hitherto " done. For if he now forsake him, and that in so good a " cause, (as he knew he would not,) he should think his " hap to be very hard; that when he hoped to deserve " best, he should be worst rewarded. But he hoped better " things. And so committed himself to the Author of " peace; whom he beseeched to bless and prosper his " Lordship."

Though this be the sum of this wary, wise, and yet resolute letter of our Archbishop, yet it will not be unacceptable to read it at full length from the original, all of his own writing, transcribed thence by me carefully *verbatim* and almost *literatim*. Which I have placed in the Appendix, as a worthy monument of that Archbishop's care of the Church established. For as for that copy of it printed by Fuller in his History, it is very corrupt, by interpolations, defalcations, alterations, and omissions of words and sentences; and also without date of place and time. So that the publishing this letter again is but doing right to his Grace.

Number X.

Ecclesiast. Hist. book ix. p. 156.

160

The Lord Treasurer not yet satisfied with what the Archbishop had writ in this matter.

But the Lord Treasurer, after all this painful answer of the Archbishop, seemed not to be satisfied in the point of seeking by examination to have these Ministers accuse themselves; and then to punish them for their own confessions. He said, in a short letter written back to the Archbishop in answer, " That he would not call this pro- " ceeding rigorous or captious, but that it was scarcely " charitable. But that he would not offend his Grace; and

"was content, that he and the Bishop of London [the other chief ecclesiastical Commissioner] might use Brayne [falsely written Browne by Fuller, in his Ecclesiastical History] as their wisdoms should think fit. He added, that his Grace promised him to deal only with such as vilified order in the Church, and to charge them therewith; which he allowed of. But when by examining, it was meant only to sift him with twenty-four articles, he had, he said, cause to pity the poor man." To this we shall hear by and by what answer the Archbishop meekly and calmly gave, that might fully vindicate himself, and give satisfaction to this Lord, his friend.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1584.

Book ix. p. 159

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbishop's two papers, containing reasons to justify his proceedings by inquiry, ex officio mero. *His two letters to the Lord Treasurer in vindication of himself; and to satisfy that Lord in his doings, for settling due order in the Church. Desires continuance of amity with the said Lord. The Council writes to the Archbishop upon an information concerning some Ministers in Essex, suspended and deprived. The Archbishop's answer. His answers to objections against the Book of Common Prayer, written to the Queen.*

AND soon after, *viz.* the 15th of July, the Archbishop, to satisfy the Lord Treasurer fully in the course and method he took in his proceedings, sent him two papers; one containing reasons why Ministers culpable in the articles should be examined of the same upon their oaths: the other, shewing the inconveniences of proceeding only upon presentment, and conviction of witnesses, and not *ex officio mero.* These two papers of the Archbishop's own drawing up, as it seems, (being of his Secretary's writing,) were as follows:

The Archbishop sends the Lord Treasurer his reasons for his proceedings.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

Reasons why it is convenient that those which are culpable in the articles, ministred generally by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others her Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiasticall, should be examined of the same articles upon their oathes.

" I. That by the ecclesiastical laws remaining in force,
" such articles may be ministred, it is so cleere by law,
" that it was never hitherto called into doubt.

161 " II. This manner of proceeding hath bene used against
" suche as were vehemently suspected, presented, or de-
" tected by their neighbours: or where faultes were noto-
" riouse, (as by open preaching,) synce there hath bene any
" lawe ecclesiasticall in this realme.

" III. For the discoverie of any Poperie, it hath been
" used in King Edwarde's tyme, in the deprivation of son-
" dry Bishops at that tyme, as it may appeere by the pro-
" cesses; although withall, for the prooffe of those thinges
" that they denied, wittnesses were also used.

" IV. In her Majesty's most happie reigne, even from
" the beginning, this manner of proceeding hath bene used
" against the one extreme and the other; as generally
" against all Papistes, and against those that would not
" follow the Book of Common Prayer established by author-
" itee, namely, against Mr. Sampson and others. And
" the Lords of her Majesty's Privey Councile committed
" certen to the Fleete, for counselling Sir John Southward,
" and other Papists, not to aunswere upon articles con-
" cerning their owne factes and opinions, ministred unto
" them by her Highnesse Commissioners for causes eccle-
" siasticall, except a fame thereof were first proved.

" V. It is meet also to be done, *ex officio mero*, because
" upon the conviction of suche offenders, no pecuniary pe-
" naltee is sett downe, whereby the informer (as in other
" temporal courtes) may bee considered for his charges
" and paynes: so that suche faultes should ellse be wholly
" unreformed.

This course of proceeding not against charity.

" This course is not against *charitee:* for it is warranted
" by lawe, necessary for reforming of offenders and dis-

" turbers of the *unitee* of the churche, and for advoiding " delays and frivolous exceptions against suche as other- " wise should informe, denounce, accuse, or detect them : " and because none are in this manner to bee proceeded " against, but whom their owne speeches or actes, the pub- " licke fame, and some of credite, as their Ordinarie, and " suche lyke, shall denounce and signifie to be suche as " are to bee reformed in this behalf. Anno 1584.

" VII. That the forme of such proceeding by articles *ex* " *officio mero* is usuall, it may appeere by all recordes in " ecclesiasticall courtes from the beginning, in all eccle- " siastical commissions, namely, by the particular com- " missions and proceedinges against the Bishops of Lon- " don and Winton, in King Edwarde's tyme; and from " the beginning of her Majesty's reigne, in the ecclesiasti- " cal commission till this houre: and therefore warranted " by statute.

" VIII. If it bee sayd, that it is against law, reason, and " charitee, for a man to accuse himself, *quia nemo tenetur* " *seipsum prodere, aut propriam turpitudinem revelare :* " I aunswere, that by lawe, charitee, and reason, *Proditus* " *per denuntiationem alterius, sive per famam, tenetur* " *seipsum ostendere, ad evitandum scandalum, et seipsum* " *purgandum. Prætereà, Prælatus potest inquirere sine* " *prævia fama; à fortiori ergò, Delegati per Principem* " *possunt. Ad hæc, in istis articulis turpitudo non in-* " *quiritur aut flagitium, sed excessus et errata Clericorum* " *circa publicam functionem ministerii, de quibus Ordi-* " *nario rationem reddere coguntur.*

" IX. Touching the substance of the articles; First, Is " deduced their being Deacons or Ministers, with the " lawfulness of that manner of ordering: Secondly, The " establishing of the Book of Common Prayer by statute, " and the charge given to the Bishoppes and Ordinaries " for seeing the execution of the said statute: Thirdly, " The goodnesse of the Book by the same wordes, where- " by the statute 8° Eliz. calleth and termeth it: Fourthly, " Several branches of breaches of the Book, being *de pro-*

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

"*priis factis:* Fyfthly, Is deduced detections against "them, and suche monitions as have bene given them, "to testifie their conformitee hereafter; and whether they "will willfully still contynue suche breaches of lawe in "their ministration: Sixthly, Their assembling of con-"venticles for the mayntenance of their factious dealinges.

162 "X. For the second, fourth, and sixte poyntes, no man "will think it unmeet they should be examyned of, yf "they would have them touched for any breache of the "Book.

"XI. The article for examination, whether they bee "Deacons or Ministers, ordered according to the lawes of "this lande, is most necessarie: First, For the grounding "of the proceeding, least the breache of the Book bee ob-"jected to them, who are not bound to observe it: Se-"condly, To meet with such *schismaticks*, (whereof there "is sufficient experience,) which either thrust themselves "into the ministerie, without any lawful calling at all, or "ellse take orders at Antweorpe, or ellswhere beyond the "seas.

"XII. The article for their opynion of the lawfullness "of their admission into the ministerie, is to meet with "such hypocrites, as to bee enhabled for a lyving, will bee "content to be ordered at a Bishoppes hand, and yet for "satisfaction of their factious humour, will afterwardes "have a calling of certen brethren Ministers, with laying "on of handes in a private house, and in a conventicle, "to the manifest sclaunder of this Churche of England, "and to the nourishing of a flatt *schisme*. Secondly, For "the detectinge of suche, as not onely privately, but by "publike speeches and written pamphlettes spredd abroad, "do deprave the whole order ecclesiasticall of this Church, "and the lawfullnesse of calling therein: advouching no "calling lawful, but where their fancied monstrouse *seigni-*"*orie*, with the assent of the people, do admitte into the "ministerie.

Inquisition in time of Popery, what.

"XIII. The sequele that should followe of theis articles "being confessed or proved, is not so muche as depriva-

" tion from ecclesiastical lyving, if there bee not obstinate
" persisting, or iterating the same offence. A matter far
" different from the bloudie inquisition in tyme of Poperie, Anno 1584.
" or of the *Sixe Articles;* where death was the sequele
" against the culpable.

" XIV. It is to be considered, what encouragement and
" probable appearaunce it would breed to the daungerous
" *papisticall recusant*, yf place bee geven by the chief
" magistrates ecclesiasticall to persons that tende of sin-
" gularitee to the disturbance of the good peace of the
" Church, and to the discredite of that, for disallowing
" whereof the obstinate Papiste is worthily ponished.

" XV. The number of theis singular persons, in com-
" parison of the quiet and conformable, are fewe, and their
" qualitees, as also for excellence of guifte in learning,
" discretion, and considerate zeale, farre inferior to those
" other that yeld their conformitee. And for demonstra-
" tion and proofe both of the number, and also of the
" difference of good partes and qualities: within the pro-
" vince of Canterbury there are but hundred that
" refuse, and thousandes that have yelded their
" conformitees."

Inconveniences of not proceeding ex officio mero, *unto examination upon articles*, super fama aut denuntiatione alterius, *but only upon presentment and conviction by witnesses.*

" I. It will geve a president for the obstinate Papistes, Inconvenience of not proceeding *ex officio.*
" the Brownistes, the Familie men, and all other sectaries,
" to look for the lyke measure, and to bee convinced onely
" by wittnesses upon presentment: whereas they spreade
" their poison in secrete and among their favourers, and
" therefore can hardly bee so convinced, or brought to re-
" formation, though it bee never so well knowen what
" kynde of men they bee.

" II. It will come also to the same pointe as afore, be-
" cause the detected by presentment is not hereby con-
" vinced, but is by lawe to bee put to his cleering, by

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" aunswering articles upon his oath, together with com-
" purgators, if they bee injoyned, whereas no wittnesses are
" to be had for proofe of it.

" III. This course cannot bee taken, by reason of the
" number of those that are to bee reformed, and the dis-
" tances of the place.

163 " IV. Also, because, if the cheif gentleman in the parish,
" or most of the parish be so affected, nothinge will bee
" presented, as experience teacheth.

" V. Furder, the great trouble in writing out so many
" commissions for the geving of charge and examining of
" witnesses must be considered.

" VI. The trouble lykewise in procuring the Commis-
" sioners and witnesses belowe in the countrey, and the
" charges of them both, and the registrers in writing, and
" transmitting the depositions upp, which is not meet to
" bee upon the parties charges, especially being not yet
" knowen whether there be cause to remove him or not.

" VII. Againe, if Archbishoppes and Bishoppes should
" be driven to use proffes by witnesses, and excluded from
" other meanes warranted by lawe, (as by the aunswere of
" the partie notoriousely defamed or presented,) the exe-
" cution of the lawe, which ought in equalitie to be min-
" istred according to the propre nature of a lawe, (which
" ought to be common and generall to all sortes, and to
" have an equall and uniforme execution,) should bee une-
" quall, by having use against all other persons, and by
" restrayning the use and execution in this poynte against
" some persons.

" VIII. The Archbishoppes and Bishoppes should bee
" overpressed with charges, yf they should be compelled
" to procure and produce witnesses for everie disordre of
" this nature."

These weighty papers were accompanied with another letter of the same date with them, [*viz.* July 15,] to the same Lord, which was brought to him by Dr. Cosyn, his officer: who could certify that Lord concerning several

unworthy speeches used by one of those two Cambridge Ministers against the Archbishop; whose name was Edward Brayne, who was the bringer of the said Treasurer's foresaid letter to the Archbishop, for favour to himself and the other Minister. This man, by a letter to the same Lord, writ July 6, took occasion to complain of the Archbishop's severity in his examination of him upon the foresaid articles: writing, "That they received great comfort "by his Lordship's most favourable and honourable con- "sideration of their distressed case; and that they trusted "it should never out of their prayers and thanksgivings, "however this trouble fell out with them. But, most "honourable Lord, as the writer proceeded, we fear, lest "our repair for relief to your good Lordship hath procured "us his harder opinion and dealing at his Grace's hands. "For resorting thither on Friday night, we had no access "at all. On Saturday forenoon going again, we were "called in before the high commission, and commanded "to make our answers before Mr. Hartwel, his Grace's "Secretary; who presently, upon our coming to him, an- "swered us precisely, that he could not by any means "that day take our answer. Nevertheless, lest any shew "of fault might be found in me, I went again in the after- "noon; and being called in by my Lord and two other "Commissioners, I offered to answer presently: so that it "might please his Grace to let me have the articles be- "fore me, and shut me up in a chamber, if it pleased him, "that I might write my answer with my own hand. This "though I required with all dutiful reverence, yet could I "not obtain. But after many grave speeches, his Grace "gave me his canonical admonition immediately, one after "another upon that same place. And lastly, caused an "act to be made of my refusal with contempt: whereas, "God knoweth how far any contempt was from my heart; "and I trust my words and behaviour will witness the "same."

Anno 1584.

One of these Ministers complains to the Treasurer of the Archbishop, for his examination.

And then he beseecheth his Lordship, that forasmuch as his estate was poor, and his charges were great, and

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

the time of his attendance was uncertain, besides his perplexed mind through doubt of further troubles, that he would succour a poor man, whose refuge, he said, was unto him; and one that would be glad to satisfy his Grace with any duty which God's law, or man's law, or common humanity required. And so leaving the means how to succour him unto his honourable compassion, he beseeched
164 the Lord Jesus to bless his Lordship with all manner of graces and many honourable days. Subscribing,

"Your Lordship's most humble supplicant at command,

"Edw. Brayne."

At the foot of this letter, out of compassion, the Lord Treasurer wrote these lines to the Dean of Westminster. "Master Dean, I cannot but receive poor men's com-"plaints; and yet I use to suspend my opinion. If these "poor men be worse used at my Lord of Canterbury's "hands, or his officers', I shall be sorry. The fault or lack "is mine, not theirs. When you have read this, return "it to me again.

"W. Burghley."

The insinuation in Brayne's letter, as though his repair to this nobleman was the cause of the Archbishop's more hard dealing with them, had an ill tendency, and might have begotten a discord between them, who were very cordial friends before; and was the occasion that the said nobleman applied, as we see, to the Dean of Westminster, who was one of the ecclesiastical commission, expressing himself in uneasy terms concerning the Archbishop. But when the good Prelate came to know it from the Dean, or some other way, it did not a little afflict him. And thereupon he despatched another letter, full of concern, and with some warmth, to the said Lord; namely, that dated July 15, hinted before, to this import:

The Archbishop's second letter to the Lord

First, he appealed to God, who knew "how desirous he "had been from time to time to satisfy his Lordship in all "things, and to have his dealings approved by him." He

mentioned to him his pains to allay and pacify these heats and disorders about Church matters; saying, "That he "had risen up early and sat up late, to acquaint him by "writing with the objections and answers which were "used on either side. The like to which he had done, as "he said, to no other besides. And should he say now "that he had lost his labour, as he asked with a concern?" Whitg. Anno 1584. Treasurer in vindication of his proceedings. MSS.

Then he proceeded to these two men, that had created the Archbishop all this trouble, and what his dealings were with them. "That they were the most disordered Min- "isters in that whole diocese where they lived. That "their contempt and obstinacy, (of one of them especially,) "his Lordship would not bear in any subjected to his au- "thority. And that he trusted his Lordship would not so "lightly cast off his old friends for any of these newfangled "and factious sectaries; whose endeavours were to make "divisions wheresoever they came, and to separate old "and assured friends.

"That his Lordship seemed to charge him with *breach* "*of promise* touching his manner of proceeding; but that "he was not guilty of it. For that he had altered his first "course of dealing with this sort of men for not subscrib- "ing, (though justified by law, and in common practice in "the time of King Edward, and from the beginning of her "Majesty's reign,) and had chosen this only to satisfy his "Lordship; [*viz.* inquiry into their disorderly practices.]

"And whereas his Lordship had told him, how some "said that he took this course *for the better maintenance* "*of his book* against Cartwright: he asked, why he should "seek for any such confirmation of his book after so many "years; or what he should get thereby more than he had "already. But that if subscription might confirm it, it "was confirmed long ago by the subscriptions almost of "all the Clergy of England; nay, and of many that now "refused, even of Brayne himself.

"That his enemies and the evil tongues of this uncha- 165
"ritable sect reported, that *he was revolted, become a* "*Papist*, &c. Which reports, he said, proceeded of that

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" ungodly zeal, which came not out of love, but of envy;
" and that he disdained to answer such notorious untruths,
" which not the best of them dared to avouch to his face.

" That his Lordship seemed to burden him with *wil-*
" *fulness*. But he thought his Lordship was not so per-
" suaded of him; and he appealed therein to his own con-
" science. He said, that there was a difference between
" wilfulness and constancy. And that he had taken upon
" him the defence of the religion and rites of this Church,
" and the execution of the laws concerning the same, the
" appeasing of sects and schisms therein, the reducing of
" the Ministers thereof to uniformity and due obedience;
" and that therein he intended to be constant. Which
" also his place, he said, his person, his duty, the law, her
" Majesty, and the goodness of the cause required of him.
" And that herein his Lordship and others ought, as he
" took it, to assist and help. That it was strange that a
" man of his place, dealing by so good warrantize as he
" did, should be so hardly used; and for not yielding be
" counted wilful. That if herein his friends forsook him,
" he hoped God would not, nor her Majesty, who had laid
" that charge on him, and were able to protect him, and
" on whom he only would depend.

" But of all things it most grieved him that his Lord-
" ship should say, that the two Ministers *fared the worse*
" *because he sent them*. He asked if his Lordship had
" ever any cause to say so of him. That it was needless
" for him to protest his good heart and affection towards
" him above all other men; that the world knew it, and
" he was assured his Lordship doubted not of it; and that
" he [the Archbishop] rather had cause to complain of his
" Lordship himself, that upon so small occasion he should
" so hardly conceive of him, and as it were countenance
" persons so meanly qualified in so evil a cause against
" him, their Ordinary, and his Lordship's long tried friend.

" That he was loath to leave his Lordship unsatisfied;
" and therefore he had sent unto him inclosed certain
" *reasons* to justify the manner of his proceeding: which

"he marvelled should be so misliked in this cause, having been so long practised in the like, yea, and in the same; and never before this found fault with. And added, that he must proceed this way, or not at all. And in conclusion, he heartily prayed his Lordship not to be carried away, either from the cause or from him, upon unjust surmises and clamours, lest thereby there might be some occasion of confusion; which he would however be sorry for. Anno 1584.

"As for his part, he was determined to do his duty and conscience without fear. Neither would he therein desire further defence of any of his friends, than justice and law would yield unto him. That in his private affairs he should stand in need of friends, especially of his Lordship, of whom, he said, he counted himself sure; but in these public actions he saw no cause why he should seek friends, seeing they to whom the care of the commonwealth was committed ought therein to join with him. And then concluded, that he was his Lordship's most assured; and that he doubted not of the continuance of his Lordship's good affection towards him." We must not lose this original letter, which I have before me, having so much in it of the true spirit of our Archbishop; and therefore I have exactly transcribed it, and put it into the Appendix. For that copy of it which is printed in Fuller's History is like the former letter, full of errors, additions, omissions, and without the date of place, month, and year. Numb. XI.

The Archbishop endeavours continuance of friendship with the Treasurer, though different in judgment.

But all this labour and pains of the Archbishop, in writing large letters, and drawing up reasons for the Lord Treasurer's satisfaction, could not fully convince him of the proceedings he (the said Archbishop) took, and of the justness and blamelessness of them. So that his care now was, to keep that great Lord in friendship with him, notwithstanding they differed something in their judgments. And he so suggested in another letter of his to the said Lord, dated September the 14th, *viz.* "That it was not "variety in judgment concerning some circumstances that 166 Collect. of Let. and

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

Pap. of Abp. Whitg. Mr. Geo. Holmes.

"could, he trusted, diminish that good affection in his "Lordship, or in himself, which had been by so long time "and experience confirmed. And that hereof he was as- "sured himself, and it was his belief, that however he was "blamed, yet upon trial he should not be found blame- "worthy."

The Lords write to him in favour of several preachers suspended and depriv- ed, against Bishops' Commissa- ries, &c.

I have not yet done with the Archbishop's troubles for the service of the Church, in keeping the established order and discipline of it from sinking. Many of these factious men still remained suspended, and some were deprived. Complaints and petitions against him were not wanting now, as well as before. So that they obtained again a letter from the Lords of the Council to him and the Bishop of London, dated the 20th of September, to this purpose: "That although they had heard of sundry complaints out "of divers countries of proceedings against a great num- "ber of ecclesiastical persons, some Parsons, some Vicars, "some Curates, but all Preachers, some deprived, some "suspended; yet they had forborne to enter into any par- Ubi supra. "ticular examination of such complaints; thinking, that "however inferior officers, Chancellors, Commissaries, "Archdeacons, and such like, (whose offices were of more "value and profit by such kind of proceedings,) might in "such sort proceed against the Ministers of the Church; "yet his Lordship, the Archbishop of Canterbury, besides "his general authority, having particular trust in present "jurisdiction of sundry bishoprics vacant; and that he "also, the Bishop of London, both for his own authority "in the diocese, and as a head Commissioner ecclesiasti- "cal, would have a pastoral regard over the particular of- "ficers, to stay and temper them in their hasty proceed- "ings against the ministry, and especially against such as "did earnestly profess and instruct the people against the "dangerous sect of Papistry.

Zealous preachers in Essex sus- pended, taken no- tice of by the Council.

"But that yet of late hearing of the lamentable state of "the Church in the county of Essex; that is, of a great "number of zealous and learned preachers there suspended "from their cures; the vacancy of the places for the most

" part without any ministry of preaching, prayers, and sa-
" craments: and in some places, of certain appointed to
" those void rooms being persons neither of learning nor
" of good name; and in other places of that county, a
" great number of persons occupying the cures being no-
" toriously unfit, most for lack of learning, many charged
" or chargeable with great and enormous faults, as drunk-
" enness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards, haunting of
" alehouses, and such like; against whom they [the Coun-
" cil] heard not of any proceedings, but that they were
" quietly suffered, to the slander of the Church, to the
" offence of good people, yea, to the famishing of them for
" lack of good teaching, &c. And that having heard in a
" general sort, out of many parts of the like, of this la-
" mentable state of the Church; yet to the intent they
" might not be deceived with these generalities of reports,
" they had sought to be informed of some particulars,
" namely, of some parts of Essex. And that having re-
" ceived the same credibly in writing, they had thought
" it their duty to her Majesty and the realm, for the re-
" medy hereof, without intermeddling themselves with
" their jurisdiction ecclesiastical, to make report unto their
" Lordships, as persons that ought most especially to have
" regard thereof. And that therefore they had sent there-
" with, in writing, a catalogue of the names of persons, of
" sundry natures and conditions; one sort reported to be
" learned and zealous, and good preachers, deprived and
" suspended; and so the cures not served with meet per-
" sons. The other a number of persons having cures,
" being in sundry sorts unmeet for any offices in the
" Church, for their many defects and imperfections; and,
" as it seemed by report, had been and continued without
" apprehension, or any other proceeding against them.
" And thereby a great multitude of Christian people un-
" taught; a matter very lamentable in this time.

" That there was a third sort, being a number having 167
" double livings with cure, and not resident upon their
" cures. That against all these sorts of lewd, evil, unpro-

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" fitable and corrupt members, they [the Council] heard of " no inquisition, nor of any kind of proceeding to the re- " formation of those horrible offences in the Church; but " yet of great diligence, yea, and extreme usage against " those that were known diligent preachers. That they " therefore, for the discharge of their duties, being by their " vocation under her Majesty bound to be careful that " the universal realm might be well governed, &c. did " most earnestly desire their Lordships to take some cha- " ritable consideration of these causes. That the people " of the realm might not be deprived of their Pastors, " being diligent, learned, and zealous, though in some " points ceremonial they might seem doubtful, only in " conscience, and not of wilfulness: nor that their cures " be suffered to be vacant: nor that such as were placed " in the room of cures be insufficient for learning, or un- " meet for their conversation. And that though the notes " they had sent were only of persons belonging to Essex, " yet they prayed the Archbishop and Bishop to look into " the rest of the countries in many other dioceses. For " that they [the Council] had and did hear daily of the " like in generality, in many other places. But they had " not sought to have their particularities so manifestly de- " livered of other places as of Essex, or, to say the truth, " of one corner of the country.

" And in conclusion, that they should be most glad to " hear of their cares to be taken for remedy of these enor- " mities, so that they might not be troubled hereafter, or " hear of the like complaints to continue. And so they " bade their good Lordships right heartily farewell. Dated " from Oatlands, the 20th of September."

The Lords and others that signed this letter were, the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Leicester, the Lord Charles Howard, Sir Ja. Croft, Sir Chr. Hatton, and Sir F. Walsingham, Secretary.

This letter of the Lords, so careful for the good estate of the Church, was grounded chiefly, as we see, upon sur-

mises, which they had taken up from the information and reports of the disaffected faction, concerning the great abilities and learning of themselves, and the ignorance and scandalous lives of the obedient and conformable Clergy; which however was in a great part false, and uncharitably given out. And therefore the Archbishop in his answer, which followeth, made it his chief business to vindicate to the Lords those Ministers from such aspersions, and himself and the rest of the Commissioners, in shewing no favour to such as deserved censure for their neglects or misbehaviour; and to shew likewise how weak and ignorant that self-conceited party themselves were.

For within a few days the Archbishop despatched his letter to the Lords, being then at his retirement at Croydon, endeavouring to give their Lordships satisfaction concerning these complaints: which ran to this tenor.

The Archbishop's answer to the Lords, for their satisfaction about the Ministers. Collect. of MSS. Pap. and Lett. of Archb. Whitg. G. Holmes.

"That it might please their good Lordships to be advertised, and that he had received their letters of the "20th of this month, [September,] with a schedule enclosed "therein, concerning Ministers in Essex. Whereunto as "yet (as he writ) he could not make any full answer, by "reason of the absence of the Bishop of London, to whom "their letter was also directed, and the parties there "named best known, as being in his diocese. Nevertheless in the mean time, he thought it his part to signify "unto their Lordships, that he hoped the information to "be in most parts unjust. That certain men in and about "Malden, [in Essex,] because they could not have such "among them, as by disorderliness did best content their "humours, had not long since in like manner, in a gene-"rality, made an information to the same effect. Which "coming to his and others' hands of the ecclesiastical com-"mission, they directed their letters to some of the princi-"pal of them by name, requiring them to exhibit unto "them [the Archbishop and the other Commissioners] at "the beginning of the next term, then ensuing, the names 168
"of such offensive Ministers as they thought to be touched "with such dishonest conversation, together with their

BOOK III.

" proofs thereof, they professing on their parts to see the " same redressed accordingly.

Anno 1584.

" That it seemed by this which was exhibited now to " their Lordships, that they had prevented the time, hop- " ing thereby to alter the Court. Which whereunto it " tended, he left to their Lordships' consideration. Surely, " added he, if the Ministers were such as that schedule " reported, they were worthy to be grievously punished. " And that for his own part, he would not be slack or re- " miss (God willing) therein. But if that fell out other- " wise upon trial, and that they, or many of them, in re- " spect of their obedience to her Majesty's laws, were thus " depraved by such as impugned the same; then he " doubted not, but their Lordships would judge their ac- " cusers to deserve just punishment. That he could as- " sure their Lordships of this, that the Bishop of London " affirmed in his hearing not long before upon that occa- " sion, that none, or few, at his or his Archdeacon's visit- " ations, had at any time by the Churchwardens, or sworn " men, been detected, or presented for any such misde- " meanors as were now supposed against them. That of " the preachers that were there said to be put to silence, he " knew but few: notwithstanding, he knew those few to " be very factious in the Church; contemners in sundry " points of the ecclesiastical laws; and chief authors of " disquietness in that part of the country; and such as he " for his part, he said, could not (doing his duty with a " good conscience) suffer, without their further conform- " ity, to execute their ministry.

" But their Lordships, as he subjoined, should hereafter " (God willing) have a more particular answer to every " point of their letter, when the Bishop of London (who " was then at his house in the country) and he should " meet, and have conference thereupon. In the mean " time he trusted, that neither there, nor elsewhere within " this his province, either by himself or other of his bre- " thren, any thing was or should be done, which did not " tend to the peace of the Church, the working of obe-

" dience to law established, the encouragement of the
" most godly and best learned Ministers in this Church of
" England, and to the glory of God: to whose protection Anno 1584.
" he committed their good Lordships. Dated from Croy-
" den, September the 27th, 1584. Subscribing himself,

" Your Lordships' in Christ,
" Jo. Cantuar."

I know these two last letters are also in Fuller's History, but printed from a corrupt copy, or very imperfect: and therefore I have here set them down at length more truly.

The Archbishop answers objections against the Liturgy, in a letter to the Queen.

The Archbishop in the midst of these his cares and labours in behalf of the established Church of England, waited upon the Queen about these matters; who was solicited in favour of these innovators against the Liturgy; and their objections to it laid before her as advantageously as might be, to justify their refusal of subscription, which she seemed to have suggested unto his Grace, and requiring his answers thereunto. The effect of this conference between him and her Majesty was, that he promised her, for her better and more deliberate consideration, to draw up his answers to all the objections that were commonly and plausibly made. Which he did, and soon sent them unto her Majesty with his letter; which, as a valuable remainder of the Archbishop, I do here subjoin, and was as follows:

" To Her Majesty.

" According to my promise to your Majesty, I have col- MSS. Whitg. G. Holmes
" lected the principal objections set down by the mislikers
" of good orders, against the subscription to the Book of 169
" Common Prayer, and of Ordering Deacons, Priests, &c.
" joining thereunto brief answers: not for that I think
" them worthy the answering, but for your Highness
" better satisfaction. The rather, because I understand
" the said objections are given abroad into the hands of
" many, yea, of your Majesty's Court; to the discredit of
" the said Book, and other your Majesty's godly proceed-

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" ings. What effect these dealings may breed abroad " with some, or what information may be made to your " Highness by occasion thereof, I know not; although I " have some cause to fear the worse. Wherefore I think " it my bounden duty to acquaint your Majesty with the " matter, and to trouble you with these few lines. Never- " theless, I am persuaded that your Majesty of yourself " will easily discern many of them to be very childish; " some irreligious, and some perilous, tending to the great " offence of your subjects, and innovation of this most " happy estate of government. And therefore rather the " discipline to be repressed, than by writing to be confuted.

" I trust it shall appear to your Majesty, that in this my " endeavouring to bring them to unity and obedience, I " have not sought myself, but the peace and quietness of " the Church, the maintenance of the laws and orders " established by public authority, and the satisfying of my " own duty to God, and to your Majesty. And albeit " I have incurred the displeasure of some, and the evil " speeches and slanderous reports of every man, yet so " long as my service shall be accepted of your Majesty, " upon whom only, next unto God, I do depend, I will " not be discouraged, nor faint in my calling; humbly be- " seeching your Majesty to continue your accustomed " goodness unto me; and not to be drawn into any mis- " liking of my doings by any information, until I have an- " swered for myself, and that you have due proofs of the " same. And likewise to continue your most gracious " and settled disposition in the maintenance of your laws " and orders already established and authorized; consider- " ing what doings may follow in these troublesome days, " if it shall be lawful for common persons, and private " men, in a settled estate, to pick quarrels thereat, and to " innovate what they list, when they list, and so often as " they list. Which doings have hitherto procured much " harm, and alienated the minds of many from the religion " now professed, and is the principal cause why the Gospel " hath not at this time that success which it had in King

" Edward's time, and for certain years in the beginning of " your Majesty's reign; when the self-same Book of Com- " mon Prayer, &c. and orders, now so greatly impugned, " were uniformly and without condition used.

" This your Majesty may be assured of, that the great- " est number, the most ancient, and best learned, the " wisest, and in effect the whole state of the Clergy of this " province, do conform themselves. Such as are other- " wise affected are in number (in comparison of the rest) " but few, and most of them young in years, and of un- " settled minds. Which few, if they should be counte- " nanced among so many, and permitted still to continue " in their disorders, it will not only be a discouragement " unto the other, but also a way and means so to increase " the schism, that it would be hard, nay rather impossible, " hereafter to appease it. Therefore I doubt not but your " Majesty will have such consideration in the matter, as " the weight thereof requireth. For mine own part, that " which your Majesty hath committed unto me, I am " ready to perform, whatsoever happeneth unto me in re- " spect thereof. Most heartily beseeching Almighty God " long to bless, prosper, and preserve your Majesty, to the " benefit of his Church, and comfort of all your faithful " and loving subjects.

" Your Majesty's most faithful and obedient Servant,
" and Chaplain,
" Jo. Cantuar."

170 A conference at Lambeth with some Ministers. Life of Whitg. by G. Paul, p. 41.

Here should follow the objections, with the Archbishop's answers; but this paper hath not come to my hands. The occasion of this seemed to be a conference at Lambeth between some disaffected Ministers and the Archbishop, at the desire of some honourable personages: who, after four hours arguing, observing the strength of the Archbishop's reasons, and the weakness of theirs, persuaded them to conform themselves; and withal told the Archbishop they would acquaint her Majesty thereof.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1584.

The Archbishop moves the Treasurer for the filling up the vacant sees. Vindicates the Bishops. The courses he took for the peace of the Church, not severe. Concerned for a fit man to be Master of the Temple. Opposeth Travers. His letters to the Queen and Lord Treasurer against him. He supposeth Travers to be the author of Disciplina Ecclesiastica. *Some account of that book. The Archbishop objecteth against Travers's taking Orders; not according to the Book. His plea.*

Moves for the filling of the vacant dioceses.

THE condition of the Church was the worse, by reason of the many vacancies now in it. Divers bishoprics wanting their Pastors; as Ely, Oxford, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Chichester: the immediate present care whereof lay upon the Metropolitan, (being all in his province,) which added to his burden: besides, several deaneries were now also either vacant, or like to be vacant, when the bishoprics should be filled. Of this the Archbishop complained to his pious and fast friend at Court, the Lord Treasurer, in a letter, dated September the 14th, urging him to move the Queen speedily to nominate able Pastors for the supply of that weighty office in the Church; the necessity of the time, and the variable dispositions of men's minds, as he said, requiring the same. And for the better finishing of this necessary work, (and very likely upon the request of the said Lord,) the Archbishop made a scheme, according to his judgment, what persons might be proper for the bishoprics and deaneries void: which he accordingly sent to the Treasurer, as opportunity served, to offer to the Queen, *viz.*

The Archbishop's scheme for proper persons for Bishops and Deans.

Bishoprics void.	*Persons to be preferred.*
Ely.	The Bishop of London.

[For this see of London was now as good as concluded upon to be void, by the intended translation of Aylmer the present Bishop of Ely, though it so happened not in the issue.]

Bishoprics void.	*Persons to be preferred.*
London.	Dean of Windsor.
Worcester.	Bishop of Norwich. Dean of Westminster.
Bath and Wells.	Dean of Canterbury. Dean of Ely. Dr. Bickley. Dr. Howland.
Chichester.	Dean of Lincoln. Dean of Westminster. Dean of Ely. Dr. Bickley. Dr. Howland.

If the Bishop of Norwich be removed to Worcester, then I think that the Bishop of Rochester to be very fit for Norwich: and the Dean of Westminster to be removed to Rochester; and to keep the deanery also.

Deaneries void, or which may be void.	*Persons to be preferred.*
Deanery of Canterbury.	Suffragan of Dover.
Christ Church, Oxon.	Dr. James.
Westminster. Lincoln.	Dr. Bickley.
Peterborough.	Dr. Howland. Dr. Wood. Dr. Rud. Mr. Liveley.
Windsor.	Dr. Westphaling. Dr. Fletcher, her Majesty's Chaplain.
Gloucester.	Dr. Rud. Mr. Griffith. Mr. Bankcroft.
Deanery of Ely.	Dr. Bell. Dr. Howland. Dr. Wood.
Provostship of Eaton.	Mr. Browne. Mr. Blithe.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

The Lord Treasurer's censure of the Bishops.

And in the same month of September, the said Lord let the Archbishop know, that her Majesty would place Bishops in all the void rooms. Whereof, he told the Archbishop, he was very mindful, and very desirous, for the benefit of the Church; wishing, that the Church might take that good thereby that it had need of. And added, that his Grace must pardon him, since he rather wished it, than looked or much hoped for it; since he saw such worldliness in many, that were otherwise affected before they came to cathedral churches, that he feared the places altered the men. But herein, he said, he condemned not all, but that few there were that did better, being Bishops, than being Preachers they did: adding, that he was bold to utter his mind of Bishops to an Archbishop.

But to prevent the Archbishop's surmises, as though the Lord Treasurer intended some unkind reflection upon him, because of some difference that lately happened between them; therefore the said Lord added, "that he
172 "must clear himself. For he meant nothing in any con-
"ceit to his Grace. For that notwithstanding of late he
"had varied in his poor opinion from his Grace, in that by
"his order certain simple men had been rather sought by
"inquisition to be found offenders, than upon their facts
"condemned. Yet he affirmed, that he did not, for all this,
"differ from his Grace in amity and love: but that he re-
"verenced his learning and integrity; and wished, that the
"spirit of gentleness might win, rather than severity."

The Archbishop's better judgment of them.

These were wounds, but the wounds of a friend. And so the Archbishop took them. For to this kind letter from his differing friend, the Archbishop sent as obliging an answer: shewing first, how glad he was of the Queen's resolution of filling up the vacant sees; and then not wholly denying the Lord Treasurer's charge against some Bishops' worldlymindedness, yet he vindicated them generally as excellent persons, and well deserving of the Church, as ever sat in episcopal chairs in this kingdom; and declaimed against the calumnies raised of that venerable order, a practice of evil men in former times against

the worthiest and learnedest Bishops and Fathers of the Church of Christ. And lastly, as the said Treasurer had again reflected upon the Archbishop for his proceeding by inquisition against some Ministers; so he again as constantly insisted upon the lawfulness and equity of his doings. But I had rather give the reader the Archbishop's own words, so full of the meekness of wisdom, in his letter to him; which ran in this manner:

Anno 1584.

His letter concerning them and other matters. Collect. of MSS. Lett. and Pap. of Whitg.

" My singular good Lord, I am very glad that her Ma-
" jesty, through your good means, is now purposed to fill
" the void rooms. I beseech you to prosecute the matter,
" till it be brought to effect.——It is not the chair that
" maketh the alteration, if any be, but the unlawful means
" of coming by it. Whom God calleth unto it, (as I hope
" he hath done divers in this Church of England,) in them
" he increaseth his graces. And I doubt not, but as good
" men, even at this day, possess some of their chairs, as
" ever did in any age; although I will not justify all, nei-
" ther yet many of them. For I must needs confess, that
" some have been abused in the choice of some few, to the
" slander of their calling. But let the fault rest where it
" is. Your Lordship knoweth how ready men are in these
" days to spy motes in our eyes. It falleth out with us
" herein, as it did with the ancient Bishops, Bazil, Nazian-
" zen, Chrysostom, Augustin, Athanasius, and others, the
" best that lived since the Apostles.

" I heartily thank your Lordship for your good opinion
" of myself. God grant I may deserve it. I know I lack
" not calumniators; especially among those that would
" seem most *pure:* but it is their manner. *Spirituales*
" *isti,* saith Nazianzen, &c. My good Lord, I am as yet
" fully persuaded, that my manner of proceeding against
" these kind of men is both lawful, usual, and charitable;
" neither can I devise how otherwise to deal, to work any
" good effect: it is the only thing wherein your Lordship
" and I do differ. And I doubt not, but that upon confer-
" ence we soon herein shall agree. Not *severity*, but

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

"lenity hath bred this schism in the Church, as it hath "done otherwise many other abuses; which I trust in "time to redress. But the accusation of *severity* is the "least thing I fear: if I be able to answer to the contrary "fault, I shall find myself well apaide. The same *severity* "wherewith I kept Trinity college, and my late diocese of "Wigorn, in good order. And for these divisions do I "now also use it: though it is my hap, in this place, to be "more partially judged of than I was there, as more sub-"ject to that uncharitable company, who say, *With our "tongues we will prevail. Who is lord over us?* I would "they were as well known to your Lordship, as they are "to me, &c."

173 But notwithstanding the resolutions of the Queen for filling the vacant sees, there were several vacancies still left, though some were supplied, as we shall see at the conclusion of this year.

The mastership of the Temple void; the Archbishop concerns himself about a fit man for the place.

There was another vacancy at this time, (though not of a bishopric,) wherein the Archbishop thought fit to concern himself. The Temple in London was now void of a Master. It was very convenient it should be bestowed upon some able and learned man, and due observer of the religion and divine worship established and practised in the realm. Mr. Travers, sometime a Fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, a great Puritan, and one of the heads of that party, had got a strong interest to bring him in, namely, several of the members there; and especially the Lord Treasurer Burghley himself: who, by the good report he had heard of him, moved the Archbishop to yield his consent. But the Archbishop knowing the importance of the place, and the great numbers of young gentlemen that were admitted, and inhabited at the Temples, for education, breeding, or employment, feared the infection of them by the principles of that sort of men.

Therefore in the month of August he had signified to the Queen the vacancy of the mastership of the Temple by the death of Mr. Alvey. And that the living was not

great; yet that it required a learned, discreet, and wise man, in respect of the company there: who, being well directed and taught, might do much good elsewhere in the commonwealth; as otherwise they might do much harm. And because he heard (as he further declareth his mind to the Queen) that there had been suit made to her Highness for one Mr. Travers, he thought it his duty to signify unto her Majesty, that the said Travers had been and was one of the chief and principal authors of dissension in this Church; a contemner of the Book of Prayers and other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas, not according to the form in this Church of England used. And that his placing in that room, especially by her Majesty, would greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1584.

Writes to the Queen Travers's character.

And then he recommended one to her for the said place, being one of her Chaplains, in these words; "That her "Majesty had a Chaplain of her own, Dr. Bond, a man, in "his opinion, very fit for that office; and willing also to "take pains therein, if it should please her Highness to "bestow it upon him. Which he referred, as he added, "to her most gracious disposition: beseeching Almighty "God long to bless, prosper, and preserve her, to his glory "and all their comforts. It was dated from Croydon the "day of August, 1584. Subscribing himself,

"Your Majesty's most faithful servant,
"and Chaplain,
"Jo. Cantuar."

Recommends to her Dr. Bond.

This Dr. Bond, whom the Archbishop named to the Queen for this place, was, as I suppose, Dr. Nicholas Bond, that was afterward President of Magdalen college, Oxon. For him he moved also the Lord Treasurer in the month after: (for the Temple was still void, though Travers was now Lecturer there:) beseeching him to help such an one

And so he doth to the Lord Treasurer, as a fit person, in opposition to Travers.

BOOK III. to the mastership of the Temple, as he knew to be conformable to the laws and orders established; and a defender, not a depraver of the present state and government. And that he that then read there [*viz.* Travers] was nothing less, as (the Archbishop said) of his own knowledge and experience he could testify. He said further, that Dr. Bond was desirous of it, and he knew not a fitter man.

Anno 1584.

Discourse between the Queen and Treasurer concerning Travers, for the Temple.

The Queen in the mean time, upon the Archbishop's letter aforesaid to her about this matter, had asked the Lord Treasurer, what he thought of Travers to be Master of the Temple? Who answered, that at the request of Dr. Alvey in his sickness, and of a number of honest gentle-
174 men of the Temple, he had yielded his allowance of him to the place; so as he would shew himself conformable to the orders of the Church. And this he was informed he would be. Then her Majesty told him, that the Archbishop did not so well allow of him. To which the said Lord replied, that that might be for some things supposed to be written by him in a tract, entitled, *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica:* which was a book wholly condemning the present government of the Church of England by Bishops, and advancing another government by an equality of Ministers and Elders, as only agreeable to the word of God. Whereupon she commanded the Treasurer to write to his Grace, (for the Court was now at Oatlands,) to know his opinion.

Which the Treasurer acquainteth the Archbishop with.

Of this conference he acquainted the Archbishop in a letter, dated September the 17th, and therein prayed his Grace himself, to signify unto her what his opinion was, as God should move him; adding still in Travers's behalf, that surely it were great pity, that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary: for that he was well learned, and honest, and well allowed and loved of the generality of that house. And that as for Mr. Bond, (who had been with him, [the Lord Treasurer,] and told him, that his Grace liked well of him,) he told the Archbishop,

that he liked of him also, as of one well-learned and honest; but that he let the said Bond know, that, if he came not to the place with some applause of the company, he should be weary thereof. But notwithstanding, he signified to the Archbishop, that he had commended him to her Majesty, if Travers should not have it. But that she thought him not fit for the place, because of his infirmity. And so he wished his Grace the assistance of God's Holy Spirit to govern his charge unblameable. Dated at Oatlands.

The Archbishop's further account of Travers to the said Lord Treasurer.

Our Archbishop, upon the foresaid Lord's naming of Travers so favourably as he had done both to himself and the Queen, and of his willingness to submit to order, in his next correspondence, shewed him more particularly how little was to be expected from him. "For that he "was better known, he thought, to no man than to him- "self. That, when he [the Archbishop] was Master of "Trinity college, he had elected him Fellow of that house, "though he had been before rejected by Dr. Beaumont, "the former Master, for his intolerable stomach. Whereof "he [the Archbishop, then Master] had afterwards such "experience, that he was forced by due punishment so to "weary him, till he was fain to travel; departing from "the college [and then went] to Geneva; otherwise he "should have been expelled, for his want of conformity "towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. "And that there never was any under his government "there, in whom he found less submission and humility, "than in him. Nevertheless, as the Archbishop kindly "added concerning him, if time and years had now altered "that disposition of his, [as should seem by the character "the said Lord had given of him,] (which, he said, he "could not believe, seeing as yet no token thereof, but "rather the contrary,) he promised, that he would be as "ready to do him good, as any friend he had. Otherwise, "as he proceeded, he could not in duty but do his endea- "vour to keep him from that place, where he might do so "much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howso-

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" ever, he said, some commended him to his Lordship and " others, yet he could not but think, that the greater and " better number of both the Temples had not so good an " opinion of him. He was sure, that divers grave, and of " the best affected of them, had shewed him their disliking " of him; not only out of respect of his disorderliness " in the manner of the Communion, and contempt of the " prayers; but also for his negligence in reading, whose " lectures by their reports were so barren of matter, that " the hearers took no commodity thereby."

Disciplina Ecclesiastica.

That concerning the book *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, he said, by common opinion it had been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And that by divers arguments he was moved to make no doubt thereof.

The drift thereof.

The drift of which book, as the Archbishop added, was wholly against this state and government. Wherein also, among other things, he condemned the taking and paying of first-fruits, tenths, &c. [Which the Archbishop thought not amiss to suggest to the Lord Treasurer, because it would tend to the lessening considerably of the Queen's revenues.] And therefore he resolutely concluded, " That " unless he would testify his conformity by subscription, " as all others did which now entered into ecclesiastical " livings, and would also make proof unto him, that he is " a Minister, ordered according to the laws of this Church " of England, (as he verily believed he was not, because " he forsook his place in the college upon that occasion,) " he could by no means yield to consent to the placing " him there, or elsewhere in any function of this Church."

175

Mr. Hooker obtains the Temple.

In short, the careful Archbishop partly obtained his end, in excluding Travers from the said mastership, and partly was disappointed in obtaining it for Dr. Bond. For a third person was preferred thereunto; and he a very learned and yet modest man, well affected to the government and practice of this Church, and that afterwards proved one of our best writers for our ecclesiastical constitution; namely, Mr. Richard Hooker; who was recommended by Sandys, Bishop of London. Between whom and the said Travers

(who remained for some time after Lecturer of the Temple) happened great controversy about their doctrines they preached in the same pulpit: an account whereof, and the points preached and argued upon, and the Archbishop's judgment thereof, I have shewed elsewhere *. Anno 1584.

* Additions to the Life of Hooker before his Eccles. Polity.

The book *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica,* mentioned before, whereof Travers was thought by the Archbishop to be the author, was the ground and model of the Puritan discipline: which was so laboured to take place in this Church in the room of *episcopacy* established. Which must be abolished quite, together with the Book of Common Prayer; and that *discipline* to succeed in place thereof. Therefore the Archbishop had just reason to be jealous of this man, as well for this book of his, as for his other qualities mentioned before, as his going to Geneva, and his foreign ordination, which he received at Antwerp, by T. Cartwright, Villers, and others, the heads of a congregation there.

Travers reckoned by the Archbishop the author of the book of Ecclesiastical Discipline.

This book the Disciplinarians stuck unto, and all, as many as espoused that way, were to subscribe to: which they did: and it was in great vogue afterwards, having been diligently reviewed, corrected, and allowed by Cartwright, and the rest of the leaders of that faction. And afterwards it was put into English (having been originally written in Latin) for the more general use; and was found in the said Cartwright's study after his death; and thought worthy long after, [*viz.* 1644,] to be reprinted after that copy: when the Presbyterian party in Parliament had thrown out the Common Prayer Book, and forbade it any further to be observed in the churches of England, and had brought in a Directory: giving this book of Discipline the title which their new discipline now carried, viz. *A Directory of Government, anciently contended for; and as far as the time would suffer,* [which time suffered it not at all,] *practised by the first Non-Conformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth. Found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time*

This book in great vogue among the faction.

Disciplin. Ecclesiast. translated, and called *the Directory of Government.* Rev. T. Baker, B. D.

BOOK. III. Anno 1584.

as this. Published by Authority. Though the title it then bore was, *The Sacred Discipline of the Church, described in the Word of God.* And the title it bore in Latin was, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sacra, ex Dei Verbo descripta.*

Travers vindicates his Orders, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer.

And whereas the Archbishop objected against Travers's Orders; either that he was not ordained at all, or received his Orders abroad, and not according to the English book; this the Lord Treasurer and others objecting to him, and persuading him to be made a Minister according to the orders of the Church of England, the better to qualify himself for the obtaining of the preferment of the Temple; he gave the said Lord a letter dated in November, insisting upon the validity of his ordination, though he had received it from Geneva, or any other foreign Protestant
176 Church. His argument was, that he was once sufficiently called unto the ministry, according to the rule of God's most holy word, with prayers and imposition of hands, and agreeably to the order of a Church of the same faith and profession with this Church of England; as might appear by the testimonial he had thereof. Then he offered in the said letters several reasons to confirm the same. And in the conclusion, he prayed his Lordship to consider, whether his subscribing to the Articles of Religion, which only concerned the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as agreed upon in the Convocation House, anno 1562; (which most willingly and with all his heart, he said, he assented to, as agreeable to God's word;) whether this, by virtue of the statute, did not enable him for dealing in the ministry, as much as if he had at first been made Minister according to the form established in this Church. I have, for the sake of those that are minded to see Travers's argument at large, transcribed this letter from the original, and put it among the rest of the records in the Appendix.

Numb. XII.

CHAP. X.

A Parliament. Petitions, in divers articles, in favour of Puritan Preachers, read in Parliament. But not allowed in the Upper House. Both the Archbishops their speeches against them. The Archbishop writes his judgment of them to the Lord Treasurer. The party's diligence in preparing them for the Parliament. Sampson's letters to the Lord Treasurer. Articles exhibited to the Queen by the Archbishop and Bishops, for reforming of abuses. True causes of the insufficiency of many of the Clergy in these days. Other bills concerning the Bishops, and ecclesiastical matters, brought into Parliament. The Bishop of Winton's consideration of the petitions.

A PARLIAMENT now came on, and began to sit November the 23d, 27. Elizab. Then, as the malecontent party had before been so busy to get liberty, and free themselves from the observation of the ecclesiastical laws and customs established, and used since the beginning of the Reformation; so now they resolved to put forth their utmost efforts for the same end. Thus, December the 14th, there were three petitions offered to the House in favour of these men: namely, touching the liberty of godly preachers: and to exercise and continue their Ministers: and for the speedy supply of able and sufficient men in divers places now destitute, and void of the ordinary means of salvation. The first of these petitions was brought in by Sir Thomas Lucy; the second by Sir Edward Dymock; and the third by Mr. Gates. Which were all thereupon read; and further proceedings therein deferred until a more convenient time. Which notwithstanding, Dr. Turner a little after rose up, and put the House in remembrance of a bill and book heretofore offered by him unto the said House; which had been, he said, digested and framed by certain godly and learned Ministers; and which said bill and book tended to no

Anno 1584. Petitions to the Parliament in favour of the Puritan Ministers.

D'Ewes' Journ. p. 339. a.

BOOK III.

other end, as he conceived, than the glory of God, the safety of her Majesty, and the benefit of the commonwealth. And therefore prayed that it might be read.

Anno 1584.

177 The petition, consisting of sixteen articles.

It was by advice reduced into a petition, consisting of sixteen articles; which (it being moved by one of the House to be put in writing) might be imparted unto the Lords of the Upper House; and that request might be thereupon made to their Lordships to join with the House of Commons in such further course as should be thought meet. Which was, to join with them to exhibit these petitions and grievances, by way of humble suit to the Queen in that behalf. These petitions reflected much upon the present government of the Church of England, and upon the Bishops and Ministers therein; and that the suspended and deprived Ministers might be favoured. And many other things were contained therein so offensive, that those of the Court (knowing the Queen's mind) spake against it. Sir Francis Knollys, Mr. Treasurer, spake first, and in few words. After him Sir Christopher Hatton more largely, moving and pressing the House so far therein, that it was at length resolved, that the said book and bill should not be read. But touching all necessary and fit liberty of the foresaid Ministers, or supply of able men in places that wanted, they said, they did not doubt but that her Majesty would take some speedy order concerning the same, according to whatsoever was justly required, either in the foresaid petition that had been read, or in this book and bill.

A new Platform and book of public prayers ready prepared.

And that all might be ready, as soon as the book was allowed and confirmed by the Parliament, and the government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Chancellors, &c. and the Book of Common Prayer laid aside, (as these new reformers persuaded themselves would now be brought to pass,) they had compiled and got in a readiness a new Platform of ecclesiastical government, agreeable to that of Geneva, and another form of Common Prayer prescribed therein, in the room of the old one, for the use of this Church. And now, at Parliament

time, out starteth this book with great glory. That by the favour and interposition of the present Parliament, the government of the Church, with all the orders and appointments of it, being cut off, their new one might immediately be put in the place thereof, and be established. Nor did it seem impossible at present to be brought to pass.

Anno 1584. Survey of the Discipl. p. 66.

For whatever stop this book of petitions had at present, it was committed and approved; and soon after presented to the House of Lords from the Lower House; and bore this title, *The humble Petitions of the Commons of the Lower House of Parliament, to be offered to the Consideration of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Higher House.* This paper may be read in the Appendix: which I have transcribed exactly, *verbatim*, from the Archbishop's own copy of those petitions; and will correct in many places the errors, and supply the several omissions of words and sentences in that printed in D'Ewe's Journal. These petitions are taken notice of by Fuller, but falsely, under the year 1587.

Num. XIII.

Page 357.

The answers of the Lords were given to the committee appointed by the Lower House, and reported to the House by Sir Francis Knollys. The substance of this report, and what some of the Lords said, is preserved to us by Sir Simmons D'Ewe's. The Lord Treasurer in general made answer, that the Lords did conceive many of those articles, which the House of Commons had proposed unto them, to be unnecessary; and that others of them were already provided for, [meaning, I suppose, in the articles presented to the Queen by the Archbishop, which we shall read of by and by.] And that the uniformity of the Common Prayer [the using of which they desired in one of the articles might be left to the discretion of the Minister] had been established by Parliament. Among the Lords spiritual, both the Archbishops spake against these articles.

The answer of the Lords to the sixteen petitions of the Lower House. D'Ewe's Journ. p. 359.

The Archbishop of York, Dr. Sandys, made an answer more at large to the articles severally, in the name of the rest of his brethren. Which may be read in D'Ewe's

BOOK III.

Journal. Some of the articles he allowed of, and others he misliked; and shewed his reasons wherefore.

Anno 1584.

The Archbishop of York's answer to them.

To the first and second article or petition, *viz.* that such Ministers as were not qualified according to law might be suspended: and all unlearned Ministers to be within a competent time removed, and deprived of their livings;

178 that Archbishop answered, that he conceived them not to be allowed; because divers unqualified persons were dispensed withal by law. And that it was against the rule of charity to suppose, that those that were non-residents had not some lawful avocation. And that where parishes had not sufficient preaching Ministers, divine service and godly homilies were read. But he promised concerning non-residence, that it should be holpen, and redressed as soon as might be. Though this answer seem more properly to belong to the two last articles.

To the third petition or article, *viz.* That none should hereafter be admitted to the ministry, but such as should be sufficiently furnished with gifts, to perform so high a charge: and that in order to that, they that came to be admitted should be examined of their knowledge and exercise in the holy Scriptures: this he confessed very necessary.

The fourth, That there should be six Ministers, the Bishop's Chaplains, or others, at an ordination, to lay their hands on the ordained person, with the Bishop; he utterly disallowed.

To the fifth, That none should be admitted to be a Minister of the word and sacraments, but in a benefice vacant, unless he were some Fellow or Scholar of the University; to prevent unnecessary multitudes to the ministry at one time; whereby the Church was burdened with a great number of unable Ministers; he answered, that he allowed of it, for the avoiding of *ministerium vagum.*

The sixth article, That none should be preferred, nor instituted into a benefice, without competent notice thereof first given to the parish which he is to take charge of, to discover any fault in his conversation: this article the

Archbishop disallowed of, as favouring popularity, and might raise controversies and dissensions.

The seventh, That no oath nor subscription be tendered to any Minister, either in order to their entrance into the ministry, or any cure, or place of preaching, but such only as were expressly prescribed by the statutes of the realm: this he utterly disliked; alleging, that the Bishops themselves were not discharged from taking that oath; [*i. e.* of canonical obedience;] and for subscription, [*i. e.* to the three articles,] he doubted not but that it was lawful; and that it might prove the cause of much order and quietness in the Church.

To the eighth and ninth, That such Ministers as in the service of the Church and administration of the sacraments did use the Common Prayer, though they omitted some small portions or some ceremonies prescribed therein, might not be called in question in temporal courts, and molested by some exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction: but that the Archbishops and Bishops, with the grave assistance of others, might take to their own hearings the causes of complaints made against any known preachers, and not disgraced by Officials and Commissaries to deal in those causes. These articles he utterly disallowed, as freeing Ministers from jurisdiction temporal, and from the Bishops themselves, and all in authority under them.

The tenth petition or article, That the Bishops would extend their charitable favours to the known, godly, and learned preachers as had been suspended and deprived, for refusal to subscribe to such articles as lately had been tendered, or for such like things; and that they might be restored to their former charges: this he answered he could not but dislike; because deprivation was often necessarily used *in terrorem:* and that the party so deprived might upon his submission (as in the case of excommunication) be received into favour.

The eleventh article, That the reverend Fathers would forbear their examination of godly learned preachers *ex officio mero;* being not detected unto them of open of-

BOOK III.

fence of life, or for public maintaining of apparent errors. This he also disliked. But the reason is not set down.

Anno 1584. 179

To the twelfth, That for the better increase of knowledge in the Ministers, it might be permitted to the Ministers in every archdeaconry, within every diocese, to have common exercises or conferences among themselves; to be limited and prescribed by their Ordinary, touching the moderation, the places and manner of the same: to which he answered, That himself in the name of their Lordships [*i. e.* spiritual] (whom in all that he had before said he had but personated) did think it necessary, and would take order for such exercises.

Exercises or conferences.

Excommunication.

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles were about the abuse and regulating of excommunication. That it was abused both in regard of the causes and matters wherein it was at that day used, and of the persons which had the common execution thereof; that some bill might be framed, that none having ecclesiastical jurisdiction should give or pronounce any sentence of excommunication. And that for the *contumacy* of any person in causes, they should be pronounced *contumax*. And upon such denunciation, the party not submitting himself in forty days, as in the case of excommunication, the writ *De contumace capiendo* should be awarded against him, and to be of like force, to all effects and purposes, as the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*. But that the censure of excommunication be executed by the reverend Fathers, the Bishops themselves, with the assistance of grave persons, or of other persons of calling in the Church; and not by Chancellors, Commissaries, &c. This article the said Archbishop confessed to be no more than seemed reasonable. Yet if search more narrowly were made into it, it would be found to breed much inconvenience. For then there must be some new censures brought into the Church for contumacy, or other small delinquencies. And that excommunication in these cases were to no other end than outlawries and attachments in the courts of law and justice; it being only to bring parties to their lawful answers; who upon their

appearance were absolved of course. But notwithstanding, he promised that himself and the rest of his brethren would take pains therein themselves; and that hereafter no excommunication should be sent out, but for adultery, and some other weighty cause; or for such contumacy as could not otherwise be remedied. Anno 1584.

To the fifteenth and sixteenth, which were, that non-residency being offensive, and an occasion that a great multitude of this realm wanted instruction; and that it seemed no certain cases wherein it might be allowed could be devised, that licences for the same might be utterly removed out of the Church; and so likewise pluralities. And that howsoever it might be thought convenient to order those faculties, yet, besides the known duty of a Minister, her Majesty's Injunctions did require in every Curate a further quality of learning, than ability to read only; that no faculty of plurality or non-residence might be granted, but with condition to see the cure from which he was absent sufficiently served. And that none having such licence should be permitted to enjoy the benefit of it, without he deputed an able and sufficient preacher to serve the cure, to preach and weekly teach the congregation, and perform the duties of instructing the youth in the Catechism. And these two last articles he acknowledged to stand with good reason. And that for himself, he never granted any dispensation perpetual, but to one man, that was then aged eighty years. And withal he professed, that he would never again allow of plurality for life. And added, that the original faculty thereof belonged to her Majesty. And further alleged, that himself, in the name of their Lordships, his brethren, did very well allow of that proviso of theirs, that when any temporary dispensations were granted, provision should be made of very able, godly, and sufficient Curates. And lastly, that because he feared some of the House of Commons were too ready to think and speak hardly of the ancient and godly order of Bishops, yet he desired them, that they would be pleased Non-residency. Plurality.

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

to think well of him and the rest of his brethren now living; if not in respect of their places, yet for charity sake; and for that some of them were preachers, when many of the House of Commons were in their cradles.

180 Thus piously and meekly did the good Archbishop of York give his answers to these points to the Lower House. Nor was the other Archbishop, I mean our Archbishop of Canterbury, wholly silent to such petitions, so nearly touching not only upon the whole order of Bishops, their courts and officers, and the commission ecclesiastical, but upon himself and his proceedings. There is indeed no mention of him at this time in the Compleat Journal, where this affair is related; but as he was certainly present at this Parliament, so he spake roundly and fully to all these articles. And the sum of what he said he soon after wrote down, and sent to the Lord Treasurer; the paper being endorsed by his hand with these words:

The Archbishop of Canterbury's answer to the same.

The answer of the Bishop of Canterbury to the petition of the Commons House.

The copy of them sent by him to the Lord Treasurer. MSS. Chart. et Epist. Whit.

"The first petition desireth, that those Ministres which "were ordered since 13° [Eliz.] and not qualified accord- "ing to the Acte of Parlement then made, should be sus- "pended from their ministerie, untill they were qualified "accordingly.

"The second petition desiereth, that such unlerned Min- "istres as have beene admitted to benefices synce anno "1575, might be deposed, &c.

"To theis two I aunswered thus in effect. First, that I "knewe not howe many of theis unlearned Ministres there "were; but wished that they were knowen, together with "the Bishopps that ordered them; least the fault and "negligence of some fewe might peradventure bee im- "puted to all. For myne owne part I signified, that synce "my coming to this place I had omitted nothing that "might pertayne to the reforming of that abuse. It "was one of the first thinges I did, and is sett downe

" among those articles that are so greatly myslyked of " some, hoping that since that tyme there hath bene no " greate cause to complayne.

" But touching theis two petitions, I sayd, wee could not " assent unto them, (especially yf suche Ministres were " not otherwise criminouse,) for the causes following.

" 1. Least dyverse thinges might be called into need- " lesse questions, as doon by unlawfull Ministres; as ma- " riages which they have celebrated, and sacraments which " they have ministred.

" 2. Least also diverse parishes might be lefte destitute of " Ministres to say divine service, celebrate the sacramentes, " read the Scriptures, and the learned and godly Homilies " appointed for that purpose. For we thought it muche " better to have some to read the service, &c. without a " sermon, then that the people lyke unto brute beasts " should bee lefte without prayers, sacraments, reading the " Scriptures and Homilies, and without sermons also.

" 3. Wee thought it against charitee to send suche Min- " istres, together with their families, a begginge, which " had dedicated themselves to the ministery, and had not " otherwise any trade whereby to lyve.

" Notwithstanding, for the better inforsinge of such un- " learned Ministres to studie, &c. wee were purposed to " devise some kynde of exercise for them, not lyke unto " that which they called *prophecies*, (which had been cause " of some troubles in the Churche,) but some other more " private, suche as shall seeme best to our selves, both for " the peace of the Churche, and their better instruction. " Whereby I hoped that their 12th petition also was sa- " tisfied.

" The third petition desiereth, that none bee admitted " hereafter, but suche as are qualified according to the sta- " tute.

" Which I sayed wee willingly yelded unto; and had " therefore taken order more than a twelvemonth synce. " Adding, that hereafter they should rather fynde fault

BOOK III. " with lack of Ministers, then with too greate a nomber of " unlearned.

Anno 1584. " The fourth petition seemeth to prescribe a maner " howe the third might bee performed.

181 " Which maner we lyked not of, for diverse causes to " us knowen, and then needlesse to bee rehersed. Trust- " ing, that having the thing, they would not contend with " us about the maner, and that we were determined to " observe the lawes therein established.

" The 5th petition desiereth, that none be admitted into " the ministery, but either to a benefice with cure, or else " to some preachership, or unlesse he were either Fellow " or Scholler in some college of one of the Universitees.

" To this I aunswered, that if the meaning of the peti- " tion were, that none should be admitted into the ministery " *sine titulo*, that is, without some certene stay of lyving, " wee did very well lyke thereof, and had allreadie taken " order therein, long before the exhibiting of theis peti- " tions, being a thing which the lawe it self doth require. " But the petition it self, as it is set downe, wee thought " to be very short, and to tend to the abbridging of the " nomber of preachers, and specially of the gravest and " best, contrary to that which by the said petitions seem- " eth to be pretended. For it secludeth from the ministery " Deans, Prebendaries, and other Ministres of cathedral " churches, Masters of colleges also in the Universitees, " (against the fundations of the sayd colleges,) Archedea- " cons lykewise, and dyverse others. All which must " hereafter bee meere laymen, if the petition should be " granted in maner and forme.

" The 6th petition desiereth, that the Pastor which is to " bee admitted to a cure might bee tryed and allowed by " the parish, &c.

" Whereunto I aunswered, wee had before taken ordre " that none should bee admitted into the ministrie, but " suche as had a sufficient testimonial of their behaviour, " either from the college wherein they were, or from the

" place wherein they had their most aboad. But the peti-
" tion we could not yeld unto. Because,

" 1. It savoureth of popular elections, long ago abro-
" gated in the Churche for diverse inconveniencies thereof.

" 2. It would breed variance and dissension betwixt the
" parishioners and the patrone, and oftentymes devide the
" parish among themselves.

" 3. It would prejudice the patrones right, and alter
" many lawes.

" 4. And lastly, it would not work the effect pretended,
" the partie presented beeing altogether unknowen to the
" parish, as in most places it must of necessity come to
" passe.

" The fyve petitions following, *viz.* the 7th, 8th, 9th,
" 10th, and 11th, 1. I sayed, did tend to suche a libertee
" and freeing of Ministres from all kynde of subjection, as
" no subject in this land did enjoy, and as in deed most
" intolerable in any settled state, or well governed Churche.

" 2. Likewise, that they did tend not onely to the con-
" tynuing of the contentions which are allreadie, but also
" to the encreasing of them, and that mightely.

" 3. To the utter frustrating also of the statute made
" for the uniformitee of Common Prayer.

" For the 7th petition would not have them to be urged
" to any other oath or subscription, then that which is ex-
" pressed in the statutes of the realme, except it bee the
" oath against symonie. Whereby it would have freed
" them from the oath of canonical obedience, which they
" take to their Ordinaries, *in omnibus licitis et honestis*,
" which also the lawe nowe in force, though not the sta-
" tutes, requireth of them; and which every Bishop by
" statute is bound to take to his Metropolitan, and hath
" not hitherto been excepted against by any.

" It also freeth them from subscribing to the orders and
" rytes of the Churche by lawe established, contrary to
" the manner and use of all reformed and well governed
" churches in Christendom; and contrary also to the prac-
" tice of this Churche both in the tyme of King Edward,

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" and synce the begynning of her Majesties reigne.
" Wherein subscription hath bene required to the self
" same articles that are nowe sett downe, and that in
" more straite termes, and wordes penned, then nowe they
" are.

182 " The 8th petition would have them freed from the tem-
" poral magistrate, and also from the ecclesiastical. For
" it desiereth, that neither of them both may intermeddell
" with them, or call them to accompt for omission or
" changes of some portions or rytes in the Book of Com-
" mon Prayer, &c. So that they may admitt what they
" will, and alter and change what pleaseth them, without
" controllment. Which being suffered, it will shortely
" come to passe, that we shall have *tot altaria quot schis-
" mata*, &c.

" The 9th doth simplye exempt them from Commissa-
" ries and Officialls, and in effect from the Bishop also.
" For his authoritee is so restreyned, that he shall not be
" hable to doo any thing. Whereunto yf a portion of the
" 11th petition be added, the ecclesiastical Commissionars
" also are restreyned from dealing with them. So that
" in effect they are freed from all kynde of subjection and
" authoritee.

" The 10th requireth, that those which are suspended
" or depryved for wante of conformitee might be restored,
" &c. Whereunto I aunswered, that in justice we could
" not so doo. Forasmuche as that which we had done
" against them, we had done it justly. Neverthelesse, yf
" they would yeld themselves to conformitee, I promised
" in myne owne name, and the name of the rest, that wee
" would shewe unto them all maner of humanitee.

" The 11th would not have them examyned *ex officio*.
" Whereby should bee taken from us an usuall, lawfull,
" and ordinary kynde of proceeding, without which wee
" cannot performe that which is looked for at our handes;
" being also used in sundry other courtes of the greatest
" accompt in this land, and evermore practised in the ec-
" clesiastical courtes, and by the high Commissionars;

" never gaynesayed or mislyked, till of late by the Jesuites " and Seminarie Priestes, of whom I thought that our men " also had borowed their exceptions against that maner of " proceeding. Anno 1584.

" The 12th petition is aunswered afore.

" The 13th and 14th concerne excommunication.

" Which censure wee cannot alter without the alteration of many lawes, and without bringing into the churche a newe censure, which in shorte tyme would breed greate offense and quarrells, as not warranted by the worde of God.

" The 13th petition seemeth to mislyke the cause of excommunication, and also the persons which exercise the same, as being laymen.

" The cause which is so misliked is *contumacie*, which in our opynion is a fault deserving excommunication. Neither is it materiall upon what small value contumacie proceedeth, bee it 12*d*. or less; the smallnesse of the value doeth not diminish but augment the cryme. No man is excommunicated for the value of 12*d*. nor for any somme, but for contemning authoritee, for disobeying of processe, for refusing to aunswere according to lawe, &c. Neither is the censure more hard in the churche, then the lyke is in the common-welth. For upon the self same causes, and lyke contempt, men are proclamed rebells, and oftentymes outlawed, whereby they live without gooddes and libertie, and are (as it were) without protection.

" As for Chauncellors, &c. termed to bee laymen, in trueth they doo not excommunicate, but pronounce the sentence of law *contra contumaces*, which sentence notwithstanding is not of force, till it bee denounced by the Ministrie openly in the churche.

" Nevertheless, for the satisfying of some men's scrupulositee in this behalf, wee are purposed to bee more strayte in that censure, and to joyne some preacher in commission with other of the officers for that action:

BOOK III.

"and in matters of importance to take the knowledge "thereof our selves.

Anno 1584.

"The 15th is against faculties for non-residence and "pluralitees. I signified I had not granted one facultee "for non-residence synce my coming to this place, but "onely one to a man of eighty yeres of age, and that for "a twelvemoneth onely. Neverthelesse, I thought that
183 "facultee to bee necessary; because men, in respect of "sickness, suites of lawe, and other occasions, may bee "forced to bee longer from their cures then the lawe will "permitt; which they cannot do without danger, unlesse "they bee dispensed with. I sayed I was therein but her "Majesty's officer, &c.

"Pluralitees I told them could not bee taken away, with- "out discouraging the best sorte of Ministers, and taking "away the reward of learninge.

"The sixteenth I thought to be reasonable, yf the place "were hable to maynteyne suche a curate."

The faculty granted to a man of eighty years old, mentioned in the answer to the fifteenth article, might make one hesitate, whether the former answers said to be made by the Archbishop of York were not a mistake in the Journal, for the Archbishop of Canterbury, unless this aged man had a dispensation from both Archbishops. And it appears he had, since the dispensations differ as to the time; that granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury being but for a twelvemonth, that by the other Archbishop being perpetual, that is, as long as he should live.

The Archbishop's judgment of these petitions, written to the Queen.

These petitions or articles before mentioned were of such consequence, that the Lord Treasurer, upon the offering them by the Lower House to the Lords, soon sent a copy of them to the Archbishop to peruse, and give him his judgment of them. He, out of his care for the peace and safety of the Church, as it then stood, was not a little concerned about them; and thought fit to draw up answers to them, which he presented to the Queen herself,

containing excellent matter in them; which I once saw and read in a packet of a great many other collections of this Archbishop's papers and letters, and have now subjoined to the said petitions in the Appendix. [No XIII.]

The Archbishop's notes concerning them; sent to the Treasurer.

He sent also his notes upon those articles to the Lord Treasurer, inclosing them in his letter to the said Lord; wherein he mentioned to him the great danger of them, in respect of their direct tendency to innovation. The contents of his letter was, first, "to thank him for sending him those petitions. That he had perused them, "and sent unto him inclosed his opinion thereof. That "he could not but wonder that wise men [meaning those "of the House of Commons] should consent to the exhibiting of divers of them, tending only to needless innovation, liberty, and the overthrow of government, especially in the ecclesiastical state; and working nothing "less than that which seemed most to be intended. Then "he beseeched his Lordship not to think, that he stood "so much in these matters for any other cause, than for "conscience sake, and duty to the Church; knowing what "was meant by these kind of dealings. That his Lordship also knew, that her Majesty loved not to hear of "innovations; wherein she did, in his opinion, both graciously and wisely: especially, seeing the laws and orders already established were such as could not justly "be impeached. And that for his part, being persuaded "and resolved in all points, as he was, he could not but "confirm her Highness therein, so much as in him lay; "notwithstanding the hard opinions of some men concerning him. Which, in the respects aforesaid, through "God's goodness, he said, he patiently bore; assuring "himself of his Lordship, for whom he would not cease "daily to pray. Dated from Lambeth, the 26th of December, 1584."

Sampson, one of the drawers up of these petitions.

That Member of the House of Commons that first moved the reading of these petitions, the better to recommend them to the House, avowed that they were digested and framed by godly and learned Ministers; but their

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

names we are left to guess at. Yet we may conclude one of them was Thomas Sampson, a preacher under King Edward VI. an exile for religion under Queen Mary, Dean of Christ's Church, Oxon, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and not long afterwards put out for refusing to wear the habits, now master of an hospital in Leicester; a man of gravity and learning, but much prejudiced against the present practice and religious worship used in the Church: of whom we have spoken largely elsewhere. As he was acquainted with Cecyl in King Edward's days, so he held a correspondence still with him, being Lord Treasurer. I find one of his letters to him, written somewhat before this Parliament sat; wherein he reminded that Lord of several things (whereof, he said, he had sent him a paper the year before) to be redressed in the Church, for the use of the Parliament, that was now in a short time to sit. In which paper he had drawn up certain petitions about divers things needful to be reformed; and had sent them with his letter (which was dated from Leicester, March the 7th, 1583) to the said Lord. In the letter he shewed, "That he had many "thoughts of the state of this Church of England; and "that, lest all his thoughts should vanish away, he deter- "mined to put some of them in writing, and resolved to "send them first, and in secret sort, to him. But that in "them he did not presume as an admonisher, nor did he "prescribe as a law-maker, or as instructor of law-makers. "These presumptions, he thanked God, were far from his "heart, as he submissively wrote. But that as an humble "supplicant, in the cause of the Church, he presented these "poor petitions of his heart to the view and correction of "his Honour, and referred the correction or rejection of "them to his godly wisdom. That he had, with others, "seen what his Honour had heretofore done in the cause "of the religion of God in this Church of England. He "confessed, he said, that the beginning and proceeding of "the action of religion [in which time Sampson flourished] "in this land had been such, and the maintenance thereof

184

His letter to that purpose to the Lord Treasurer. MSS. Burghl.

"had been such also, that they which were godly-minded, "and did look into it, might say, *A Domino factum est* "*istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.* But that in these "actions had been some defects; some necessary things "had been omitted; some things not so necessary had "been retained. And yet had the goodness of God given "such peaceable proceeding to his own cause, that giving "to his Majesty humble thanks, they might say, *Non* "*nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.* "That in these happy days, happy were they, to whom "God gave, in the true zeal of his glory, to care not only "to maintain that good which was had, but also to gain "that which was wanting. This zealous care of God, and "of promoting his glory in the Church, he wished might "possess his Lordship's heart; and he prayed his Honour "to give him leave to put those small sticks (as he ex-"pressed himself) of his petitions, as little matches, to "kindle the fire of God in his heart, &c. Subscribing "himself,

"Your Honour's humble at commandment,

"Tho. Sampson."

Anno 1584.

Sampson's second letter to the Lord Treasurer.

These were Mr. Sampson's thoughts the year before, together with his petitions, for the further reformation of this Church. Now upon the report of a Parliament at hand, he backed his former letter with a second to the same Nobleman, bearing date from Leicester, November the 10th, importing, "That the drawing near of this Par-"liament had revived in him the memory of those few "petitions which he had presented to his Honour in be-"half of the present state of this Church; and that he "had now revised them, and somewhat altered them. And "he had also taken upon him to bring them into some "such form as he thought fit for them. But that if this "device did mislike him, or were offensive, he humbly "submitted the same to correction, and commended them "all to his Lordship's godly judgment, though the cause "was common, he said, to the whole Church. And he

BOOK III.

"trusted assuredly that God would bless the good endea-
"vours he should take in hand for the same. And that
Anno 1584. "he did therefore again humbly commend these his poor
"thoughts into his Lordship's hands. And that he did
"and should pray God to direct him by his heavenly grace,
"to do that herein, that might best serve to his glory, and
"the good of the Church in England."

185 These were the zealous pains in writing, and importune addresses to the great men, this party used, to bring about that which seemed good in their eyes. And as they had thus framed their articles for many things amiss to be redressed in the Church, so the Archbishop, with his brethren the Bishops, shewed themselves as willing and ready, while these matters began first to be debated, that all real abuses in the Church, and such as reasonably required reformation, should not be retained; only providing for the preservation of the Church by Diocesan Bishops, as it then stood, and the dependence of the inferior Clergy upon them, for the better order, and the securing the continuance of the public and standing worship of God by the Book of Common Prayer, with the orders and rites of it. And for this purpose the Archbishop drew up articles also for regulation of divers things that called for amendment, and some whereof were complained of in those petitions. And as that party had offered their articles to the Parliament to be redressed, so the Archbishop presented as soon, or sooner, his to the Queen; wherein he (with the rest of the Bishops) prudently took the best course to oblige the Queen: who, as she looked upon herself, according to her title, to have the supreme government and care of her Church's affairs under God; so she disliked to have her Parliaments, consisting of laymen, to meddle in Church matters; as she let them know by message while the Parliament sat, and gently rebuked them for it, in her speeches at the conclusion of this session: which we shall hear of by and by.

Articles offered by the Archbishop to the Queen for regulation of some abuses.

The sum of those articles.

These articles, which were exhibited to the Queen December the 15th, were digested under five titles. The first

concerned fit persons to be admitted into the ministry and benefices, *viz.* "That whosoever came to any Bishop for "Orders should shew a true presentation of himself to a "benefice void within the diocese, or a certificate of his "being to be placed in some cure, or that he belonged to "some cathedral or collegiate church, or college in one of "the Universities. And none to be admitted to Orders by "any Bishop, but such as should be of his own diocese, "unless in certain cases; and to be of full twenty-four "years of age, and a Graduate of the University, or at least "that should be able to yield an account of his faith, ac- "cording to the Thirty-nine Articles; and could note the "sentences of Scripture whereupon the truth of the ar- "ticles were grounded: and likewise should bring a suf- "ficient testimonial of his life and conversation. Under "a penalty of two years suspension, of admitting any into "Orders, upon such Bishop as should admit any not qua- "lified, as before was said, and to abide further penalties, "provided by law. And no Bishop to institute any into "a benefice, but such as were so qualified. And that in "case the Arches by *double quarrel*, or otherwise, pro- "ceeded against any Bishop for refusal of such unqualified "person, the Archbishop of Canterbury might stay such "process. That if any patron presented any Minister "unto a benefice, who should not be in such sort qualified, "it might be lawful for the Bishop to refuse such pre- "sentee, and not to be constrained by *quare impedit*, or "otherwise, to institute any such." CHAP. X. Anno 1584. I.

The second article was to restrain commutation of penance, *viz.* "That there should be no commutation of "penance, but in rare respects, and upon great considera- "tion; and when it should appear to the Bishop himself "to be the best way for winning and reforming the of- "fender." II.

The third article was for the restraining of licences to marry without banns, *viz.* "That though persons of honest, "worshipful, and honourable calling, might necessarily and "reasonably sometimes have occasion to solemnize mar- III.

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

"riage by licence; yet for the avoiding generally of in-
"conveniences in marrying without banns, none to be
"granted but under sufficient and large bonds, with cer-
"tain conditions there mentioned."

IV. The fourth article was for the restraining some abuses in excommunication; *viz.* "That the usage of it being a "settled law in the Church, and in the exercise of all ec-"clesiastical ministration, it could not be altered without "the alteration and interruption of that whole jurisdiction, "and many laws of the realm: yet being the bond and
186 "sinew of authority and discipline ecclesiastical, to reduce "it to its ancient usage and credit, it was ordered, that "when it should be used for the punishment of heresy, "schism, simony, perjury, usury, &c. the sentence should "be pronounced by the Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Arch-"deacon, or Prebendary, being in the ministry, in his own "person, with such assistance as for the greater authority "he should call to him."

V. The fifth and last article was for the restraining of pluralities. "None to have dispensation for plurality of be-"nefices, but such as for their learning were most worthy, "and best able to discharge the same; and to be at least a "Master of Arts and a preacher; and to be resident at "each benefice some reasonable time every year. And the "benefices to be not above thirty miles distant from each "other." These articles will be found at length, tran-
N°. XIV. scribed into the Appendix, from an authentic copy of them belonging sometime to the Lord Treasurer; on the back side whereof it is thus written by his own hand, *Articles exhibited to her Majesty by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellow Bishops of his province*, 15 *Decemb.* 1584.

The insufficiency of the parish Ministers (the great plea in Parliament for the Bill) considered.

By all that which before is said, we perceive the chief and most plausible plea in the House for this Bill of Reformation, was the ignorance and insufficiency of the Ministers placed in the parish churches, and the danger religion was in from Papists and Jesuits by that means; namely, for want of learned preachers every where to instruct and confirm the people against Popery. This was

so loudly and popularly noised abroad in the nation, as well as in the House, that the translator of Bullinger's Decads into English, set forth this busy year 1584, seasonably took notice of it in his preface; and lamenting the same defects in the Clergy, gave the true and necessary cause thereof; not possible presently to be redressed by the Bishops, (who laboured for a learned Clergy as much as any), and laid the fault more truly upon the influence of the late evil times of Popery, and the corruption of patrons: which tending so much to the better understanding of these times and matters, and so proper to our present purpose, I shall set his words down before the reader's eyes. Anno 1584.

"What great want there is in many to discharge their "duty in this behalf [*viz.* in feeding the flock] is very la- "mentable, and by some means, as much as is possible, "to be supplied and remedied, rather than to be made a "common theme and argument of railing, which at this "day many do. The cause of this great want needs not "here to be disputed; but in very deed any man may "judge how impossible it is for so populous a kingdom, "abounding with so many several congregations, all to be "furnished with fit and able pastors, and that immediately "after such a general corruption and apostasy from the "truth. For unless they should suddenly have come from "heaven, or been raised up miraculously, they could not "have been. For the ancient preachers of King Edward's "time, some of them died in prison, many perished by "fire, many otherwise; many also fled into other coun- "tries, of whom some died there, and a few returned: "which were but an handful to furnish this whole realm. "The Universities were also at the first so infected, that "many wolves and foxes crept out; who detested the "ministry, and wrought the contempt of it every where. "But very few good shepherds came abroad. And where- "as since that time, now eighteen years, the University "being well purged, there was good hope that all the land "should have been overspread and replenished with able Pref. to Bulling. Decads in Eng. 4to. an. 1584.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" and learned Pastors, the Devil and corrupt patrons have " taken such order, that much of that hope is cut off. For " patrons nowadays search not the Universities for a " most fit Pastor, but they post up and down the country " for a most gainful chapman. He that hath the biggest " purse to pay largely, not he that hath the best gifts to " preach learnedly, is presented.

" The Bishops bear great blame for this matter; and " they admit, they say, unworthy men. See the craft of " Satan, falsely to charge the worthiest pillars of the " Church with the ruin of the Church, to the end that all " Church robbers and caterpillars of the Lord's vineyard
187 " [corrupt patrons] may lie unespied. There is nothing " that procures the Bishops of our time more trouble and " displeasure, than that they zealously withstand the co- " vetousness of patrons, in rejecting their unsufficient " Clerks. For it stands them upon above all others, that " the Church of God should prosper, in the decay and fall " whereof they cannot stand, but perish."

Other bills brought into Parliament against the Bishops, &c. D'Ewes' Journ. p. 360, 369, 371.

The House of Commons, after a prorogation from the 21st of December to February, upon their meeting, fell on earnestly again with their bill of petitions, before spoken of. Insomuch that it was moved on the 15th, 16th, 18th, 22d, and 25th days of that month: on which last day the Lords gave their answers, as abovesaid. Other bills relating to ecclesiastical matters, when that former bill succeeded not, were devised and brought into the House: and all to clip the wings of the Bishops, and to weaken (if not to destroy) their courts. February the 26th, a bill was brought in against unlawful marriages in some cases. Another for swearing Bishops and Archbishops a second time; *viz.* in the Chancery and King's Bench, that they should act nothing contrary to the common law of England. Another, March the 17th, that parsonages impropriate should be disposed to godly and charitable uses, with amendments; about which they had a conference with the Lords. Another, the 20th of March, for the better execution of the statute of the 13th of the Queen, and

for reformation of disorderly Ministers of the Church. This was a new bill made of an old one, that would not pass, as it seems, but of the same effect; and was brought in by Sir Francis Knowleys. It was read the third time, and, after many arguments, passed upon the question. Though this labour of theirs might have been spared; since the Clergy in Convocation then sitting were employed in framing good regulations for the Clergy, as we shall shew hereafter: and the Queen, uneasy at their thus meddling in these matters, had sent to them a charge not to deal in causes of the Church.

CHAP. X.

Anno 1584.

Nor did there want now again a godly and wise Prelate, to return a sufficient as well as meek answer to those petitions which some of the House were so fond of, as to move for them again at another sessions, as was said before. It was the learned good Bishop of Winton; who shewed, how they, the Archbishop and Bishops, had already framed divers good and wholesome articles, for the redressing and remedying whatsoever was reasonably complained of. And concluded with a gentle address to these zealous petitioners, to consider seriously the good progress that religion had already made, and how happy a reformation the Church of England was arrived to at that day. His paper, which deserves to be preserved, I shall insert, bearing this title:

The Bishop of Winton's cogitations concerning the petitions.

Cogitations conceived for answer to those petitions which were offered to my Lords of the Upper House, by certain honourable and worshipful of the Lower House of Parliament.

"The five first petitions tend whollie to one thing, that "is, the reformation of an unlearned and unsufficient min- "isterie: whereunto we awnswere, that as we confess "there are a great number of unlearned Ministers; so, in "conscience, we thinke that complaint was never lesse "needful then at theis daies, for that it is evidently to be "proved, that there are now in England, by a great odds, "more hable and learned preachers, and more sufficient

Chart. Episcopal. pen. me.

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" and tolerable Ministers, then ever were in this realm " since it was first a Christian Church. For the better " furnishing of the Church hereafter, and the avoiding of " unlearned Ministers, we have by consent laid downe " order, as followeth:

" *For admitting of meete persons into the ministerie and* " *benefices.*

" That from henceforth none be admitted to any Orders " ecclesiasticall, unless he doe then presentlie shew to the " Bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice, then
188 " void within the diocese or jurisdiction of the said Bi- " shop: or unles he shew to the said Bishop a true certi- " ficate where presentlie he may be placed to serve some " cure within the same diocese or jurisdiction: or unles " he be placed in some cathedrall or collegiate church or " college in Cambridge or Oxford: or unles the said Bi- " shop shall then forthwith place him in some vacant be- " nefice or cure.

" And that no Bishop henceforth admitt anie into Or- " ders, but such as shall be of his owne dioces, unles he " bee of one of the Universities, or bring their letters di- " missaries from the Bishop of the dioces, and be of age " full 24 yeeres, and a Graduate of the Universitie, or at " least hable in the Latin tongue to yeld an accompt of " his faith according to the Articles of Religion agreed " upon in Convocation, and that in such sorte, as that he " can noate the sentences of Scripture, whereupon the " truth of the said Articles is grounded: and bringe a suf- " ficient testimoniall with him of his honest life and con- " versation, either under the seale of some colledge in the " Universites where he hath remained: or from some " Justice of the Peace, with other honest men of that pa- " rish where he hath made his aboade for three yeeres " before.

" And that the Bishop which shall admitt anie into " Orders, being not in this manner qualified, be by the " Archbishop, with the assistance of some other Bishop,

" suspended, for admitting anie into Orders, for the space " of two yeeres, and further abide such penalties as are " provided by lawe against those Bishops that admitt anie " into ecclesiastical Orders *sine titulo*.

" And that no Bishop institute anie into a benefice, but " such as be of the habilitie before described.

" And if the Arches by duble quarrell, or otherwise, " proceede against the said Bishop, for refusall of such as " be not of that habilitie; that the Archbishop of Canter- " burie, either by his owne authoritie, or by meanes pro- " cured from hir Majestie, may have such processe that the " indevour of the Bishop maie take place.

" And likewise, if anie patrone shall present anie Min- " ister to a benefice, which shall not be in this sorte qua- " lified, that it maie be lawfull for the Bishop to refuse " such presentee, and not be restrained by *Quare impedit*, " or otherwise, to institute anie such, or to sustaine anie " danger of lawe for the same.

" If the two first petitions as there be laid downe " should be satisfied, theis inconveniences will followe, " that a great nomber of poore men, being now in the " ministrie, and by this request remooved from their state " and livings, and having no other meanes to live by, " should with their families be thrust forth a begging, to " the great offence of manie, and the slaunder of the whole " realme.

" Secondlie, It wold call manie things into needles ques- " tions, as mariages, christenings, and administration of " the Lord's Supper, &c. as done by them that were no " lawfull Ministers.

" Thirdlie, It would leave a great number of parishes " desolate, and without Ministers, which could not be " supplied in anie convenient time. For there ar in this " realme more then 4500 benefices with cure, not above " the value of 10*l.* in her Majesties books, and the most " of them under 8*l.* which cannot be places for main- " tenance of sufficient and learned men: and in them

BOOK III.

" now be theis meane Ministers, whome theie complaine " of.

Anno 1584. Petit. IV.

" As touching the 4th petition, there is no lawe that " requireth the certaine nomber of six Preachers at the " making of Ministers, and specially such as are limited in " this petition: it maie therefore be sufficient, and thereto " we condescend, that the Bishop shall take unto him " some competent nomber of such learned men, as he " shall think convenient, either his Chaplaines, or other " that he shall send for. For the limitation, laid downe in " the petition with some reproche and disgrace, rejecteth " as unfitt a great nomber of the best learned in this " realme, as Deanes, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and as " manie as by lawfull dispensation live not on their be- " nefices with cure, which is a verie hard prejudice.

Petit. V.

" The 5th petition, as it is penned, in our opinion tend- " eth either to the overthrowe of cathedrall churches, or 189 " that all the livings thereof should be onlie in meere lay- " men's hands: for neither Deanes, nor Prebendaries, nor " Peticanons, nor sondrie other in the Universities, are in " the limitation of them; which by this petition are re- " quired only to be made Ministers, beside some other " that have ben brought up in some reasonable state of " learning, and yet never were in the Universitie.

Petit. VI.

" The 6th petition savoureth of a popular election, long " since, for the tumultuousnes thereof, reprooved in the " Church, and would at this daie breede great trouble and " contention in this realme. It is also an unfitt imitation " of the primitive Church, which had in every particular " citie a certaine schoole or nurserie to breed up such as " should be Ministers in the Church; which, becaus they " dwelt continuallie among them, were well knowen unto " them: and so it is at this daie, in sondrie refourmed " Churches in Germanie. But in this realme it is un- " possible to have it so, because the whole breede of them " that are prepared for the Church, are brought up either " in the Universities onlie, or in some fewe schooles of the

" realme beside; and therefore in no wise knowen in thos " parishes in the countreie to which they are presented as " Ministers: and the time required in this petition for " triall among them, can yeld no sound proof of their be- " haviour. For men both can and will in such cases dis- " semble their disposition for so short a time, and in the " end maie bring discorde between the parishioners them- " selves, and between the parishioners and the patrone. " Over and beside that, this unwonted delaie will often- " times interrupt and cutt off the right of the patrone, " who by lawe standing hath but six monethes for his " presentation, if especially he present, as commonlie theie " have done, within three weeks or a month of the expira- " tion of the half yeere. Anno 1584.

" The 7th petition, and the foure nexte following, in " our opinions, seem to tend to such a libertie and dis- " pensation of lawes, as is dangerous, and no waie toller- " able, either in Church or commonweale, and will not " onlie maintaine, but mightelie increase the schisme and " division that is among us alreadie. This 7th petition " shaketh the ground of all ecclesiastical government: for " the lawe standing requireth canonicall obedience to the " Ordinarie *in omnibus licitis et honestis;* neither is there, " at this daie, anie either oath or subscription required, " but that which is according to lawe standing, and ho- " nestie, and tendeth onlie to the cutting off of schisme " and division which hath ben the mother and nourse of " the greatest heresies that have ben in the Church. Petit. VII.

" The 8th petition, to a verie hard example, in our " opinion, requireth libertie and dispensation from the " authorite of temporall judges and magistrates, as theie " doe afterward from the ecclesiastical, and utterlie sub- " verteth the statutes and lawes made for uniformitie of " common praier, and administration of the sacraments, " and the confirmation of other rites and ceremonies or- " dered by the Church of England. We understand not " how the latter part of the petition agreeth with it self, " that is, that there be Ministers that use onlie the Booke Petit. VIII.

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" of Common Praier, and no other, and yet require not to " be controlled by any magistrates, either for altering or " leaving out any part thereof: as though a man might " use the Booke according to the lawe, and yet change it, " and abridge it, as he thinketh good.

Petit. IX. " As in the 8th petition there is desired a dispensation " from the temporall judge; so in this nynth the like is " required from ecclesiasticall judges, that is, Chancellors, " Comissaries, and Officials; terming it to be a disgrace " unto them to be called before the judge, touching anie " cause, either for their doctrine, or for their life. If thos " judges be ecclesiastical, and judge onlie by lawe eccle- " siastical; it were a strange thing, in our opinion, that " onlie ecclesiastical men should be exempted from their " jurisdiction: but wherto this tendeth, it is most evi- " dent. For if those Ministers and Preachers had once " wreasted themselves from the authoritie of Chancellors, " and such like, theie would shortlie after wringe them- " selves, by complainte, from the Bishopps too, before " whom alreadie theie limite, by this petition, how they " will be dealt withall; and will hereafter desire to have " particular judges in every parish to end all causes among " themselves, as some of them alreadie have laid downe in " their writings and open speeches, utterlie rejecting the " jurisdiction of Bishops.

190 Petit. X. " In the 10th petition, the persons mentioned therein " that have been deprived, are well knowen not to be such " as theie have ben suggested to be: but men verie headie, " rash, and contentious, which by this motion seek to " discredite and over-beare them, which by the consent " of hir Majestie have sought uniformitie in orders esta- " blished, and with a perilous example to have sentences " revoked, and that have been given according to lawe.

Petit. XI. " The 11th petition also cutteth off another great part " of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that is, the authoritie to " deale *ex officio:* a thing oftentimes most necessarie in " the government of the Church, because otherwise a " great nomber of disordered causes should never come by

" complaint and open accusation before the Ordinarie. CHAP. X.
" And that is it, which in this petition is principallie
" sought. For, in manie places, theie have so framed Anno 1584.
" their parishioners, that although they clean alter the
" order of the service, and administration of the sacra-
" ments, and other things by lawe appointed; yet theie
" will never complaine upon them, and thereby shall all
" lawe be broken, and order dissolved, to the breach
" of peace and quietnes in the Churche, and yet theie
" never called upon to reforme the same.

" The exercises in the 12th petition desired, (as it is well Petit. XII.
" knowen,) have bene by hir Majesties authoritie of late
" yeeres forbidden, becaus theie were occasions to furder
" their new devises in the Church: if this wold therefore
" be considered, what the restoring of them again would
" doe: yet is it needfull that some exercise be appointed
" to the inferior sorte of the Cleargie, and in diverse places
" there are: but thos persons, that make their suggestions
" to the honorable and worshipful of the Parliament, will
" like nothing that cometh from the Bishop, but must
" have beginning of themselves, as some of our brethren
" have had very goode experience.

" The 13th and 14th petitions, in our opinions, is best Petit. XIII, XIV.
" to be aunswered by the order laid downe by our consent,
" and offered to hir Majestie: wherin so much is reme-
" died as maie be without alteration of lawes, the forme
" whereof followeth.

" *For the reforming of some abuses in excommunication.*

" The use of *excommunication* being a setled lawe in
" the Church, and continuallie practiced in the exercise of
" all ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, cannot possiblie be altered
" without the alteration and interruption of that whole ju-
" risdiction, and manie lawes of the realme: yet to reduce
" excommunication, being the bonde and sinewe of au-
" thoritie and discipline ecclesiastical, to the auntient use,
" credite, and dignitie; it is now ordered, that whenso-
" ever this censure shall be used, for the immediate po-

BOOK III.

" nishment of anie notorious heresie, schisme, perjurie,
" usurie, incest, adulterie, or of anie other heynous cryme,
Anno 1584. " the sentence shall be pronounced by the Archbishop,
" Bishop, Deane, Archdeacon, Prebendarie, being Min-
" isters, and having ecclesiasticall jurisdiction in his
" owne person, with such assistance as for the greater
" authoritie thereof it shall please him to call.

" And that every Chancellor, Official, or Commissarie,
" being in no ecclesiastical Orders, shall have the assist-
" ance and presence of some learned Minister, who, being
" thereunto authorized by commission from the Bishop
" within his jurisdiction, or from the Archdeacon, being
" a Priest, within his jurisdiction, (and that by the direc-
" tion of the judge,) shall pronounce sentence of excom-
" munication for contumacie.

Petit. XV, XVI. " The 15th and 16th petitions, touching *pluralities* and
" *non-residences* are also sufficientlie satisfied, by the order
" laid downe and offered to the Queenes Majestie. And so
" likewise is the article of commutation of penance, and
" restraint of licences to marie without bannes, left out
" whollie in theis petitions. The tenor whereof here in-
" sueth.

" *For the restraint of pluralities of benefices.*

" That none have anie dispensations of pluralities of
" benefices, but onlie such as for their learning are most
" worthie, and best hable to discharge the same, that is,
" that the partie be at least a Master of Arte, and a com-
" mon knowne preacher of good habilitie: and yet the
191 " same to be bound to be resident at each benefice some
" reasonable time of the yeere; and the benefices to be
" but thirty miles distant at the furthest.

" *For the restraint of commutation of penance.*

" That from henceforth there be no *commutation* of
" *penance*, but in rare respects, and upon great consider-
" ation; and when it shall appeare to the Bishop himself,
" that that shall be the best waie for the winning and re-

"forming of the offender: and that the penaltie be imploied, either to the relief of the poore of that parish, or to other godlie uses, and the same well witnessed and made manifest to the congregation. And yet, if the fault be notorious, that the offender make some satisfaction, either in his owne person, with declaration of his repentance openlie in the church; or else that the Minister of the church (the partie being present) openlie in the pulpit signify to the people his submission and declaration of his repentance done before the Ordinarie; and also, in token of his repentance, what portion of money he hath given to be imployed to the uses above-mentioned.

"*For restraining of licences to marrie without bannes.*

"As persons of honest, worshipfull, and honourable calling, may necessarilie and reasonablie have occasions sometimes to solemnize marriage, by licence for the bannes asking, or for once or twice without anie great harme; so, for avoiding generallie of inconveniences noated in this behalf, it is thought expedient that no dispensations be granted for marriage without bannes, but under sufficient and large bonds, with theis conditions following: First, That there shall not afterwards appeare anie lawful lett, or impediment, by reason of anie precontract, consanguinitie, affinitie, or anie other lawful means whatsoever: Secondlie, That there be not, at that present time of granting such dispensation, anie suite, plainte, or quarrell, or demand, moved or depending, before anie judge ecclesiastical or temporall, for or concerning anie such lawfull impediment between such the parties: and thirdlie, That they proceede not to the solemnization of marriage, without consent of parents or governors; and that the marriage be solemnized openlie in the church, and at convenient time; the copie of which bond is to be set downe, and given in charge for every Bishop in his diocese to followe. Provided, that

BOOK III. "whosoever offend against this order shall be suspended "*ab executione officii* for one half year."

Anno 1584.

An advertisement charitably offered to be considered of them, which at this day require to have innovations and alterations in the Church of England.

Advertisement concerning the Church of England, to those that were for innovations.

"I. First, That the Church of England is no Popish "Church, nor adversarie to the doctrine of the Gospel, "but thankfullie receiveth the same, and is brought to a "moderate and tollerable form of reformation: which re- "formation is confirmed, as well by lawes established for "that purpose, as by general consent practised, not onelie "in the time of the Queens Majesty's reigne that now is, "but also in the time of King Edward the VIth, and then "was, and now is, acknowledged of the most zealous "professors of the Gospel, to be among the reformed "Churches of this age.

"II. Secondlie, That the doctrine of the Church of Eng- "land is so full and perfect in all branches thereof, as in "anie reformed Church in the world.

"III. Thirdlie, That the administration of the sacra- "ments is nearer to the simplicitie of the institution of "Christ, and lesse burdened with addition of rites and ce- "remonies, then ever was in anie time since the Apostles' "age, unto this time of the renewing of the Gospel. And "furthermore, (although it seem otherwise to some,) that "this roilme of England, since it was a Christian Church, "never had so manie learned and sufficient preachers, "hable to deliver the truth of doctrine, and the right use "of the sacraments, as at this time there are.

192 "Now the consideration is, whether, in such a state of "a Church reformed, the peace and unitie of the Church "should be broken, and drawne into schisme and factions, "by seeking of alteration in the external forme of disci- "pline and government of the Church; or for the chang- "ing of rites and ceremonies; especially seeing it is a "question, and a matter in controversy, whether one out-

" ward forme of discipline and government of the Church " be necessarie by the word of God to be observed in all " times and places. And it is well known, not onlie that " there are learned men, of as great noat for their zeale " and credite, as anie live at this time, that are of con- " trarie opinion, and that some of the most zealous re- " formed Churches doe practice the contrarie among them- " selves.

" It is also written by diverse learned men, that one state " of discipline and government of the Churche is con- " venient under heathen princes and magistrates, and an " other under such princes as favour the Gospel: yea, and " that the forme of government and discipline, that maie " very well stand in a particular cittie, and the territories " thereof, cannot possiblie be practised in the state of a " whole countrey and kingdome, without great inconveni- " encies: and therefore, that the example of particular " states cannot be brought into this roilme without some " danger in altering the whole lawes and state thereof. " As for rites and ceremonies, there was never Church " since the Apostles' time that had ever fewer in number, " or lesse tending to the maintenance of superstition and " idolatrie in the myndes of the people.

" Last of all, If there were greater cause of just alter- " ation, whether this be a convenient time to make that " change in, when as we see dailie the number of them, " which mislike religion established, to increase among " our selves: and especiallie, when we seeke by all meanes " of authoritie to drawe them to the use of our *common* " *prayer*, and administration of the sacraments, that we " our selves shall, by open protestation, condemne the " same form of *common prayer* and administration of the " sacraments, as repugnant and contrarie to the word of " God."

BOOK III.

CHAP. XI.

The Archbishop's pleas for his Court of Faculties, against a bill in Parliament. Arguments about pluralities. Sir Francis Knolles's notes for the bill. The petition of the Convocation to the Queen against it. Archbishop Parker's defence of that Court. Papers of the new Reformers about these matters: answered by the Archbishop. Writes to the Queen upon some bills passed in Parliament, prejudicial to the ecclesiastical state. Her speech, forbidding them to meddle in those matters. The Archbishop procures an act for Eastbridge hospital.

Anno 1584. The Archbishop defends his courts against a bill in Parliament.

THE Archbishop had another work now also lying upon his hands this Parliament time; not only to vindicate this reformed Church on the foot it stood, and to stop the destruction of its constitution, so clearly through these attempts by him perceived; but also to defend the privileges of his metropolitical see, and to prevent the dissolution of his courts; out of which, faculties were granted. For there were specious bills brought in against *pluralities* and *non-residences*, and against dispensations for celebrating marriage without *banns* asking, and for appeals out of the ecclesiastical courts. The Archbishop, for the preventing of the bill for taking away pluralities, drew up several reasons, in number nine, against it; shewing the inconveniences that would follow, if that bill should take place. As,

193 His reasons for pluralities.

" I. First, It taketh away the prerogative annexed to " the crowne of England, 25 Hen. VIII. continued in the " time of Edw. VI. and continued 1 Eliz.

" II. It abridgeth the revenues of the crowne; for the " one half of such faculties is due to her Majesty.

" III. It depriveth learned men of due rewarde, and is " the next way to an unlearned ministerie, and to the tak- " ing away of schoole degrees in divinitie.

" IV. It requireth an impossibilitie, for of eight thou- " sand eight hundred and odd benefices, with cure, there

" are not six hundred sufficient for learned men; neither " (if they were all sufficient) could there be found the " third part of learned men to supplie that number.

" V. It taketh away grave men and apt governors from " the Universities and other colleges; which (being but " of verie small livings, as divers of the mastershipps but " fortie shillings a yere wages) are not able to maintaine " their governors, without suche helpe of benefices.

" VI. It spoileth cathedral churches of house-keepinge: " for without other helpe they cannot do it; and beinge " compelled to be resident at their benefices continuallie, " they cannot keep convenient hospitalitie at the cathedral " churche.

" VII. It increaseth the number of the factious and " waywarde sort; in furtherance of whome, principallie, " this bill semeth to be devised.

" VIII. Her Majesty hath it now in her owne power to " redresse (as pleaseth her) any thing mentioned in this " bill; but if the bill should once passe, and become a " lawe, then were it not in her power to revoke it, what " inconvenience soever should ensue, and it may be thought " no good pollicie for her Majesty to abridge any pece of " her prerogative, which they seeke by all means to " streighten.

" IX. To conclude, It is a most dangerous bill for the " beste sorte of the Clargie, and for such as beste deserve " to be rewarded; and will assuredlie discomfort and dis- " courage them, and incourage the worste sorte, and such " as are factious and contentious in the Churche; whose " end is, to seek the spoyle and overthrowe of the same."

Sir Francis Knollys' notes in answer to those reasons. Lett. and Pap. of Archbishop Whitg.

Among Archbishop Whitgift's papers, there be notes drawn up by Sir Francis Knollys, a great promoter of the bill, or by him procured to be drawn up, in the behalf of the said bill against pluralities and non-residences, and partly in answer, as it seems, to the former arguments of the Archbishop against that bill; as well as what was urged by others in the House against it. This paper of notes follows.

BOOK III.

Notes for the byll of non-residences and pluralities.

Anno 1584. "It is said, that the byll wyll hinder her Majesty's re-venewe in the Courte of Facultyes, by demynishing of "dispensations.

"It is answered, that when benyfyces are dyspersed "into manye mens hands, the first frutes will be payed "the oftener, and so hir Majesty's revenue will be in-"creased.

"It is sayd, that non-residence is argued to be *malum* "*in se;* and therefore the byll allowing one man to have "two benyfyses, being but three myles dystant, by that "argument the byll dothe allowe *malum in se.*

"It is answered, that non-resydence is not *malum in* "*se;* but the Pastor not to feede his flocke is *malum in* "*se;* but one man may feede the flocke of two benyfyces, "being but three myles dystant: therefore one man may "have two benyfyces, without commytting *malum in se.*

"It is sayd, that men will be dyscharged to sett theyre "chyldren to school for the studye of dyvynitie, when "they may not hope for pluralitie of benyfyces.

"It is answered, that good men wyll more desyre to "feede theyre flocke, then to regarde the wolle or the "mylke of their flocke.

194 "It is sayd, that it is impossible to have so manie "preachers as this byll dothe require resydent, because "there be nine thousand parishes, and but three thousand "preachers in the realme.

"It is answered, that my Lords the Byshops have the "allowance of sufficient preachers, and also theyre Lord-"ships have authorytee to command reading Mynysters "to plye theyre studye by reading of homylies, and learn-"ing them without the booke, and by studying of books "of catechysmes, and by learning prynted sermons with-"out the booke; by practysing whereof, manye reading "Mynysters will soon be able to preache, and wyll conty-"newallye amende theyre abilityes: and also that stu-"dentes in the Unyversytie wyll plye theyre studye of "dyvinitie more effectuallye and more commonlye, when

" they shall perceyve that convenyent lyvings will be rea-
" dye for them in shorte tyme.

" It is sayd, that temporall Lordes, and Lordes Byshops, Anno 1584.
" wyll not loose the benyfytte of theyre non-resydent
" Chaplains.

" It is answered, that Lords favouring the Ghospell,
" bothe temporal Lords and spyrytuall, wyll rather helpe
" theyre Chaplains to other lyvings bye other meanes,
" then by defrawdinge of the poore paryshes from theyre
" Pastors, that are hyred to serve them."

The Clergy petition the Queen to stop an act intended against pluralities.

I meet with a very pathetical address to the Queen from the Convocation, urging weighty reasons to her, to prevent this bill against pluralities and non-residencies; shewing her Majesty the bad consequences thereof, even to the ruin of the good estate of the Church of England, and her poor Clergy, and the lessening of her own prerogative and revenues. Which address, though it be not mentioned, (for ought I can find in the Convocation this Parliament time,) yet I think this the true place to insert it: as the Convocation in the year 1588. made such another supplication to her, when the like bill was again earnestly brought into the Lower House, and passed there. It was entitled, *A Petition to the Queen that the Bill against Pluralities pass not.* The true tenor whereof was as followeth:

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

Cotton Library, Cleopatra, F. 1.

" In most humble wise complaining, do shew unto your
" most excellent Majesty your poor distressed suppli-
" cants, the whole Clergy; that some in the Lower House
" of Parliament have proposed often, and with all eager-
" ness, do promote divers bills against them; and namely,
" one entitled, *A Bill against Pluralities and Non-resi-*
" *dency.* Which indeed impeacheth your Majesty's pre-
" rogative royal; impaireth the revenue of the Crown;
" overthroweth the study of divinity in both Universities;
" depriveth men of the livings they do lawfully possess;

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

"beggareth the Clergy; bringeth in a base unlearned "ministry; taketh away all hope of a succession in learn- "ing; will breed great discontentment in the younger "sort of students; and make them fly to other semina- "ries, where they may hope for more encouragement; "will give the adversary just cause to rejoice and triumph, "when they shall see the Clergy and learning generally so "much disgraced and vilified by the gentry and commons "of this land; abridgeth all ability in the ministry, either "of keeping hospitality, or of contributing to the State in "case of necessity; and, that which is most lamentable, "maketh way to an anarchy and confusion.

"Great are the indignities, the injuries, the absurdities "of this bill; if with religious wisdom the effects of it be "truly considered: but as great is the hypocrisy of the "same. For it doth not reform the things which it pre- "tendeth to redress; it permitteth them, and increaseth "them rather. The only thing it doth principally in- "tend is, the impoverishing and embasing of the Clergy; "whereupon will ensue, the utter contempt both of their "persons and their doctrine.

"All which we are ready, with your Highness's favour "and licence, to justify before any competent judge, if we "be permitted an indifferent hearing. In the mean time, "and always, most humbly committing our poor state to
195 "your Majesty's most gracious and princely clemency: "on which, next under the goodness of Almighty God, it "doth wholly depend. We do in all submission, both in "respect of ourselves, and especially in regard of our suc- "cessors, most instantly pray such speedy remedy in this "behalf, as to your most excellent Majesty, and wonted "godly care of religion, shall seem fit. And that the ra- "ther, because it would leave a perpetual blemish upon "the time of your Highness's government, if there should "appear to be such a hatred of the Clergy, and of learning "in this land, as that such an act of Parliament should "be now established."

Anno 1584. Archbishop Parker in defence of the Court of Faculties.

There is a learned apology for the Archbishop's court, whence these dispensations of pluralities and non-residences are granted, composed by our Archbishop's predecessor, Archbishop Parker; which I meet with among our Archbishop's papers, thus endorsed by the hand of the Lord Burghley, *Pro Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. In defence of the Court of Faculties.* Which I am apt to think our Archbishop sent to that Lord for his satisfaction, and was now made use of in this juncture. The substance whereof was, "That out of this Court some revenue be-"longed to the Queen. That this Court did partly ex-"press some parts of her prerogative. That the whole "suppression of the same might make a great alteration "in the positive laws of the realm. And whereas it was "objected, that hereby the Queen herself was dispensed "withal in some cases (which was a dishonour to her, "having supreme authority) by the Archbishop, who was "a subject. The answer was, That Archbishop Cranmer "was judge of the divorce between King Henry and Queen "Catharine, and gave sentence. Nor was there any thing "derogated from the King's honour thereby. And that it "was not absurd, or dissonant to the notion of honour, "that Bishops and Priests should exercise their ecclesi-"astical functions towards princes and kings themselves. "That to dispense in causes accustomed, was by the Queen "and Parliament granted, and invested in the Church and "in the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was made part of "the revenues of his bishopric, and taxed in the same. "And that he is charged thereafter with first-fruits, "tenths, subsidies, &c. And that, *sede vacante*, the same "is invested in the Dean and Chapter. That it was an "error to hold pluralities of benefices to be forbidden by "God's law; considering, that the distinction of arch-"bishoprics, bishoprics, dioceses, parishes, jurisdictions, "&c. are not of the law of God, but of a positive law. "That as bishoprics had charge of many parishes, so "some benefices had nine or ten chapels annexed, and "was in law taken but for one benefice. And what more

BOOK III. Anno 1584. Numb. XV.

"absurdity was it for one man to have two benefices, "than to have one benefice with so many chapels be- "longing to it?" But this paper may be seen at large in the Appendix.

The Archbishop makes a table of fees.

And to stop the clamours against the fees of his courts in general, (for among the bills brought in for reformation of the Church one was, *Against the excessive Fees taken in the Spiritual Courts,*) the Archbishop stated these fees, according to ancient custom, (as it seems about this time, though not brought to that perfection, as it was in the year 1597,) and caused a table thereof to be fairly written, to be read and known by all that should either receive or pay them; which table was signed by the Archbishop himself, and bore this title, *A Table of Fees of the most reverend Father in God, John, by the Providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan, &c. his Grace's Chancellor, Vicar General, Register, Principal, Apparitor General, and other Ministers.* Wherein are set down what fees are due to all the officers of his courts, and for every particular business to be executed therein. Upon this table there be *observations* made by the author of the *Synodus Anglicana.* Where is set down a part of that table that concerns the fees belonging to the officers of the Convocation, *viz.* the Archbishop's Primary Register, his Apparitor General, the Actuary of the Lower House, and the door-keeper: which part is commonly prefixed to the registers of the Convocation. This table of fees is mentioned and confirmed in the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, in the Convocation, anno 1603, being the one hundred thirty-fifth Canon.

Synod. Anglicana, p. 301.

196

Two other papers come forth, answered by the Archbishop.

About this very time also, (as near as I can guess,) the Parliament sitting, came forth also two other papers, drawn up by some of the new reformers. One of them was entitled, *Means how to settle a godly and charitable Quietness in the Church,* &c. and was addressed to the Archbishop. The other, *A Note of certain other Acts, very meet to be considered of in the Convocation House, and to come from them.*

The former paper, consisting of several articles, was as follows:

Anno 1594.

"I. That it would please his Grace to forbear to press "any to such subscriptions as have bin of late requyred; "seeing in the Parlament, when the articles agreed in Syn- "od were established, the subscription was misliked and "put out, which seemed to be requyred in the Book made "in the time of King Edward.

"II. That the ministring of the articles *ex officio* lately "used may be forborn, seing they are against the law "and libertie of the land; upon no occasion of suspicion "of misdemeanor to make a man to accuse himself. And "besides the statute *primo* of her Majesties reigne, and "the 34th article, require an open and wilful action, and "therupon a conviction, and do not establish any such "inquisition.

"III. That such honest and learned Ministers as have "bin of late depryved or suspended, may be suffered to "continue their preaching, upon these conditions follow- "ing, *viz.*

"A bond of the said Ministers, and some of the princi- "pal gentlemen in the shire; that they shall not preach "any erroneous, heretical, or schismatical doctryne: nor "shall, in their sermons, lectures, or preachings, inveigh "or teach any thing against the dignities of any Archbi- "shops, Bishops, or other ecclesiastical persons, by what "name soever they may be called; but soberly to teach "Christ Jesus crucified, and by no means break or disturb "the order of the Church; but, by all means they can, up- "hold and maintain the same: and withstanding all such "as shall wilfully and wittingly attempt any thing to the "contrary.

"IV. That seeing his Grace is sufficiently authorized "by law in the Book, to order and decide all such contro- "versies as may arise about the same; that it would please "his Lordship by some open act and interpretation to "qualify the points of the Book following, that good Min- "isters be not subject to the malice of disloyal Papists,

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" and cavilling sophistical lawyers, by enforcing the points " of the law upon the breach or omission of every tittle of " the said Book.

" V. First, That no Minister be enforced to read any " piece of the Apocrypha in the service; seeing in the first " Book, prynted in the beginning of her Majesties reign, " the same is left out; and was after, without warrant of " law, and contrary to the statute, (which alloweth but " three alterations,) inserted.

" VI. Secondly, That in the sacrament of Baptism, none " be enforced to use the sign of the cross, if he shall see " cause of superstition; seeing in King Edward's second " Book there was a note which left that, and certain other " rites indifferent, to be used or not to be used: which " note ought to have bin prynted in her Majesties Book; " and was none of the alterations appointed by statute. " And all that was in King Edward's second Book, besides " the three alterations mentioned in the statute, ought to " be in her Majesties Book, and is warranted as law.

197 " VII. That in the ministration of the said sacrament, " the words *Doest thou believe*, may be pronounced, *Do* " *you believe*, to the godfathers; seeing the rubrick is, " that the Minister, when he speaketh these words, shall " turn to the godfathers, and not to the child, as was in " the rubrick of King Edward's first Book. And besides " in the ministration of private baptism in the Book it " appeareth, that these words are to be directed to the " godfathers, &c. Which interpret the meaning of the " like question in the publick baptism. Else contrariety " must be implied necessarily in the Book, in the admin- " istration of one and the same sacrament.

" VIII. That all baptizing by midwives and women, " (which is a cloak of Popery, and was first used by here- " ticks, and condemned in them by the auncient Fathers, " and likewise by the fourth Council of Carthage; afterwards " notoriously corrupted and falsified by Gratian and other, " for the maintenance of the said unlawful act,) may from " henceforth be inhibited, and declared void. And that

"no Bishop, or any of their officers, in the admitting of "midwives, do give them any such authoritie to baptize, "as heretofore hath been accustomed.

"IX. That in the solemnization of mariage, no Ministers be enforced, upon the deliverie of the ring, to use "the words, being vain, but to leave the same indifferent.

"X. That his Grace forbear to urge the precise wearing of the gowne, cap, tippet, surplice; but to leave it "indifferent, without condemning each other. And yet "nevertheless enquiry to be made, whether all Ministers "do use apparel meet and decent for their calling. As "was in the articles of his Lordship's visitation, anno 1580, "when he was Bishop of Worcester.

"XI. That such as are readers of lectures, and have not "*curam animarum*, but have been licensed to preach, be- "having themselves well and dutifully, and bound for their "good behaviours, (as is before declared,) be not enforced "to minister the sacraments, unless they shall be contented "so to do; or else, besides their Orders, shall have some "other special spiritual cure."

To all these, (which the Archbishop saw would not have that tendency to settle a godly quietness, whatever was pretended by the framer of them,) he returned brief, but very full and sufficient answers; which are very well worthy the considering: and therefore I have put this paper also in the Appendix. N°. XVI.

A paper propounding acts to be made for defects in the ecclesiastical laws.

The other paper consisted of divers pretended defects in our ecclesiastical laws, which the writer allowed to be laid first before the Convocation; and by bills coming from them for the redress thereof, acts of Parliament might be made: as, to make incest and polygamy felony. Touching patrons presenting unlearned and unfit Clerks to benefices, that Ordinaries should not be constrained to institute and induct them. To disable all Clerks that have been made Ministers since 13. Eliz. being unlearned in the Latin tongue, and not qualified: and for a penalty upon the Bishop that shall ordain any such. To disable and make irregular, and for ever incapable of any spiritual pro-

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

No. XVII.

198

motion, all such as have been convicted of murder, manslaughter, adultery, incest, buggery, polygamy, &c. And to call back and make void all such advowsons and leases as have been made by any Bishop, to the defrauding of their successor. To all these also the Archbishop made particular answers, and spake his thoughts; which may be read in the Appendix. But the general answer he made to them all at the conclusion of his paper, I will here subjoin. "The author," saith he, "of these articles would "seem to make doubt where none is, and to devise laws "for things already sufficiently provided for by law. Which "may argue a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*."

The Archbishop's courts charged with Popish tyranny.

But when the adverse party perceived the diligence of the Archbishop against their devices, one of their artifices was to clamour against him, as setting up in his courts a *Popish tyranny*. And for that purpose they had framed a fond and slanderous syllogism; wherein they laboured to prove, by the means of the Archbishop's *Popish tyranny*, in what great danger the Queen was. This syllogism was sent to the Archbishop by their great instrument, Sir Francis Knollys, which writing was entitled, *Certain Articles desired by the Treasurer of her Majesty's Household* [*viz. Sir Francis Knollys*] *to be charitably answered by the Bishop of Canterbury, in respect of clearing her Majesty's safety*. Nor was the Archbishop behindhand in answering all their malicious papers. He gave answer to this, which he thus inscribed, *Answer to a fond and scandalous Syllogism, namely, Arguments against the creeping in of Popish Tyranny, to the utter endangering of her Majesty's safety*. And together with this there was an answer, entitled, *The Resolution of a pretended Syllogism, captiously concluding the Archbishop of Canterbury, by practice of Popish tyranny, to endanger her Majesty's safety*. This specious objection was often thrown in the Archbishop's dish, and especially in the year 1588; where will be shewn at large his examination of this syllogism, and shewing the evident fallacy of it.

Answered by the Archbishop.

Notwithstanding all these endeavours in behalf of the

present Church, and the checks which the Lower House had received in their attempts about such matters; yet on March 23, a bill of that nature passed for the qualification of Ministers, though no notice is taken of it in D'Ewes' Journal. This and some other bills, as about excessive fees in Bishops' courts, so closely affected the good Archbishop, that the next day he wrote an earnest letter, complaining thereof, to the Queen; shewing therein the inconvenience that would arise to her, if these bills were enacted into laws, and how much more convenient canons were; what a slander they would bring upon the Church; how they tended to the overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, discouraged the study of the civil law; and what care he and the rest of the Clergy had already taken for redress of abuses: and therefore entreating the continuance of her Majesty's goodness towards them. But I had rather recommend to the reader the letter in the Archbishop's own words; which was as follows:

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1584.

Writes to the Queen upon occasion of some bills passed in Parliament.

"May it please your Majesty to be advertised, that "notwithstanding the charge of late given by your High- "ness to the Lower House of Parliament, for dealing in "causes of the Church; albeit also, according to your "Majesty's good liking, we have set down order for the "admitting of meet men in the ministry hereafter; yet "have they passed a bill in that House yesterday, touch- "ing that matter. Which, besides other inconveniences, "(as, namely, the trial of the Ministers' sufficiency by "twelve laymen, and such like,) hath this also, that if it "pass by Parliament, it cannot hereafter but in Parlia- "ment be altered; what necessity soever shall urge there- "unto. Which I am persuaded in short time will appear, "considering the multitude of livings not fit for men so "qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof. Whereas "if it is but as a canon from us by your Majesty's author- "ity, it may be observed or altered at your pleasure.

"They have also passed a bill, giving liberty to marry "at all times of the year without restraint, contrary to the

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

" old canons continually observed among us; and contain-
" ing matter which tendeth to the slaunder of this Church,
" as having hitherto maintained an error.

" There is likewise now in hand, in the same House, a
" bill concerning ecclesiastical courts, and visitation by
" Bishops: which may reach to the overthrow of ecclesi-
" astical jurisdiction, and study of the civil laws. The
" pretence of the bill is against excessive fees and exac-
" tions in ecclesiastical courts. Which fees are none other
207 " than have been of long time accustomed to be taken;
" the law already established providing a sharp and severe
" punishment for such as shall exact the same. Besides
" an order also which we at this time have taken among
" ourselves, for the better performance thereof.

" I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty to con-
" tinue your gracious goodness towards us, who with all
" humility submit ourselves to your Highness, and cease
" not daily to pray for your happy state, and long and
" prosperous reign over us. From Lambeth, the 24th of
" March, 1584.

" Your Majesty's Chaplain and daily orator, most bound,
" Jo. Cantuar."

The Queen checketh the Parliament for meddling in matters of the Church.

But after all, the Queen, abundantly satisfied by the Archbishop's letters and arguments, became jealous of her Parliament's encroaching upon her supremacy in spirituals; it being her steady principle, that matters of religion, and redress of abuses in the Church, ought to be left to her Bishops and spiritual men in Convocation. And to that tenor, in a speech she made to this Parliament, at the conclusion of their sitting, she declared her mind: so that those dangerous bills (so hotly insisted upon) came to little or nothing. Part of her speech was to this effect, " That one thing touched her so near, that she might not
" overskip, namely, religion, the ground on which all other
" matters ought to take root; and being corrupted, might
" mar all the tree. That there were some fault finders
" with the order of the Clergy, which so might make a

"slander to herself and the Church; whose *overlooker*, "she said, God had made her. And that her negligence "therefore could not be excused, if schisms or errors he- Anno 1584. "retical were suffered. That thus much she must say, "that some faults or negligencies might grow and be, (as "in all other great charges it happened.) And what voca- "tion without?" And then turning her speech to the Bishops, she gave them this admonition, "That if they, "the Lords of the Clergy, (as she called them,) did not "amend, she was minded to depose them. And bade them "therefore to look well to their charges. And added, "(reflecting upon the clamours that were this Parliament "time made,) that this might be amended without heed- "less or open exclamation." And a little after, repri- manding such as under a shew of God's word would un- settle matters established, and intrude too much upon her government, and surmised, as though she stood affected towards Popery; she used these words, "That she saw Stow's An- "many overbold with God Almighty, making too many nal. quarto, p. 181. "scannings of his blessed will, as lawyers did with human "testaments. That the presumption was so great, that "she might not suffer it. And yet that she minded not "hereby to animate Romanists, (which what adversaries "they were to her estate was sufficiently known,) nor yet "would she tolerate newfangleness. But that she meant "to guide them both by God's true rule. That in both "parts were perils; but of the latter, [*i. e.* the newfangled "sort,] she said, them she must pronounce dangerous to a "kingly rule, [*viz.* monarchy.] To have every man, ac- "cording to his own censure, to make a doom [*i. e.* pro- "nounce sentence] of the validity and privity of his Prince's "government; and that with a common veil and cover of "God's word; whose followers must not be judged, but "by private men's exposition. She prayed God to defend "them from such rulers, that so evil would guide them."

One good act the Archbishop got made in this Parlia- ment, (however he was misliked by them,) and that was for the confirmation and better settlement of his hospital Procures an act for the hospital of Eastbridge in Canter- bury.

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

of Eastbridge, called St. Thomas's Hospital, in the city of Canterbury; and of the good ordinances he and his predecessor, Archbishop Parker, had drawn up and made for it, and for the great improvement of that charitable foundation. Of this ancient hospital, the Archbishops of Canterbury were founders and patrons. It was at first intend-

208 ed for the relief of wandering and wayfaring brethren, and poor people, in bread and drink, after the rate of four pence a day, and one night's lodging for twelve persons, if so many came thither at one time: in the whole, not above six pounds two shillings and sixpence per annum. Until Archbishop Parker did by an ordinance increase the said sum, to be bestowed upon certain poor within the city of Canterbury, and appointed certain other sums of money thereout yearly, towards the keeping of a freeschool there, for poor children of the said city to be taught to read and write, and towards the finding of certain scholars in the University of Cambridge.

Our Archbishop Whitgift, finding the yearly fruits of this hospital to be greater than the yearly charge of those good uses, by certain ordinances did not only decree those recited good uses to have continuance for ever, but greatly augmented and increased the proportion of the former ordinances appointed for those poor, uncertain, inhabiting in Canterbury, and converted the same to the relief of certain poor brethren and sisters permanent within the said hospital, with a competent yearly stipend for their maintenance: and with a *proviso*, that after the expiration of certain leases of the said hospital lands, about twenty-one years to come, the said number of the poor, and the said portions, should be further increased; that is to say, from ten to twenty poor brethren and sisters; and from the allowance of thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence per annum for their relief, then to twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence per annum for ever. According to which proportion, whereas the valuation of the whole hospital was recorded in the Exchequer but twenty-three pounds eighteen shillings and nine pence, the charges

yearly out of the profits of the said house, to be employed to good and charitable uses, will amount unto sixty pounds per annum, or thereabouts. Anno 1584.

This bill for the settlement of these good ordinances, made for the said hospital or *maisondieu*, was brought down from the Lords, February the 18th, and then entitled, *A Bill for the better Relief of the Poor of that Hospital.* It stayed till March the 12th, and then was brought into the House with a *proviso* added, and then its title was, *For the Maintenance of the Hospital of Eastbridge.* And ordinances, framed by the Archbishop for the government and order of it, were read; and so left to be further considered in conference with the Lords, touching some words needful to be added. March the 20th, it became a new bill, entitled, *For the Incorporation of Eastbridge Hospital.* But at last it passed into an act, entitled, *An Act for the better Foundation and Relief of the Poor of the Hospital of Eastbridge.* This was a private act, and not published among the statutes, but may be seen in the Appendix of Mr. Nic. Battely's Antiquities of Canterbury, part II. Cantuaria Sacra. Append. p. 69.

And this charitable act of the Archbishop is the more amplified, in that, as the said hospital was thus settled and established by his procurement, so he had before this rescued it, and the revenues thereof, out of the hands of such as had swallowed it up as concealed: Farnham, one of the gentlemen pensioners, having obtained it, under that pretence, of the Queen; and he selling it again to another. But it was recovered by the Archbishop, and settled then upon a new foundation. "A perpetual monument," as the foresaid author writeth deservedly, "of the piety and "prudence of this good Archbishop, who may justly be "reputed the founder and restorer of it." The original of the said ordinances and statutes, under his hand and seal, is in the custody of the master of the hospital; and a copy thereof is afforded us in print by the foresaid diligent writer. This hospital granted away by the Queen as concealed; recovered by the Archbishop. Cantuar. Sacr. p. 71. Append. p. 66.

BOOK III.

CHAP. XII.

209 *Decrees made in Convocation for the regulation of the Clergy and spiritual courts. Account of matters done in this Convocation. Misdemeanours of Mr. Beal, drawn up by the Archbishop. He endeavours to stop a* melius inquirendum. *Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops. An option. A metropolitical visitation. Vacancies. Solicits the Queen for the liberties of the Church. A charter of Edward IV.* De Libertat. Cleri. *A collection for a great fire, recommended by the Lords to the Archbishop. A paper sent to the Archbishop by one endued with a* later spirit. *What that spirit dictated.*

Anno 1584. Decrees in the Convocation for the Clergy and Bishop's officers.

BUT yet the good Archbishop was far from patronizing any abuses in the Church, or ignorance or scandal in the Churchmen, or irregularity or oppression in any of his courts, in granting thence any undue licences, or countenancing rigorous censures issuing from his officers there: and that he might also prevent complaints in Parliament of these things, he moved for a regulation regularly in Convocation. Wherein at length, in the month of February, were several good decrees made. The paper of them, which the Archbishop sent to the Lord Treasurer, is endorsed, *Decreta Cleri Cantuarien. in Synodo Londinensi, Febr.* 1584. The several titles these decrees bore were as followeth: "1. *Ut homines idonei*, &c. That fit men be "admitted into holy Orders and benefices ecclesiastical. "2. Of regulating the commutation of solemn penance. "3. Of moderating some indulgences for the celebration "of matrimony, without thrice asking the banns. 4. Con- "cerning the restraining and reforming of some excesses "about excommunication. 5. For restraining the plurality "of benefices. 6. Concerning fees that are owing to the "ecclesiastical officers and their servants." I refer the reader to the Appendix. For these decrees being in Latin, which I have set down from an original MS. of them;

N°. XVIII.

they are also printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, entitled there, *Articuli pro Clero;* only this paragraph omitted under the first title, *Quod si Patronus quispiam*, &c. which indeed in this MS. hath a cross made against it in the margin. Which I suppose was done by the Lord Burghley himself, as making some doubt about it, lest it might press too much upon patrons, and give a power to the Bishops sometimes to refuse their Clerks, when they should find them unqualified. This MS. paper of decrees concluded with an order set down in English in another hand, (as it seems by the Archbishop's advice,) for the Bishops to inquire into the qualities of the Ministers in their dioceses, and into the value of all their benefices, and into the impropriations there, to be sent to the Archbishop of the province. That it might appear hence, as I conjecture, how impossible it would be for the Clergy to subsist without this help of *pluralities*. This order ran in these words:

Anno 1584. Sparrow's Collections, p. 193.

An order added to the decrees.

Memorandum. "To take order, that so soon as conve- "niently it may be, at the least within one year after the "end of this Synod, every Bishop do make inquiry of the "condition, state, learning, and quality of the Ministers "within his diocese: by whom and when they were or- "dered; and of what calling they were before they were "ordered; and the same to certify to the Archbishop "within the said time.

"Also, that every Bishop in his diocese make inquiry 210
"of the valuation of the parsonages, vicarages, curate- "ships, and other ecclesiastical livings, within his said "diocese, as they are in the Queen's books, if they be "there valued; or (if they be not there valued) according "to their common estimation: and how many impropri- "ations, of what value, and to whom they belong, within "the said diocese; and the same likewise to certify to the "Archbishop, before the time before limited."

I observe these decrees (with this addition at the end of them) were incorporated with several others, and concluded, and confirmed in a Synod many years after, *viz.*

BOOK III.

anno 1597, in the month of October, entitled, *Capitula, sive Constitutiones Ecclesiasticæ.*

Anno 1584.

Things done in the Convocation.

Extract of Convocat.

Rev. F. Atterbury, D. D. nunc Ep. Roff.

Besides these articles, several other matters were agitated and transacted in this provincial Synod, that began November the 24th. Whereof our Archbishop was President, and wherein Dr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, was Prolocutor of the Lower House; and for supply of his own necessary absence, sometimes the Archbishop granted a commission to five Bishops, to his Vicar General, Dr. Dunn, Doctor of Laws, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, to preside in his place, with power to adjourn and prorogue from time to time. In the fourth session of this Convocation a petition was presented to them by all the Vicars of the province: it is not registered, nor mentioned what it concerned; but probably it was for the finding out an expedient to augment their small incomes, for the encouragement of their studies, and improvement in learning, and maintenance of themselves and families; or to favour them in the subsidy to be granted by the Clergy: and of the success of this petition we have no account. In the same session a conference was held about granting the Queen a subsidy. Thus early were they in shewing their forwardness to serve the Queen; which at the seventh session was finished, when the Archbishop, at a conference of both Houses, brought in the grant of a subsidy of six shillings, to be paid in three years, two shillings yearly. To which both Houses consented, and then adjourned.

An Arian convented before the Convocation.

The next session, *viz.* the eighth, 18. December, at Westminster, one John Hilton, Clerk, that had been imprisoned by the High Commission for errors, heresies, and great blasphemies, was ordered to be convented before them the next session. And likewise one Thomas Shoveler was appointed to be convented on another day; who was also under confinement for exercising the ministerial office, not being in holy Orders. The ninth session, being December 22, Hilton appeared, and confessed his accusation, saying, that he had said in a sermon at St. Martin's in the Fields, "that the Old and New Testaments are but

"fables: that himself was no Christian, but a heathen: "and further, had blasphemed Christ most horribly." This acknowledgment and abjuration he gave in writing, subscribing his name thereunto. Anno 1584.

Whose abjuration Mr. Fuller had faithfully, as he said, transcribed out of the records of Canterbury. His errors, which he called his heresies, blasphemies, and damnable opinions were these, as his confession and renunciation shews: "That in the Trinity were not three distinct Per- "sons, and one Godhead co-equal. That Jesus Christ "was not God and man. That he was not of the sub- "stance of God the Father in his humanity and incarna- "tion; nor for our redemption very God and very man; "nor that by his death we have full redemption and re- "mission of our sins in his blood, but only made partakers "of his testament, and so brought to the knowledge of his "godly will. He further confessed, that he had most de- "testably and blasphemously affirmed, that the Old and "New Testaments were fables. But that now he was "sorry for that abominable and damnable assertion; and "that he now believed the same Testaments to contain all "truths necessary to salvation."

Abjures his heresies before the Archbishop in Convocation. Full. Eccles. Hist. b. ix. p. 175. Rec. Cant.

His said abjuration he began in this form: "*In Dei* "*nomine, Amen.* Before the most reverend Father in "God, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and 211
"Metropolitan of all England, and you the reverend Fa- "thers in God, the Bishops of this your province of Can- "terbury, here congregated and assembled together in "this holy Synod and Convocation; I, John Hilton, Priest, "of my pure heart and free will, &c. acknowledge and con- "fess, and openly recognize, &c." After this abjuration, the Convocation enjoined him a penance, which was, that he should hold no more nor teach such heresies and blas- phemies. That he should attend at Paul's Cross upon the preacher the next Sunday, and stand before him with a fagot on his shoulder: and that he should recant his he- resies in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, at a ser- mon to be made by Dr. Cotton to the Lower House of

BOOK III. Convocation present: and that he should not preach at all, nor exercise the ministry, unless he were specially thereunto licensed by the Archbishop.

Anno 1584.

The Synod employed about other articles.

And so busy was the whole Synod now, both of the Upper and Lower House, in regulating things amiss in the Church and in the Ministers, that besides the articles already made (mentioned before) in the eleventh session, other articles coming from the Lower House were debated, but what they were is not registered. And then also the Most Reverend called a conference, and delivered to the Prolocutor other articles by himself and the Bishops made. Another conference is likewise mentioned to be held with the Prolocutor, and the Lower House, about their articles; and then they adjourned till after Christmas, unto February the 19th. When they came together again, the modelling and agreeing upon these articles seems to have been the chief subject of their business. For after divers sessions, I find nothing of any moment set down, until the twentieth session, which was upon the 31st of March 1585, that is, the beginning of the next year: when the Convocation sitting at St. Paul's, certain *Articles or Canons for the Clergy and ecclesiastical Courts* made by them, were confirmed by the Queen.

Orders for Ministers made in the Convocation 1585.

There were orders then made for the Ministers, which were these: "In order for increase of learning in inferior "Ministers: 1. To get perfectly the order of reading the "Common Prayer appointed in the Preface. 2. To study "weekly a chapter in the Old and New Testament, and "make notes thereupon, to be appointed by the Ordinary. "3. The Bishop shall appoint them every quarter a com-"mon place in divinity, to write thereupon an answer in "Latin. 4. Those that are not able to do it in Latin, to do "it in English. 5. The Ordinary, or some appointed by "him, shall call them to account for the same exercises." The twenty-first session, which was on the 21st of May following, came the Queen's writ of prorogation; by virtue whereof, and the Archbishop's special commission, the Vicar General, one of the Commissioners beforesaid for ex-

ecution, prorogued the Convocation accordingly to the 8th of June 1585; and so it was prorogued, from time to time, till the 27th session, which was upon the 15th day of November following, when it was dissolved by the Queen's writ. Anno 1584.

When the Parliament was broke up, some of the busy men in it against the Church's present constitution, and furtherers of those bills, were taken notice of. And particularly Mr. Robert Beal, (of whom before,) one of the committees for the petitions, was accused for his seditious books he had wrote and published against the hierarchy, for abridging the Queen's power in spirituals, and other misdemeanors; which the Archbishop now thought it a convenient time to lay against him; and drew up this schedule thereof, that so dangerous a zealot might be called to account, *viz.*

A schedule of misdemeanors drawn up by the Archbishop against Beal.

1. Before the last Parliament he writ a book against oaths that be ministered in the courts of ecclesiastical commission from her Majesty, and in other courts ecclesiastical.

2. Hereof he gave out copies; and thereby many flew abroad in sundry men's hands.

3. A little before that Parliament, the said book was published by print in foreign parts, and the copies printed were brought hither in a Scottish ship.

4. In the Lower House of that Parliament he openly spoke of matters concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, &c. contrary to her Majesty's express pleasure, afore delivered. For the which he was also at that Parliament time committed. [Which is not taken notice of in D'Ewes' Journal.] 212

5. He hath since penned another great book, in defence of his said former book against *oaths*, and in impugnation of sundry parts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, practised in courts of her Majesty's commission, and in inferior ordinary courts ecclesiastical.

6. In his said books, among many other points, he disputeth against her Majesty's authority to grant power by commission ecclesiastical, for to apprehend any, what ma-

BOOK III.

lefactor soever he be, as Jesuit, Seminary Priest, recusant, or other contemptuous and disobedient person.

Anno 1584.

7. Likewise against granting power to imprison any man by that commission.

8. Also against granting power thereby to impose fines upon any convicted offender.

9. But especially against the driving of any offender, by that commission, to put in their answers to the matters objected upon their oaths; albeit the offences touch neither lives nor limbs.

10. He chargeth all that practise these parts of her Majesty's commission to be violators of the law, and of her Majesty's royal prerogative, and to be within the statutes of *prémunire*.

11. He thereupon chargeth ecclesiastical judges with practising the selfsame unjust and unlawful manner of proceeding; for which Thorppe, sometime Chief Justice of England, was judged as much as in him lay, to have broken the oath which the King is bound to keep towards his people.

12. Albeit the words of the statute, made the first year of her Majesty's reign, for restoring the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction unto the Crown, (in the opinion of the judges and others learned in the laws,) be most large and pregnant, to authorize her Majesty's grant of such commission in the points aforesaid, the practice also ever since running accordingly; yet he disputeth vehemently against those aforesaid parts of her Highness's commission; affirming the same not to be warranted by that statute, and the commission to be therein contrary to law, and therefore void.

13. He condemneth (without exception of any cause) *racking* of grievous offenders, as being cruel, barbarous, contrary to law, and unto the liberty of English subjects.

14. He thereupon giveth a *caveat* to those in the Marches of Wales, that execute torture by virtue of instructions under her Majesty's hand, according to a statute, to look unto it, that their doings be well warranted.

I know not whether these articles were designed by the Archbishop for any public accusation to be laid against Mr. Beal, in the Star-chamber, or in any other court; or only that some *reprimand* might more privately be given him, either at the Council Board, or by the Lord Treasurer; because I find no more of it. Anno 1584.

Some of these spiteful men shewed likewise another instance of their good-will to the Clergy; and that indeed, had it taken place, would have sufficiently humbled them all, from the Archbishops and Bishops to the poorest Vicar. And that was for the issuing out a commission for a *Melius inquirendum*. It was certainly moved now in this 26th of the Queen; and some considerable progress was made in it. And here was another great work for the Archbishop's head and hand. Hereby strict inquiry was to be made throughout the whole realm, of the full value of every bishopric, deanery, archdeaconry, canonry, rectory, vicarage, salary, &c. under the specious pretence of advancing the Queen's revenues of first-fruits and tenths. But by the diligence of the Archbishop, partly by his arguments and reasons against such a commission, and partly by his effectual dealings with some of his great friends at court, and especially the Lord Treasurer, it was stopped, and went no further. The Archbishop labours to stop a commission for a *Melius inquirendum*.

His reasons and arguments were briefly set down under this title, *Notes de Melius inquirendo;* which are as follows: 213

" 1st. That it would be slanderous that such a thing " should be done in her Majesty's days, which hath not " been done in any of her Highness's ancestors. His reasons against it. MS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" 2. That the Clergy being now so poor, that for the " most part they die beggars, if the *Melius inquirendum* " should be put in use, it is certain that they should live " and die in great misery.

" 3. If the Clergy have not wherewith to buy them " books, and other things necessary for their studies, (as at " this day, their livings being as they are, a great number

BOOK III.

Anno 1584.

" have not,) it will be the utter decay of preaching and " hospitality.

" 4. The Clergy's living standing upon the tithes of " corn and wool chiefly, if the prices of them should fall, " as by plague, mortality, and war, it may be, then the " benefices and livings of the Clergy would be much less " than they are now; and so their living utterly decayed.

" 5. It was never seen among the heathen, but that the " Clergy were spared, when all others were greatly dis- " tressed, for payments, taxes, &c. Yea, in the Pope's " time, they, above all others, had their immunities and " privileges. If therefore it should be otherwise now, it " would be a great slander to the Gospel; and, as Harding " said, it would be counted and called, *a ravenous and* " *spoiling Gospel.*

" 6. The Clergy hath been greatly called upon in her " Majesty's time for Ireland, for building of churches, re- " pairing of havens, &c. And if this should come in the " neck of it, it is to be thought, that it would be to the " ruin of the state ecclesiastical.

" 7. The laity being so exceedingly favoured in their " subsidies, fines, taxes, &c. it would be great inequality " that one state should flourish, and the other utterly de- " cay."

[This that follows is the Archbishop's own hand.]

" It would also be considered, whether it be not the " meaning of the preferers of this suit, or of some other " moving them thereunto, to bring such of the Clergy, as " pleaseth them, into that bondage and awe, for fear of " enhancing their livings, that they dare not displease " them, and be enforced rather to sooth them in all things; " whereby it may come to pass, that the waywarder sort " shall be greatly countenanced and increased, and such " as are dutiful in observing the laws discountenanced " and decreased; which thing is greatly to be feared, and " very likely to be intended: that they which could not " prevail in Parliament may this way be revenged."

[Now follows another hand.] CHAP. XII.

" In anno 26 H. VIII. all spiritual promotions were then
" valued at the uttermost rate, as well by the oath of the Anno 1584.
" incumbent and parishioners, as by all other means.
" After which followed a new rate, upon a writ directed
" to the Bishop of every diocese; which varied from the
" first very little. According to which rates they have,
" during all the time of King Henry, King Edward, Queen
" Mary, for so long time of her reign as first-fruits were
" paid, and now these twenty-six years of her Majesty's
" most happy reign, paid their first-fruits and tenths, but
" not without the grudge and repining of many of the
" Clergy; alleging, that they ought to come to their living
" free, without any such imposition; which their grudge
" with their extreme poverty considered, it may seem hard
" to urge them with any further or greater payments.

" If they should now upon a new rate be taxed at a
" greater charge, the arrearages, which should grow due
" by that means, would be much more than they are or
" should be able to pay.

" The farm of first-fruits cannot be certainly rated with- 214
" out great loss to her Majesty; for as the receipt *commu-*
" *nibus annis* is between 5000 and 6000*l.* when no bishop-
" rics are in payment; so in those years wherein they
" happen, the receipt is much more.

" If the Clergy have not letted to grudge at the pay-
" ment thereof to her Majesty after the rate that is now,
" no doubt but they would exclaim at the payment thereof
" to any subject after that rate, much more if they should
" be compelled to pay after a greater rate."

These arguments did the Archbishop back with his letter to the Lord Treasurer; which being of such moment, and such a considerable piece of service to the rescuing the Clergy of this Church from ruin and beggary, the benefits whereof they enjoy to this day, deserves to be recorded to grateful posterity.

" My singular good Lord, The Archbishop's letter to the

" It is reported that there is labour made by some for

BOOK III.

Anno 1584. Lord Treasurer about it.

"a commission *ad melius inquirendum* upon our livings "of the Clergy, and that the same is like to take effect, "if it be not stayed by your Lordship's means. I thought "myself therefore in duty and conscience bound to write "unto your Lordship my simple opinion and judgment "therein; assuring myself, that you will take it in good "part, as you have done hitherto the like.

"First, if indifferency be used, (for yet such commis- "sions are oftentimes greatly abused,) it cannot be, that "her Majesty should gain thereby, but rather lose. For

Bishoprics.

"*bishoprics*, being at the first valued at the utmost, do "not now yield so much as they are valued at. Partly "because that since the said valuation, their temporalties "unto many are changed into spiritualties; less profit- "able in sundry respects, and more chargeable unto them "in respect of repairing of chancels, of pensions to Vicars, "and such like; partly because their Popish predecessors "have let out in long leases, and for small rents, the de- "means, serving for the maintenance of hospitality, and "other provisions, which they themselves enjoyed for the "same use; partly sithence the said valuation also divers "fees have been increased, and some new fees granted, to "the great injury and burdening of us that are now in- "cumbents. Many pensions likewise, procurations, syn- "odals, and such like, given out of religious houses and "other places, being also parts of the first valuation, are "utterly lost, and cannot be come by.

"For my part, I assure your Lordship, that I could "never as yet receive of it so much toward all charges, as "it is valued at in the Queen's books, by one hundred "pounds in the year. But concerning bishoprics I think "there is no doubt, considering that her Majesty in every "vacation receiveth the fruits; and therefore it may easily "be known, whether they be undervalued or no.

Deaneries.

"*Deaneries*, especially of the old foundation, are in the "like case. The deanery of Lincoln is not so much worth "to the Dean (ordinary fees and charges deducted) by one "hundred mark in the year, as it is valued at. And the

" new deaneries consist in set sums of money; and there-
" fore the value of them cannot be unknown.

" *Archdeaconries* are certainly known to be already va- Archdea-
" lued at the utmost; and that very few, or none of them, conries.
" are so much worth indeed, and that by much, as they
" are valued.

" *Vicarages* are well known to be all in decay, and Vicarages.
" much over-valued, and the causes thereof are manifest.

" *Prebends* of the old foundations are all in long leases; Prebends.
" and scarce so much reserved to the incumbent as the
" value is in the Queen's books: and yet he also, for the
" most part, burdened with all manner of charges.

" As for the new *prebends*, they are paid only in money;
" and therefore their value cannot be hid.

" There remaineth only *parsonages;* whereof many, no Parsonages.
" doubt, are valued to the full, and a great number over-
" valued. And the most of those which are under-valued 215
" are in lease to temporal men (the more is the pity) for
" many years, with most unequal conditions to the incum-
" bents. If any remain in better state, they are but few,
" and not worthy of inquiry, all things well and indiffer-
" ently considered.

" It will moreover be a great discouragement to stu-
" dents in divinity, and a great hinderance to learning,
" when men shall see the reward of their labours to wax
" worse and worse; and the living appointed for the Min-
" isters daily sought to be diminished. The temporal
" lawyer, (whose learning is no learning any where but
" here at home,) being born to nothing, doth by his labour
" and travel in that barbarous knowledge purchase to
" himself, and his for ever, a thousand pounds per annum,
" and oftentimes much more, whereof there are at this
" day many examples; and yet no man saith, *Black is his*
" *eye*. The same is the state and condition of all other
" men, in what trade soever they be: but only the poor
" Divine, labouring all his life in true learning, in liberal
" sciences, and in the study of divinity, (the lady and
" princess of all sciences,) cannot be suffered to enjoy that

BOOK III.

Anno 1584. "which is already prepared for him; and both by God's "law and man's law belonging of right unto him, and to "no other. Temporal men, for the most part, are not va- "lued, but either in lands or goods, to the tenth part of "their known ability: the poor Divine having his living "valued to the utmost in all duties to her Majesty, and "other common charges far passing; and that in a most "willing mind, yet so still to be enhanced.

"I trust that Julianus the Apostate hath no scholars "in the Court; for he, by taking away the reward of "learning, sought utterly to extinguish all learning, and "so consequently Christianity: saying in derision, *He did* "*that which was most meet and profitable for Christians*, "scil. *that they being made poor, might sooner come to* "*the kingdom of heaven:* seeing the Gospel promiseth "the kingdom of heaven to those that be poor: and that "Christ saith, that *none can be his disciples, unless they* "*forsake all, and follow him.*"

Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops.

Whatsoever sees were now vacant, and wanted Bishops, (of which the Archbishop had complained to the Lord Treasurer,) I find only these consecrations and confirmations this year.

Dr. Godwin. Regist. Whitg.

The confirmation of the election of Thomas Godwin, S. T. P. Dean of Christ Church, Canterbury, to be Bishop, and Pastor of the church of St. Andrews, Wells, was on September the 11th, in the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin de Arcubus, London. And he was consecrated September 13th, the Sunday following, by the Archbishop at Lambeth; John, Bishop of London, and John, Bishop of Rochester, assisting; Valentine Dale, LL. D. being then Dean of the cathedral church; Philip Bisse, S. T. B. Subdean.

Edm. Freak.

Edmund Freak, Bishop of Norwich, was confirmed Bishop, and Pastor of the cathedral church of Worcester, December the 5th, in the church of St. Mary's of the Arches, London: John Freak, Archdeacon of Norwich, being then that reverend Father's Proctor; Thomas Wilson then Dean of that church.

CHAP. XII.

William Wickham, S. T. B. was confirmed Bishop, and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Mary, Lincoln, Saturday, December the 5th. Consecrated the next day at Lambeth chapel by the Archbishop; Edmund Wigorn, Johan. Exon, and Marmad. Meneven, assisting. Anno 1584. Will. Wickham.

The option the Archbishop made upon the confirmation of this Bishop of Lincoln was the advowson of the prebend of Layton Buzzard; which the said Bishop, by a formal instrument, granted to the said Archbishop, that he might collate to it, whensoever it fell void, for twenty-one years; yet only for one collation: this being an ancient prerogative and custom of that metropolitical see of Canterbury, presently after the confirmation of any elect. The instrument shewing the right thereof, and the manner of granting these options, I have set down in the Appendix, for those who have the curiosity to peruse such ancient grants. The bishop's option. Regist. Whitg. Num. XIX.

Edmund Scamler, S. T. P. Bishop of Peterborough, was confirmed Bishop, and Pastor of the cathedral church of Norwich, Friday, the 15th day of January, in St. Mary's church de Arcubus, London. Edm. Scamler.

Richard Howland, S. T. P. was confirmed Bishop, and Pastor of the church *De Burgo Sti Petri*, i. e. Peterburgh, the 6th day of February, being Saturday, in St. Mary's de Arcubus, London. And on Sunday the 7th of February following he was consecrated by the Archbishop in his chapel at Lambeth, *exhiben. exhibitisque ritibus et cerémoniis de usu moderno Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, adhibend. juxta formam descriptam in libro intitulat.* "The form and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, &c." (which clause is in all the instruments of consecration in the Archbishop's register;) Thomas Winton, Johan. Exon, and William Lincoln, assisting at the said Howland's consecration: these venerable men, William Redman, S. T. P. Archdeacon of Canterbury; William Drury, Richard Cosin, and William Lewen, LL. DD.; Andrew Pern, S. T. P. Dean of Ely; John Parker, Gent. George Whitgift, Richard Whitgift, Gentlemen; Richard Wood; —— Grafton, Chaplain to the 216 Dr. Howland.

BOOK III. Most Reverend; and John Ridge, Apparitor, Gent. being then present.

Anno 1584. Chichester diocese was also vacant, and was likely to be filled in the month of September, by the solicitations and endeavours of the Archbishop and Lord Treasurer. The Archbishop, endeavouring to bring in Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster, into the rank of Bishops, for his great learning and merits towards the Church, contrived that Young, Bishop of Rochester, should be translated to Chichester, and the Dean to be made Bishop in his room; and to hold his deanery *in commendam;* that so he might be near the Archbishop, being a wise man, and very useful to him in the ecclesiastical commission. In this the Archbishop had the approbation of the Lord Treasurer: who accordingly had prevailed with the Bishop of Rochester to be contented to be removed to Chichester. And so probable was this to take place, that the Archbishop in a letter heartily thanked the Treasurer for the Dean's preferment; and added, that he trusted that God would receive much good by him, as well as by other Bishops in the Church. But whatever the obstructions were, this matter, so desired by the Archbishop, came to nothing; and the see of Chichester remained void till the next year, when it was filled by another, as we shall see hereafter.

Chichester diocese remains vacant.

Visitations. Regist. Whitg. The Archbishop's metropolitical visitations this year were as follows: the city and diocese of Gloucester was visited by commission from the Archbishop to John, Bishop of Gloucester; Laurence Humphrey, S. T. P. Dean of that church; William Aubrey, LL. D. the Vicar General; Richard Cosin, LL. D. and —— Blackleth, Vicar General in spirituals to the said Bishop of Gloucester.

Of Gloucester.

Of Landaff. Another commission was issued out by the Archbishop, for a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Landaff, to William, Bishop of the said diocese, and to William Aubrey, LL. D. and William Evans, LL. B. and Thomas Jones, M. A. and Andrew Vayne, Archdeacon of Brecon.

Of St. Asaph. The diocese of St. Asaph underwent also this year the Archbishop's visitation, by commission to William, the Bi-

shop of St. Asaph, and Griffin Lewis, S. T. P. And by another instrument, the Archbishop joined to his former commissaries, William Lewen, Edmund Merick, and David Yale, LL. DD. visitors. CHAP. XII. Anno 1584.

There were commissions also this year for the metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Exon, and of St. David, and other dioceses. And of Exeter, St. David, &c.

Some sees were vacant this year; as that of Lincoln, by the translation of Thomas Cowper, late Bishop there, to the see of Winton. The Archbishop made John Robinson, S. T. P. Precentor of the cathedral church of St. Mary, Lincoln, his Commissary, to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in that diocese. And so was the see of Bangor, by the death of the Bishop there. The Commissaries appointed by the Archbishop to exercise episcopal jurisdiction there, *sede vacante*, were, Edmund Merick, and David Yale, LL. DD. There was a vacancy also in the diocese of Peterburgh, by the translation of Scamler to the bishopric of Norwich, beginning the 15th of January. The Commissaries appointed by the Archbishop for that diocese were, Watkins, Dean of the church of Hereford, David Dun, LL. D. George Daukes, LL. B. and John Harris, M. A.

The Archbishop interposed this year in the behalf of one of his Clergy, whose name was John Hynde, Rector of the church of Pevington in his diocese, who had, some time ago, been lawfully admitted to it. But now some laymen, upon what pretence I know not, endeavoured to throw him out of his possession thereof. Which being a violence upon the Church, and an encroachment upon the liberties of Churchmen, the Archbishop preferred a letter to the Queen, at the humble petition of the said Hynde, to forbid it, and to maintain by her help, authority, and defence, the ecclesiastical liberties. This remarkable letter may be read in the Appendix. 217 The Archbishop defends the liberties of the Church. Numb. XX.

This interposition of the Archbishop for maintaining the liberty and privileges of Churchmen, seems to have been grounded upon divers ancient charters. One whereof was A charter of the liberties of the Clergy.

BOOK III.

a charter of King Edward IV. which I find in the register of Booth, Bishop of Hereford; wherein is set down, *Carta Edw. IV. de Libertatib. Cler. et ne ipsi clerici per laicos arrestentur, aut aliquo per breve de premunir. facias, vexentur*, &c. It was dated at Westminster, November 2, in the second year of his reign. And then follows a bull of Sixtus IV. for the liberty of Clerks, and what belongs to them, and that the Clergy be not arrested or molested in their persons or goods, dated 1476. 15. *kal. Jun. Pontificat. anno* 5.

Anno 1584. Regist. Booth, fol. cxxix.

Commission for the Clerks convict from the Archbishop. Regist. Whitgift.

The Archbishop issued out a commission in the month of July, to Samuel Finch, Clerk, Vicar of the perpetual vicarage of Croydon, to claim, require, receive, and examine all Clerks, sued, indicted, or convicted before any Justices of the Queen's, or upon any felonies within Croydon; and to require such Clerks to be received and admitted to the benefit and privileges of the Clergy, in causes admitted and approved by law and custom, and the statutes of this kingdom of England. That the instrument of this ancient privilege of Archbishops of Canterbury may be read by any that have a mind to see such things, I have put it into the Appendix. Such another commission went forth to Finch and Hammond, in the month of June, 1588.

Num. XXI.

Certificate from the Archbishop of all ecclesiastical preferments granted.

About Michaelmas, the Archbishop, according to custom, certified the Barons of the Exchequer of all the ecclesiastical preferments and benefices conferred and granted within his jurisdiction; in obedience to the Queen's letters missive to him, to this import: "The Queen to the Archbishop, willing for certain causes that her Barons of the Exchequer might be certified by him of the names and surnames of all the Clerks admitted, instituted, &c. into any deaneries, archdeaconries, prebends, provostships, rectories, vicarages, &c. or any spiritual preferments within his [the Archbishop's] diocese or jurisdiction, from the feast of St. Michael last, to the feast of St. Michael now approaching: and to search for that purpose his registers, and to inquire of his Archdeacon touching the premises. And to send the same, wrote

" in parchment, to the Barons, together with her Majesty's " brief, &c."

Anno 1584.

And accordingly there follows in the Archbishop's register, his certificate of the said preferments to the said Barons, dated October the 1st, 1584, and the respective time when each preferment was granted, and the names of the persons who were admitted to them, both of the diocese of Canterbury, and in all the several other dioceses of his province. This certificate was customarily sent in yearly, as appears by the register. The cause whereof chiefly, I suppose, was, that the Queen might not lose any of her first-fruits.

The Lords recommend to the Archbishop a collection to be made for a fire.

I shall observe one thing more, falling out within the compass of this year, which I find in the Archbishop's register, (though perhaps it may be esteemed too slight a matter to be set down,) concerning a collection to be made for a great calamity by fire, recommended to the Archbishop; chiefly, that hereby may be seen the different way of collections for such like losses in those times: which was not by letters patents under the Great Seal, to all the subjects, nor by laying obligations upon all Ministers throughout the whole realm to read and press the same, and that by divers penalties upon them and Churchwardens, imposed by act of Parliament; nor by an office 218
erected for that purpose, as now it is, and so become a kind of burden. When by occasion of a great fire in Namptwich, wherein eight hundred houses were consumed, with most part of the goods and householdstuff of the inhabitants, the Lords of the Council wrote to the Archbishop, " that the Queen had contributed a good value towards " the poor sufferers; and required him, the Archbishop, to " contribute himself, and to deal effectually with the " Clergy, to yield their devotion the more largely to so cha- " ritable and necessary a purpose; and that he would ap- " point men of good credit and reputation to collect the " same." The Archbishop accordingly sent his letter to Thomas Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, to collect the contribution of his diocese. The aforesaid letter of the

BOOK III. Anno 1584.

Council was delivered January the 9th, 1584, to Mr. Powl, his Grace's servant, [Sir George Paul, I suppose, the Archbishop's Comptroller,] coming for the same in his Grace's name.

A writing sent to the Archbishop, by one endued with a *later spirit*.

One thing more I must insert, before I conclude this year. A strange paper came to the Archbishop this year 1584, dated in the month of April, from a person that would not be known, endued with *later spirit*, as he called it, and that by revelation; sending two copies, one for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other to be delivered by him to the Queen: in which the writer useth the style of *thou* and *thee* to the Queen. He pretended to a *former* and *later* spirit: and the *former* spirit instructed him in some principles and practices of religion; but the *later* spirit, which was vouchsafed him by pretended extraordinary revelation, better informed him in other principles and practices, quite different from them: as shall appear by the discourse following, which I contract from the said paper, being a full sheet of the largest size, written in a small hand. I begin with his conclusion first, to give some taste of the man: it was in these words: "My good "Prince, conjecture no evil opinion of me, for I wish and "will thee good. The cause why I leave unperfect my "name, and the name of my dwelling, is, that I fear I have "offered an offence to thy Majesty, not by consent of my "own will, but as your Majesty may unkindly conceive of "me. From the second city in England westward. Written "by thy Grace's most true subject, who wisheth thee hea-"venly health and happiness. I do send two of these "copies to thy Majesty, the one for an exercise to your-"self, the other for a Christian token to the good Bishop "Canter."

His two spirits.

The tract beginneth thus, (giving an account of his two spirits;) "O most gracious Queen, thy most true and "faithful subject and obedient servant to command, is "now almost brought subject to strange motions of a *new* "*spirit*, and become thrall to the smart of his own late af-"fections. O alas! my languishing body is sore tor-

" mented, my troubled mind more grieved, and most of all
" my careful soul so much is vexed, that as one which
" once loved to live, and to be liked of this world, I now Anno 1584.
" loathe to live, and desire to leave the deceitful vanities of
" this world. But in my heaviness, lo! I say, My soul,
" why art thou thus disquieted? Why musest thou on such
" vain matters? Then my *later spirit* answered me, Speak,
" cry out and write the vanities whereon thou thinkest,
" and the hateful vices which thou seest and hearest. But
" my *former* spirit said, What do I see or hear?

" Then was formed in my mind the doleful and dreadful His dream.
" dream, which very often most perfectly appeared unto
" me: an angry and fiery angel descending from the hea-
" vens, vested all in red, within his hand held a fearful
" iron rod, and in the other a fiery viol, full of ire and
" wrath, and cried as in the Revelations, *Lamentation,*
" *woe, and mourning* unto thee, O England, because of of-
" fences! Thy Priests are married, and are full of concu-
" piscence: thy gentlemen surpass, and are defaced in
" pride, and are full of contention: thy lawyers, merchants,
" and yeomen, delight in riotness and belly-cheer, and are
" full of covetousness: thy poor are envious, without any
" charity or piety. Then said the spirit, As thou seest, so
" shew it forth, and not to the least, but unto the greatest. 219
" Wherefore, worthy Prince, being bid and emboldened by
" provocation of this my earnest spirit, I greet thee with
" this *spiritual* present, (one cause) that thou divinely con-
" sider of this my undoubted vision; (another) that thou
" deeply conceive and weigh of these *spiritual* motions,
" which I have represented unto thee." Then shewing what he was, namely, first a Christian, then a scholar, next a traveller, and at present a merchant, and prospered according to his heart's desire, &c. he added, " But such hath
" been the vehemency of this *later spirit* this two years,
" working in me, that I remain near vanquished, unless
" thy goodness by a godly spirit do let, publish, and make
" resolution of these my supposed verities, &c. And I do
" pronounce innocently, before the glorious throne of God,

BOOK III.

" and unfeignedly protest before thy godly person, that no " creature or Christian, elder or any author, gave me coun- " sel, or encouraged me in this my overbold enterprise, " but only the *earnest spirit*, which I could not possibly " resist."

And then he proceeded to shew what his *former* and *later* spirit said of divers points of religion, as of *good works*, of the *Lord's Supper*, of *praying to saints*, and concerning ceremonies.

Concerning *good works*, the *former* spirit said: 1. We sanctify the sabbath. 2. We frequent the church and sermons. 3. We sing psalms. 4. We humble ourselves in prayer. 5. We do and allow all works of charity. 6. We receive the Sacrament. 7. We study and search the Scriptures. The *later* spirit said, 1. Instead of sanctifying, we sacrifice it to the Devil; for we either spend it in chambering and wantonness, &c. 2. We come to the church, but we make it a place more to see and to be seen, &c. than for zeal to give praise and glory to God, &c. 3. We sing, but without meditation, &c. 6. We receive Sacraments, but my spirit persuadeth me it is done ignorantly, not esteeming it the spiritual body, but grossly taking it for bare bread and wine, and a bare sign or remembrance of the Lord's death, &c. 7. We study and search the Scriptures; O, alas! but we first seek not nor crave for God's Holy Spirit, &c. but read, learning thereout something, to shew ourselves gospellers, or picking places every where to maintain argument, &c. to the causing of divers sects and schisms, now so lately sprung up amongst us.

Concerning the *Lord's Supper*, the *former* spirit is brought in thus speaking. 1. Christ is *spiritually* present in the Sacrament, according to his invisible grace, and no ways *bodily*, &c. But the *later* spirit speaks thus: Christ himself said, *This is my body, which shall be given for you.* He rested not by the first words, *This is*, &c. but said further, It is the same visible body, which now shall be delivered and offered on the cross for you. Of the cup he likewise said, It was his blood; not adding the word *figure*

or *similitude* of his body or blood: so that Christ Jesu, our good schoolmaster, the author of all wisdom, and speaker of all truth, (who never spake any thing unadvisedly or unwisely,) this is his own doctrine and discipline: and therefore because it is he himself which thus hath spoken, if we in faith do believe it to be so, my *later spirit* persuadeth me, that the author neither justly can nor will impute any great sin unto us for it. A second reason which my *later spirit* certifieth me, that in believing it to be the very body and blood of Christ, we do yield and attribute the more and greater omnipotency unto God: we likewise give greater reverence and honour to the institution. But most of all it approveth our faith, &c. To which there is yet a third reason added; and then the *later spirit* explaineth divers places of Scripture, brought against the real or corporal presence.

Concerning *praying to saints*, the *former spirit* told him, that Christ said, *Come unto me all that are weary and heavy laden, and I will refresh you:* and, *Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, it shall be given you. I am the way, the truth, and the life,* &c. *We have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous,* &c.

Touching this point, saith the tract, both the sacred 220
word and our Catholic Church commandeth me to believe. But my spirit often striveth to know which is the right and true Catholic Church; and persuadeth me to know it by four special marks, which is, number, learning, good life, and true doctrine of faith. [In all which he gives the Roman Church the preeminence.] It [*i. e.* the later spirit] still crieth in my ear, The first beginner and bringer in of our religion was a wedlock-breaker, and a man of war.

And afterwards, speaking about the abolishing of *ceremonies*, the former spirit produced that of St. Paul, that the Old Testament had ordinances, and servings, and worldly holiness, &c. and other places where he spake against rites and observances, so much insisted upon by the Jews: but the latter spirit made (methinks) somewhat

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

a hard reflection upon that Apostle, saying, "There might "be a little rashness in Paul in many things, as there was "a great error in Peter in one thing. I think, if he had "been scholar to Christ, being here on earth, he would "have premeditated more, and stayed his hand in writing "and granting so much. Our Saviour, Luke xx. saith, "*The children of this world marry wives, and are mar-* "*ried; but they that will be counted worthy of the world* "*to come, and the resurrection of the dead, neither marry,* "*nor are married.* In the xixth of Matthew, he telleth of "three sorts of chastity, and the last he concludeth to be "most acceptable to God, saying, *He that can comprehend* "*the same kind of chastity, let him comprehend it.* In the "xivth of Revelation, the hundred forty-four thousand that "stood before the throne were *virgins*, who never accom- "panied with women; *even such follow the Lamb*, &c. "And yet Paul, he gives a general authority to every Bi- "shop and Minister to have a wife. Christ, in the vith of "Matthew, telleth his Apostles, that they must *fast*, and "teacheth them the true order of *fasting*. Paul saith, "*Whether we eat or eat not, we be never the worse nor* "*better.* Our Saviour we find, he alloweth and commend- "eth some ceremonies in the Law: (as, commanding to rest "on the Sabbath-day; bidding the lepers shew themselves "to the Priests:) Paul, we say, excludeth and condemneth "all." These and a great many more Popish dictates of the *later spirit* fill the paper. By this we may observe, how old this device was of proving false doctrines by the spirit, and who they are that still act the great pretenders to the spirit, and its motions within them.

CHAP. XIII.

The Bishop of Exon vindicates himself to the Archbishop against certain accusations. He deprives one Randal, of the Family of Love. The Archbishop restrains the liberty of the press. Rules for that purpose. His discouragement from great men. His letter thereof to Sir Christopher Hatton. His humanity to Cartwright. The Earl of Leicester's letter to the Archbishop thereupon: and in behalf of one Fenn. The Archbishop's letter to the Earl. Passages between Secretary Walsingham and him about the Puritans.

SOON after the Parliament was dismissed, grievous articles and accusations of misgovernment were brought against John Wolton, Bishop of Exeter, who was father-in-law to Francis Godwin, the Bishop and historian. The articles unknown, but concluded by the Bishop that was accused to be one Paget, a person disaffected to the present state of the Church, and who, at a visitation of the Bishop, had been detected of ignorance and wilful contempt of the laws. This Bishop (to give some account of him, whom some evil men had the confidence thus to find fault with) was the son of Alexander Nowel's sister, and went along with him in exile, in Queen Mary's days, into Germany, for the sake of the Gospel. He read the Divinity Lecture in Exeter twice a week for four years, and preached twice every Lord's day. He only with one more remained in the said city of Exeter, in the great plague, preaching publicly, and comforting privately such as were infected with that disease.

Anno 1585.

Articles against Wolton, Bishop of Exon, unjustly laid to him.

221

Some account of him. Literæ Epales penes me.

These articles against the good Bishop came to the Archbishop of Canterbury by way of information, to be answered to, as it seems, in the ecclesiastical commission. The Archbishop, the 29th day of April this year 1585, sent these accusations to the said Bishop; to all which he made full answers in his own just vindication, shewing how falsely and uncharitably he had been dealt withal in

The sum of the articles; and his vindication of himself.

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

the same. The articles were, 1. That he had never visited the whole diocese in his own person. 2. That he had, in his first visitation, indirectly restored certain Ministers into their places, who had been justly thrust out by Dr. Townshend, one of the visitors, for their ignorance and lewdness. 3. That in his second visitation, not liking to have men of gravity, who loved the good of the Church, he put into commission two unadvised and rash youths, to visit in his stead, who behaved themselves accordingly, to their discredit, his shame, and the grief of the godly. 4. That at his said second visitation kept at Exon, in a church near his own house, yet he himself came not at it. 5. That he preached very seldom; and that in his own benefices he might be presented for not preaching his monthly and quarterly sermons: yea, that he would be in his bed, or in his stables among his horses, or in his kitchen among his servants, when there were sermons in the church hard by his house. 6. That he sold the vicarage of Newlyn for an 100*l.* And at the same time bought a benefice for his son in Somersetshire for an 100 marks. 7. That he borrowed a loan of the Ministers of his diocese towards the payment of his *first-fruits*, which were forgiven him: but the loan not as yet repaid. 8. That he gave the archdeaconry of Exon in marriage with his daughter to one Barret, an unmeet person for such an office, having been trained up as an ordinary serving man, and unlearned. 9. And the archdeaconry of Totnes upon one Cole, who had little or nothing from it; and the profits were gathered up for the Bishop, as one Brewton, the collector, confessed; and the said Cole died deeply in debt. 10. And that since his death, the Bishop gave the same to one Sweet, who must have nothing out of it for two or three years; and must resign it, when the Bishop shall appoint him. And the same person as before gathered up the fruits thereof, as he did before. 11. That he gave the archdeaconry of Barnstable to one Lawe, his kinsman; who by his own confession had but 20*l.* by the year out of the same, and the benefice of Ashwater. 12. That he made boys and igno-

rant men Ministers; and that he made his own son Minister, being but eighteen years of age. 13. That he made his first wife's father a Minister, who had been the Duke of Somerset's cater, and a man unlearned, not having any understanding in the Latin tongue. 14. That divers persons, Priests and others, were called before him for whoredom and other notorious crimes; and he did not assign them penance, nor yet released them, but kept their matters depending, that they might bring him in gain. 15. That two harlots were got with child in his own house, which accused two of his men; but none of them brought to penance; yea, and still the men waited upon him. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1585.

These were such strong calumniations, that one would think something should stick. But the innocent Bishop gave in his answers to every particular, and sent them to the Archbishop; whereby may be seen, how unjustly and maliciously this good Prelate was charged by these accusers of the brethren: which answers being somewhat long, I have from his own paper transcribed into the Appendix. 222 Which answers he prefaced with these solemn words; "True, as I shall answer before God at the great day, and "before men upon my oath, when I shall be called to "answer." Answers given in by the Bishop to the Archbishop. Number XXII.

Whether these slanders fell upon him only because of his episcopal order, (hated by many,) or because he did not spare such in his diocese as were despisers of the orders of the Church, I know not: but I find one piece of his justice executed upon one Anthony Randal; whom, in the year 1581, he had deposed from the parsonage of Lydford, for divers heterodox assertions by him maintained. He seemed to be of the *Family of Love*, or a sort of those modern sectaries we call *Philadelphians*. For he neither approved of the Popish Church, nor yet of this of ours: and nevertheless held it not lawful to speak a word against either, because authorized by princes; until God should remove both, and settle a third: and held it lawful to comply with a false religion, settled by the magistrate. This man also was altogether for allegorizing the Scriptures; The said Bishop deposed a Minister of his diocese for unsound opinions.

BOOK III.

not regarding so much the literal sense of them, as some more hidden and mysterious. The Bishop therefore upon his acknowledging, and standing by these and other odd and unsound opinions, could not do less than deprive him. And this his doing, and likewise Randal's tenets, the Bishop sent up in his own vindication. Namely, such tenets as these; that the serpent that spake to Eve; that the fruit that Adam and Eve eat of; that the place of Paradise; that the evening and the morning, spoken of in the first chapter of Genesis, must all be understood not literally, but only spiritually and allegorically. Moreover, that as many as receive Jesus Christ and his doctrine did fully keep all the moral law, and lived pure without sinning. That the Lord's Supper and Baptism were not sacraments; because he read not the word *sacrament* in the holy Scripture. That he allowed the administration of the sacraments, because the magistrate had established it. That he was neither of this Church, nor of the Popish Church; yet he hoped there was a third Church, which should stand when both these should fall. But for these conceits of his, and the like to them, I refer the reader to the paper thereof subscribed by himself; which he will find in the Appendix.

Anno 1585.

No. XXIII.

Abuse of printing.

The liberty of the press now gave great occasion to the spreading of sects and schisms: so that many disaffected books and scurrilous libels were daily published and dispersed against the government, especially against that of the Church, in respect of its religious worship, and episcopal jurisdiction; whereby many men became prejudiced against conformity, and a peaceable compliance with the Church's orders; and their minds blown up with discontents and doubts, about the usages and present practices of the Church. The Archbishop therefore thought it highly necessary to have a strict watch there, and to stop any copies going to the press before they had been by the Bishop of the diocese, or some reverend and able persons, diligently read over and allowed. And not to permit any to be printed or published, that impugned the doctrine or

The Archbishop's care about it.

discipline; or that made any unworthy reflections upon the Queen or the State. This matter therefore the Archbishop acquainted the Queen with: and she thereupon charged him, and the Lords of her Privy Council, to see her intentions in this point duly performed: and so the Archbishop got a decree in the Star-chamber for the restraining of such books. For this was a matter that had lain before the Star-chamber; which high court consisted of the Archbishop and the Privy Council, and many other Bishops and persons of eminent quality: and accordingly were framed by the Archbishop's head, rules and ordinances in several articles, for the rectifying abuses in printing. Which, upon grave and mature deliberation, were confirmed and set forth by the authority of the Star-chamber, June the 23d, anno 28. Elizab. together with a Preface: which appears by the writing (being the hand of one of his Secretaries) to have been also made by the Archbishop. By which Preface it is evident, that this matter was taken in hand (*viz.* that rules should be appointed for printing) by the Queen's special order.

Anno 1585.

Rules by him drawn up for regulating the press.

The said Preface ran to this tenor: "Whereas sundry 223 "decrees and ordinances have upon grave advice and de- "liberation been heretofore made and practised, for the "repressing of such great enormities and abuses as of late "(more than in times past) have been commonly used and "practised by divers contemptuous and disorderly persons, "professing the art or mystery of printing and selling of "books: and yet, notwithstanding, the said abuses and "enormities are nothing abated; but (as it is found by "experience) do rather more and more increase, by the "wilful and manifest breach and contempt of the said or- "dinances, to the great displeasure and offence of the "Queen's most excellent Majesty: by reason whereof "sundry intolerable offences, troubles, and disturbances "have happened, as well in the Church as in the civil go- "vernment of the state and commonweal of this realm: "which seem to have grown, because the pains and pe- "nalties, contained and set down in the same ordinances

The Preface to them. MSS. Whitg. penes me.

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

" and decrees, have been too light and small for the cor-
" rection and punishment of so grievous and heinous of-
" fences; and so the offenders and malefactors in that be-
" half have not been so severely punished, as the quality
" of their offences have deserved:

" Her Majesty therefore, of her most godly and gracious
" disposition, being careful that speedy and due reform-
" ation be had of the abuses and disorders aforesaid; and
" that all persons using and professing the art, trade, or
" mystery of printing, or selling of books, should from
" henceforth be ruled and directed therein by some certain
" or known rules or ordinances, which should be inviolably
" kept and observed, and the breakers and offenders of the
" same to be severely and sharply punished and corrected;
" hath straitly charged and required the most reverend
" Father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the
" right honourable the Lords and others of her High-
" ness's Privy Council, to see her Majesty's said gracious
" and godly intention and purpose to be duly and effect-
" ually executed and accomplished.

" Whereupon the said most reverend Father, and the
" whole presence sitting in this honourable Court, this 23d
" day of June, in the 28th year of her Majesty's reign,
" upon grave and mature deliberation, hath ordained and
" declared, that the ordinances and constitution, rules and
" articles hereafter following, shall from henceforth by all
" persons be duly and inviolably kept and observed ac-
" cording to the tenor, purpose, and true intent and mean-
" ing of the same; as they tender her Majesty's high dis-
" pleasure, and as they will answer to the contrary at their
" utmost peril."

These orders and rules so ratified for printing, were for the reducing the number of presses. That there should be none in private places, nor any where but in London, except one in Cambridge, and another in Oxford. No more presses to be set up, until the excessive number of them already set up be abated. And this number to be ordered by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London for the time.

They, to signify the same to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' company; who should present such as they should choose to be masters and governors of presses before the ecclesiastical Commissioners. No person to print any book, unless first allowed, according to the Queen's Injunctions; and to be seen and perused by the Archbishop or Bishop of London. No book to be printed against the form and meaning of any statute or law of this realm; or any injunction set forth by the Queen or her Privy Council, or contrary to any letters patents, commissions, or prohibitions under the Great Seal of England, &c. And persons that should sell, utter, or bind willingly any such books, contrary to the intent of any ordinance or article aforesaid, to suffer three months' imprisonment. That it might be lawful for the Wardens of the said company to make search in all workhouses, shops, &c. of printers, booksellers, &c. for all such books and copies, and to seize and take them to her Majesty's use. But I had rather these orders were read, as they are set down at length in the Appendix. Numb. XXIV.

Anno 1585.

In the Archbishop's transactions for uniformity, notwithstanding the great oppositions made against him, he had the certain allowance and countenance of the Queen, his mistress, therein; and the favour likewise of other great men of the Court; as the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary, and Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain. And yet the three former had some kindness to such of the non-subscribers as were preachers, and esteemed learned; and would at least have them dispensed with. The temper and inclination of the Lord Treasurer we have already had full trial of, in what passed between him and the Archbishop related before. As for the great Earl of Leicester, he professed a great desire of unity in the Church, and yet was an earnest patron of Cartwright and others of the Puritan strain; and the former he had preferred to be master of his hospital, founded by him in Warwick. Secretary Walsingham had assured the Archbishop, in discourse

224 Some great men how affected towards his doings for uniformity.

BOOK III.

with him, that he would join with him against such as should be breakers of the orders of the Church established, and that moved contention therein. And yet even he also made an earnest application now to the Archbishop in favour of one Wood, a Minister of Kent, that was but the last year deprived for his obstinacy; and he but a man of mean parts, of whom we have had some account given already, and shall hear more by and by. And for his necessary proceedings with this sort of men, his Grace had received sometimes even from these his friends very hard words.

Anno 1585.

Wood, a Minister in Kent.

But Hatton was his fast and entire friend and confident; and shewed little or no favour to these wayward Ministers, or any of them. To him therefore the Archbishop opened now his bosom, with some regret: signifying, "How "strange it was, that these great men should stand so va- "riously affected as they did. That to this purport it "was, that not long since he had received unkind speeches "where he least looked for them; and that only for doing "his duty in that most necessary work he had in hand. "And he marvelled how it should come to pass, that the "self-same persons would seem to wish peace and uni- "formity in the Church, and to mislike of the contentions "of the disobedient sort; and yet could not abide that any "thing should be done against them: wishing rather the "whole ministry of the land to be discountenanced and "discouraged, than a few wayward persons (of no account "in comparison) suppressed and punished." He said further to his friend, "That men in executing the law accord- "ing to their duties were wont to be encouraged and "backed by such; but that now it fell out clean contrary. "*Disobedience and wilful persons* (he would, he said, term "them no worse) were animated, laws contemned, her "Majesty's will and pleasure little regarded, and execu- "tors thereof in word and deed abused. And though (as "he went on) these overthwarts grieved him, yet, he "thanked God, they could not withdraw him from doing "his duty in this case, which he was persuaded God him-

Opens his mind to Sir Christopher Hatton concerning some great men.

Collect. of Whitgift's Lett. MSS. G. H.

" self, her Majesty, the laws of this State, of this Church " and commonwealth, did require of him. In respect " whereof he was content, as he said, to sustain all their " displeasures, and fully resolved to depend upon none but " upon God and her Majesty."

Upon Hatton's kind message to him.

This was the sum of a secret letter, dated July 16th, which he wrote to the beforesaid Hatton, (a person in great favour with the Queen,) occasioned by an obliging message he had sent to the Archbishop a little before, by Mr. Kemp, a trusty servant of his. For perceiving what affronts the Archbishop endured, and what toils he underwent, he thought fit by the said messenger to assure him how sensible he was of his cares; and that he would take all opportunities to recommend him to her Majesty's favour and countenance; and signifying how well affected she stood unto him, and to the labours he sustained in her service towards the Church; that he would always, as occasion should serve, solicit his suits unto her. This message mightily alleviated his troubled mind, and administered great comfort to him: and by his letter, " he re- " turned his Honour most hearty thanks for that his most 225 " friendly message, and should think himself bound unto " him therefore, as long as he should live. For it had not " a little comforted him. And that by offering him that " great courtesy, he had offered him as great a pleasure as " he could desire. Adding, that her Majesty must be his " refuge: and therefore beseeched Hatton that he might " use him, as he meant to do, whensoever occasion should " serve; whereof he assured himself, and therein rested."

Cartwright spoken favourably of by the Lord Treasurer.

Mr. Cartwright had the favour both of the Lord Treasurer and the Earl aforesaid. The former Lord had spoken favourably of him in the last Parliament. For it seems he had represented himself in so humble and modest a guise to that good nobleman, that it made him have a regard to him. So that by his means his peace was obtained, who had been in some trouble before: which favour the said Cartwright, in a Latin letter to him, dated in June, thankfully acknowledged. And that what he had said of

BOOK III.

him in that most noble Senate of the whole kingdom, namely, of his quiet behaviour when he was abroad, he could not pass over in silence; and likewise of that testimony he gave of him; which as it delivered him from his present trouble, so it manifested the good reputation his ministry had abroad among all men. For upon Cartwright's return home from abroad, (where he had been five years, and officiated as a Minister of the Church of England to some English factories there,) officers were sent to apprehend him as a promoter of sedition; and he was cast into prison as a turbulent person. Though in another letter to the said Lord he told him, that he had shewed himself, as much as he could, to live peaceably abroad.

Anno 1585.

Cum ad præsentem e malo liberationem, tum ad ministerii mei transmarini honestam inter omnes existimationem. *Epist. Cart. D. Thesaur.*

The Archbishop courteous to him.

The Archbishop also, whose natural temper was mild, (notwithstanding his earnestness in these public matters, wherein the safety and peace of the Church was concerned,) was very courteous unto his old antagonist; who seemed now to have been brought to a more peaceable disposition and resolution, not at all to make any disturbance in the practice and devotions used in this Church. For which the Archbishop received him kindly, and promised him all friendship. And this took, as it appeared outwardly, so much with him, that he expressed it very affectionately to his patron, the Earl of Leicester. And the Earl thereupon signified to his Grace, how kindly he himself took his great civility towards Cartwright at his hand, and heartily thanked him for it: adding, that he reckoned it would do that Minister much good, meaning, as it seems, in bringing him into a better opinion of the Church. And so prayed the Archbishop to continue his favour to him, and to allow him now and then to visit him.

Which the Earl of Leicester thanked him for. Epist. et Chart. Whitg.

For after this manner the said Earl wrote to the Archbishop in the month of July: "That he most heartily "thanked him for his favourable and courteous usage to- "wards Mr. Cartwright: and that the said Minister had "so exceeding kindly taken it also, as he assured his

"Grace he could not speak enough of it. That he trusted "it would do him a great deal of good. And that Cart- "wright had professed and protested to him[*i. e.* the Earl] "to take no other courses, [in discharge of his duty at the "Earl's hospital at Warwick,] but to draw all men to the "unity of the Church. Telling the said Earl, that his "Grace had so dealt with him, as no man should so com- "mand him, and dispose of him, as he should: and that "he did mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even "in the pulpit, (if his Grace so permitted him,) what he "himself should do, and all others should do, for obedi- "ence to the laws established. And that if any little scru- "ple were, it was not great, and easy to be reformed by "his Grace. And the Earl then very earnestly entreated "him to continue his favour and countenance towards "him, with such access sometimes, as his leisure might "permit. For that he perceived Cartwright did much de- "sire and crave it." But the main plot that lay at the bottom of these loving words, both of the Earl and that Minister, was to obtain a licence from the Archbishop for him to preach without subscription; as he understood well enough, as we shall see by and by. Anno 1585. 226

The said Earl at the same time interceded for another of this party, that seemed more stiff than Cartwright; namely, one Fenne, whom the Archbishop likewise had set at liberty, and shewed great humanity to. For which the Earl thanked the Archbishop most heartily; though he understood, as he added, that he was somewhat more opinionative than he could wish. But that he trusted that he would also yield to reason: and that he meant to deal with the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, [to whose diocese, it seems, he was to be sent,] to make some trial of him. Surely, added the Earl, he is an honest man. And so concluded his letter to the Archbishop, with his prayers to God to bless his Church, and to make his servants constant and faithful. And so bade him farewell. Written from the Court the 14th of July, subscribing him- And for his kindness to Fenne, another Puritan.

BOOK III.

self, "Your Grace's very assured friend, Robert Ley-"cester."

Anno 1585.

The Archbishop's to the Earl of Leicester, concerning Cartwright.

To which seemingly kind letter of this great man, (who inwardly loved not the Archbishop, whatever courtly pretence he made,) he three days after in due respect gave this wary answer: "That Mr. Cartwright should be welcome "to him at all time: and that using himself so as became "him, (and as he hoped he would,) he should find him "willing to do him any good. But to grant unto him, as "yet, his licence to preach, without longer trial, he could "not: especially seeing he protested himself to be of the "same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the "matter thereof, though not for the manner: he himself "also, he thanked God, not altered in any point of his set "down to the contrary: and knowing many things [in his "book] to be very dangerous. And that therefore not-"withstanding he was content and ready to be at peace "with him, so long as he lived peaceably; yet did his "conscience and duty forbid him to give unto him any "further approbation, until he might be better persuaded "of his conformity. And so being bold, as he added, to "use his accustomed plainness with his good Lordship, he "committed him to the tuition of Almighty God."

Walsingham solicits the Archbishop for one Wood, a Puritan.

About this time also did Sir Francis Walsingham apply to the Archbishop to favour one Lever Wood, a Kentish Minister of mean parts, but of great stiffness; who for his obstinacy had been deprived the last year. This man had gotten access to the said Secretary, and had obtained a favourable message in his behalf from him to our Archbishop: using it as an argument to prevail with the Archbishop, that he found him very conformable, and willing to observe the orders of the Church; and had subscribed a paper of articles to that effect. Which Walsingham was apt to think might satisfy the Archbishop, (as he told him,) though he did not subscribe in the words required. This man had some suit to the Queen; and Walsingham was minded to give him his assistance therein, in case he

should hear from the Archbishop a good report of the man. But upon this message he put the Secretary in mind of some passages that in conversation together fell from him; wherein he had given his word to the Archbishop, to join with him against all these new reformers, that would not acquiesce in the religion established: putting him in mind also, of further discourse with him to the same purport, when he was lately at Lambeth. At which time the Archbishop had declared his mind to him, how favourably he intended to proceed in these matters: which gave the said Secretary great satisfaction. Anno 1585.

Secretary Walsingham's advice to the Archbishop concerning subscription.

For the Secretary had observed the clamour and noise made, and withal the danger that might thence ensue to the Church, by reason of the three articles, so strictly required by the Archbishop to be subscribed by all without exception, as well those that had livings already, and were legally instituted therein, as such as should hereafter take orders and cures upon them. Therefore he thought fit to repair to Lambeth, and there gave his secret advice to the Archbishop, that it would stop in a great measure complaints that were frequently brought to Court, and withal tend much to the easing of his own great pains and labour; if he would require the said subscription only of 227 such as were hereafter to enter into livings or the ministry. But as for such as were Ministers and incumbents of benefices already, to let them alone to proceed in the discharge of their ministry, upon condition to give a writing under their hands to read the Common Prayer in their churches according to the usages and laws prescribed for the same. Which good counsel, proceeding from so wise a man, the Archbishop promised readily to comply withal.

But as for Wood's subscription before mentioned, it was of such a nature that he left himself at liberty to do as he pleased; as the Archbishop observed in his answer to the said Secretary. Which deserves to be set down at length, as I found it among an authentic collection of letters and papers of this Archbishop. Which I shall the rather do, though there be a copy of it already printed in Fuller's Eccles. Hist. b. x. p. 162.

BOOK III.

Ecclesiastical History of Britain; it being somewhat faultily transcribed, and put under a wrong year, *viz.* 1583.

Anno 1585. The Archbishop's letter to Walsingham. Liter. et Chart. Whitgift.

"First, the Archbishop expressed his thanks to him for "his letters wrote unto him in behalf of Lever Wood. "And therein perceived the performance of his honour- "able speeches to him, in promising to join with him "against such as should be breakers of the orders of the "Church established, and movers of contention therein. "That upon that and other like speeches of his with him "[the Archbishop] at his last being at Lambeth, he had "forborne to suspend or deprive any man already placed in "any cure or charge, for not subscribing only; if hereafter "he would promise unto him in writing to observe the "Book of Common Prayer, and the orders of the Church "by law set down. And that he did now require sub- "scription to the same articles of such only as were to be "admitted into the ministry and to ecclesiastical livings. "Wherein he found himself something eased of his former "troubles. And that none, or very few of the last named "persons, did refuse to subscribe to the said articles, "though some of them had been accounted heretofore "very precise. That he also remembered that it was his "own wish and desire, that such as hereafter should be "admitted to any living, should in like manner be tied to "the observing of orders. Which as it had already "wrought some quietness in the Church, so he did not "doubt but it would in time perfect the same. And that "he could not break that order in one, but others would "look for the like favour; to the renewing and increasing "the former schism*, not yet already extinguished. "Wherefore he heartily prayed him to join with him "herein.

* Atheism. *Full.*

"That as touching the articles inclosed in his [the Se- "cretary's] letter, whereunto Lever Wood had subscribed, "they were (the Archbishop said) of no moment; but such "as might easily be eluded†. For whereas he first said, "(in his articles,) that he would willingly subscribe, as far "as the law required at his hands, his meaning was, the

† Deluded. *Full.*

" law required no such subscription. For so he [the Arch-
" bishop] was informed, that some lawyers (therein de-
" ceived) had persuaded him and others. And again, in
" saying, that he would always in his ministry use the Book
" of Common Prayer, and none else, his meaning was, that
" he would use but so much of the Book as pleased him;
" and not that he would use all things in the Book required
" of him. The Archbishop added, that he had dealt with
" him in some particularities; [as perhaps, the cross in
" baptism, the ring in marriage, &c.] which he denied to
" use. And therefore (as the Archbishop concluded) his
" subscription was to small purpose. He subjoined, that
" he would as near as he could provide *, that none should
" hereafter come into the Church to breed new troubles.
" That he could be better occupied, and God would bless
" their [*i. e.* the Bishops'] labours more amply, and give
" better success to the word, so commonly and diligently
" preached, if we could (said he) be at peace and quietness
" among ourselves, which he most heartily wished, and
" doubted not to bring to pass by God's grace; the rather
" through his [the Secretary's] good help and assistance.
" Whereof he assured himself. And so with his most 228
" hearty prayers, commended his Honour to the tuition of
" the Almighty."

* Promise. *Full.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. XIV.

The Earl of Leicester requires the Archbishop's judgment about the Queen's defence of the Netherlands. His wary answer. The Bishop of Sarum's discourse of the lawfulness of the Queen's preventing their being forced to idolatry. Another paper, Whether the Queen be bound by the word of God to assist the United Provinces: *supposed to be the Archbishop's writing. Labours to stop a commission for enhancing the first-fruits and tenths of the Clergy. Motion made for Mr. Daniel Rogers to be Treasurer of St. Paul's. The Dean's reasons against it. The controversy between Hooker and Travers. The Archbishop's judgment thereon.*

Anno 1585. The Archbishop's judgment required about the Queen's aiding the Low Countries against King Philip.

A WEIGHTY motion was made this summer, about the month of July, to the Archbishop by the Earl of Leicester; namely, to declare what his judgment was for the Queen's assistance of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, so grievously now oppressed by Philip, King of Spain: and requiring of him, how it came to pass that the Bishops, and especially himself, had not interposed their advice, upon the so earnest solicitations of those Low Countries, that her Majesty would take upon her the defence of that miserably distressed people. This great affair had been already concluded upon at Court by the great men about the Queen; though she herself was very tender of entering into this open breach with Spain. The lofty Earl expected this mighty addition to the rest of his honours and titles, to lead and govern her forces in those countries for their relief. But now, that the Queen might be fully fixed and determined, and that he might go with the greater glory and hope of success, he wanted the Archbishop's approbation of the lawfulness and expediency of this counsel, to be opened by him to the Queen; unless it were to ensnare him, who seemed not so forward in promoting of this undertaking as some others were. But to relate the matter more particularly: The Earl called for Alexander

Nevyl, (a man of some reputation, and that had formerly lived with Archbishop Parker,) and ordered him to attend upon his Grace with the aforesaid message. But upon some urgent business, Nevyl was forced to deliver this message by letter to the said Archbishop. Anno 1585.

The import whereof was, "That he had presumed to "signify to him in writing as much as his Lordship im- "parted to him late last night: *viz.* That his Lordship "knew his Grace's great wisdom and unfeigned zeal which "he bore unto the Church and commonweal; and there- "fore wondered not a little, that in this long time of con- "sultation about the Low Countries' causes, his Grace and "his brethren (but especially his Grace) had not declared "their minds unto her Majesty; the rather to stir her "Highness to the enterprising of so honourable an action. "That his Lordship doubted not but his Grace was fully 229
"persuaded, that it was a cause of special consequence; "and that there was so great necessity, both in respect of "the Church and commonweal, to enter into the action; "that the cause could not be abandoned without manifold "inconveniences and extreme danger to them both. And "that the misery thereof, as it was like to redound to the "whole body of the commonweal, so could it not but "specially afflict the Church, and men of his Grace's pro- "fession. And therefore he most earnestly advised his "Grace to take the matter sadly into his consideration. "And that as God, as he proceeded, had placed his Grace "highest in degree in the Church, so to yield unto the "Church and commonweal that duty, which now, in this "peril and danger wherein they stood, at his Grace's hand "principally they seemed to challenge. To the honour- "able and christian discharge whereof, the Earl said, his "Grace had now a very fit opportunity offered him; in "case his Grace (as in conscience he persuaded himself "he was bound to do) would to that end deal effectually "with her Majesty. And further he continued his speech, "that he was fully persuaded, his Grace could do nothing "at this time, to God more acceptable, to the Church and

The Earl of Leicester's message to him for the same. Collect. of Lett. and Pap. of Whitg.

BOOK III.

" commonweal more profitable, and to himself more ho-
" nourable."

Anno 1585.

This, as Mr. Nevyl added, was as he remembered the substance of that which he was commanded to signify unto his Grace. The further consideration whereof he referred to his honourable wisdom. And so craving pardon, in very great haste took his leave from his house in London, the 19th of July, 1585.

The Archbishop answers warily.

To which the Archbishop gave this wary answer under his own hand in eight articles. Which I suppose he sent to the said Earl; and a copy thereof to the Lord Treasurer; whom he thought fit to acquaint with this matter. " First, it is a matter of council and of state; wherewith it " becometh none to intermeddle, but such as are called " thereunto. 2. I know not her Majesty's ability to main-
" tain and defend that which they require of her. 3. Some " of calling have openly given it out, that these wars must " be maintained by the dissolution of cathedral churches: " which God forbid. 4. If her Majesty should be per-
" suaded at my motion, and not rather by their Lord-
" ships', who best know the state of things, then, if it " should fall out otherwise than well, or that effect not " follow which is looked for, the whole blame would be " laid on me; as the loss of Calais was on Bishop Thurl-
" bie. 5. It was not long since, that I was something " hardly used for a surmised conference in a matter of " religion of another state. [He meant of Scotland; which " Beal had laid to his charge.] 6. God's providence and " goodness, in defending and relieving the oppressed, pre-
" vaileth without extraordinary and doubtful means. 7. " The constant report hath been, and is, that her Majesty " is pleased to give them aid. And to that end soldiers " are levied, as common opinion is. And therefore my " motion therein should be needless. 8. I wish with all my " heart great compassion be had to them; and think that " (their cause being religion) they ought to be relieved by " all lawful ways and means possible. But if any further " thing be required, I must be resolved of the lawfulness

" thereof, and know what it is, before I use any persua-
" sions thereunto."

Anno 1585.

The matter looked indeed but as a trial of the Archbishop, since, as he observed truly, his persuasions used to the Queen would come too late, when this aiding of the Low Countries was resolved upon already. For on the 26th of June, (which was the month before,) the deputies from the States of the Netherlands came to London. And on the 29th day of the same, they made a solemn oration to her, then at Greenwich. And after they had therein shewed their sad condition and wretched usage under King Philip, they presented unto her the sovereignty of those provinces of Brabant, Gueldres, Flanders, Holland, &c. And she, by direction of her wise and politic Council, inclined her heart at length to the ease and protection of that oppressed people. And in October following came forth a *Declaration of the Causes* moving the Queen of England to give aid to the afflicted of the Low Countries. Which was printed in the Latin, Italian, and English tongues. And the foresaid Earl of Leicester she appointed her Lieutenant General of all her forces there, as he seemed to be ambitious of.

And the Queen had taken them into her protection before. Stow, Annal.

230

The case concerning the Low Countries put to the Bishop of Sarum.

But to return back a little. As the Archbishop was moved (whatever was the reason) to persuade the Queen, after the resolution was taken; so there was another Bishop consulted withal in due time, *viz.* in the month of June, namely, Piers, Bishop of Sarum, the Queen's Almoner; who was required also to give his judgment in this great point of state. But it was propounded to him by way of question in divinity; not as a matter of policy. Which might give umbrage to the Archbishop to decline, as much as he could, giving his judgment. The case then put to this Bishop, as a case of conscience, propounded (in that way) the better perhaps to satisfy the Queen, was, " Whether a prince may defend the subjects of another " prince from being forced to commit idolatry?" This case had regard to the inquisition set up in the Low Countries, in the most outrageous and tyrannical manner against the

BOOK III.

poor people that had indeed no disposition to Popery. There were other previous questions first of all moved to this Bishop. To all which the said Bishop, being a Court Prelate, gave his resolutions more roundly. The discourse is somewhat long, and therefore I have cast it into the Appendix, to be read there. But the sum, in short, of the Bishop's answer to the main question, was this, "That a "Christian prince might do it in respect of his duty to "God, the commonwealth, and his neighbour. But these "means at first to be used; *viz.* entreaty with the prince "under whom they live, by letters, messages, and em- "basies: putting the people in mind of their duty by "some convenient way: going thither himself in person "to destroy idolatry. So shewing the duty of a good "prince; which is to maintain the glory of God. And "his blessing is upon them that do it: and the contrary "upon them that do it not. He may add unto these means, "threatenings. And if no other way will serve, he may "defend them with the sword. But herein two things "are to be avoided, covetousness and ambition. That the "magistrate is bound to love God with all his heart, and "mind, and spirit. But it might be counted but a very small "love and zeal towards God, to suffer, in any place of the "Church, his dishonour. That God hath made kings "nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers. That the "Church is catholic, dispersed through all the world. And "it is the part of a nurse, both to feed the Church, and to "defend the same; to nourish and cherish it. And that the "safety of the one state and kingdom, and also of religion "and quiet peace in the same, doth likewise require it."

Anno 1585.

No. XXV.

Then the Bishop proceeded to give examples of this matter in Ezechias and Josias, good Kings, and Constantine the Emperor. Which last concerned himself for some Christians in Persia, under the government of Sapores, King of Persia. And that Sozomen, the ecclesiastical historian, writes of him, that his care was every where for the good estate of the Christians; whether they were Romans, or of foreign nations. That Theodosius, another

good Emperor, aided Valentinianus against Maximus the tyrant; for the quietness of his kingdom, and the rooting out of the tyrant. And withal, as Ruffinus writeth, restored the Catholic faith (which had been violated) and the kingdom, by depressing tyranny. And afterwards went back to his own kingdom, &c. But I refer the reader for this whole discourse of the Bishop to the Appendix, number aforesaid. Anno 1585.

There is another paper, among the MSS. in the Lambeth library, concerning the cause of the Queen's assisting the United Provinces, which hath neither date nor name of the writer; but I am apt to conclude it to be our Archbishop's judgment in that matter, (so cautiously delivered,) it being propounded as a case of conscience, for the use, as it seems, of her Majesty. For it is set down in these words, "Whether her Majesty be bound by the word of 231
"God to assist the United Provinces against the King of
"Spain?" To which the answer follows: wherein the resolutions of the foresaid Bishop are considered: Resolution of the case, whether the Queen be bound to assist the United Provinces.

"The question, I think, cannot be discussed by divinity, Lamb. Lib. MSS. Fol. vol. 178.
"except it first be cleared, whether their causes be just
"or not. If they be the King of Spain's subjects, then it
"is not lawful, I think, to assist them, although they pre-
"tend the cause of religion. For if her Majesty's subjects
"in Ireland should rebel, pretending a cause of religion, it
"would be thought an injury, if the King of Spain should
"assist them. *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris.*
"This rule holdeth as well among princes, in respect of
"their dealings one with another, as among private men.

"If the assisting of them in this case might apparently
"advance the cause of religion; yet were it lawful, *Facere*
"*malum, ut inde veniat bonum,* Rom. iii. 8. God is both
"able and willing, I doubt not, to defend his own cause
"by lawful means.

"If it be objected, that as many as profess Christian
"religion be all members of one body; and must accord-
"ingly be relieved: it is true in a good sense. But we
"are either called members of one spiritual body; and so

BOOK III. Anno 1585.

"Christ is our head; whose doctrine must direct our charity: or else, all Christians are several members of several politic bodies; the heads whereof are the magistrates. And in this case the head of one body may not assist the feet of another against the head. For it were to invert the order of nature.

"The Papists hold, that subjects, by the Pope's direction, may take arms against their princes. But Christian religion never maintained any such doctrine.

"If they be not the King of Spain's subjects; but do lawfully seek to maintain themselves, and the cause of religion, against such a tyranny, and do pray assistance of her Majesty; then I think they ought to be relieved. "*Omnia quæcunque vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, ita "et vos facite illis.* Matt. vii.

"If it be objected, that the assisting of them may endanger her Majesty; yet considering the necessity and manifest peril, if overthrown, both of them [are in] and their just cause; I think her Highness is to depend upon the providence of God, and bound to assist them. For God will ever defend those that are more careful of his glory, than of their own estate. *Primum quærite regnum Dei, et reliqua omnia adjicientur vobis.* Matt. vi.

"This last clause doth admit this exception; that if the assisting of them, and the cause of religion in those countries, be, as it were, an evident endangering of the cause of God in our own; especially the maintenance of religion here being of greater importance to God's glory, than the maintenance of it there, then her Majesty is not so bound. For, *ordinaria charitas incipit a seipso.*

"If the question were, whether all the Protestant princes were bound to join their forces against the tyranny of the Pope and the Spaniard, considering their league and purpose, I think it were not only lawful, but very necessary."

Dr. Bilson's True Difference, p. 521.

To clear somewhat spoken doubtfully in the former paper, *viz.* Whether these Netherlanders were the King of Spain's subjects; let me subjoin what a learned Divine in

those times (afterwards Bishop of Winchester) wrote, to justify the Flemmings defending of themselves against that King: "What reason had that King to alter their state, "and avert their ancient laws? That he was not King, "but Earl, of Flanders. And being admitted for a pro- "tector, he would needs become an oppressor. Why "should they not defend the freedom of their country?" But we proceed to other matters. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1585.

The beneficed Clergy were again in very great danger in regard of their revenues, by the advancing of the *first-fruits* and *tenths;* motion having been made for the Queen's farming them out. And there was a great talk of a commission taking out for the enhancing of them, in order thereunto. Now was a time for the good Archbishop, born for the good of this poor Church, and the Ministers of it, to lay out all his learning and interest to put some stop to this mischievous project. And for this purpose he drew up an excellent paper, consisting of twenty arguments and considerations, shewing the inconveniences that would arise by farming out the *first-fruits* and *tenths*, and by a commission to enhance the same. Which paper he carefully sent to the Lord Burghley (whom it chiefly concerned, being the chief manager of the Queen's treasure) to consider of, and how little it was like to answer the design, but certainly destructive of the good estate of the Clergy. This paper was sent to him the 23d of August, 1585, endorsed by the same Lord Treasurer with these words, *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Informations.* 232 The Archbishop labours to prevent a commission for enhancing first-fruits and tenths.

Therein the Archbishop shewed, "how the Clergy of "England nowadays died very poor, in respects of for- "mer times, because of wives and children; charges "growing in the two or three first years of their in- "cumbencies, &c. restraint to take any farms, or to "buy or sell, as heretofore; decay of oblations, pilgrim- "ages, mortuaries, and personal tithes, and by men's un- "conscionable paying of their tithes. That they would "not be able to procure sureties, if the rates should be His considerations offered to the Lord Treasurer for that purpose.

BOOK III.

Anno 1585. "greater. That there was a great inequality and want "of proportion already betwixt the contribution of the "Clergy, (viz. *tenths* every year, and *first-fruits* at first "entrance,) and of those of the laity; who pay no *tenths* "at all, nor *primier seisin*, but those that hold of the "Prince, and that at a very easy rate. That it would "utterly decay the study of divinity, by discouraging the "students thereof: and so at length bring in barbarism. "That there wanted not divers that murmured at these "payments, and had written against them as inconvenient "and unlawful, [meaning some of the Puritans.] And so "it might be feared a new imposition would make a new "stir. That under the Pope, *first-fruits* were only paid "of bishoprics and other great livings: *tenths* not paid "ordinarily, but upon urgent occasions. Therefore new "impositions might open the adversaries' mouths yet "more to accuse her Majesty's government; and persuade "weaklings to withdraw themselves from us. That it "would breed a great discontent by the disgrace offered, "when their livings alone, and above all other English "men's, should be so sifted and burdened; as happened "27. or 28. of Hen. VIII. How much more would it be "odious now in this poverty of the Clergy, if the Prince "should for a set rent give them over to the spoil of a "subject. That if, upon a new inquiry, ecclesiastical liv- "ings should be charged at a higher rate, the arrearages "of the new surplusages since the 26th of Hen. VIII. "lighting upon the present incumbents (as a real charge "upon their churches) being very great, would drive all "such to forsake their benefices; and no man after to "dare to meddle with them." I omit a great deal more the Archbishop argued with great strength against this design. He concluded, "That where in every Parliament, "and especially in the last, there were great exclamations "against an unlearned ministry, if this suit should be "granted, it would increase the number of unlearned "Ministers; and drive the learned and other students to "some other trade of life more gainful. For every water-

"man on the Thames, as he added, earned more by his "labour, than several Ministers in England would do by "their benefices. That it should be considered, whether "it were not the meaning of the preferers of this suit, or "of some others moving them thereunto, to bring such "of the Clergy as they pleased into bondage and awe, for "fear of enhancing their livings. Whereby it might come "to pass, that the wayward sort should be greatly counte- "nanced and increased, and such as were dutiful in ob- "serving the laws discountenanced and decreased, which "was very likely intended; that they which could not 233 "prevail in Parliament might this way be revenged." But I refer the reader to the Appendix for the whole paper, very notably penned by the Archbishop. Anno 1585. No. XXVI.

We hear no more of this, which had been moved undoubtedly by some that bare ill-will to the Clergy; and that having likewise the greedy disease of covetousness, thought to swallow up the Church's revenues. But it took not place. And this good office to the Church, we must in a great measure attribute to our Archbishop's industry and writings, both in this and the year before; and to the Lord Treasurer, convinced by his arguments, putting a stop thereunto for the present: but moved again (as we shall hear) hereafter. Which created more work for the Archbishop.

We shall now relate a few passages of more personal and private concern, wherein the Archbishop had some dealing or influence.

Motion made for Mr. Rogers, a layman, to be Treasurer of St. Paul's, opposed.

The Archbishop had been moved (in the month of December or sooner) in behalf of Mr. Daniel Rogers, a learned and well-deserving man, son (if I mistake not) to John Rogers, sometime Reader of Divinity in St. Paul's, London, and one of the first translators of the Bible into English, and the first martyr for the Gospel under Queen Mary. This Daniel had been the Queen's agent abroad in Germany and other northern parts many years: and now he was in the eye of the Court for preferment. The Lord Treasurer, by instructions from the Queen, had spoken to

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

the Archbishop, in order to her conferring on him the treasurership of St. Paul's, then near vacant by Dr. Westphaling, ere long to be preferred to the bishopric of Hereford. And, if that could not be without some violence used to the statutes of that Church, that he would find out some exchange: that some of the Queen's Chaplains that had preferment of equal value might be removed hither, to make room for Rogers there, without infringing the laws of the Church. This matter the Archbishop imparted to Alexander Nowel, the worthy and well-deserving Dean of that church. Who, knowing how contrary this would be to admit a layman into that place, that by their statutes and ordinances was to be occupied by an ecclesiastical Minister or *Priest*, (as he was called in the ancient statutes,) earnestly endeavoured to avoid this, however dear Mr. Rogers was to him. And therefore, (besides an humble petition to the Queen by the members of that Church, that she would not urge such a thing upon them,) the Dean despatched a letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated the first of January this year: shewing him, how it could not consist with their foundation: and entreating him [the said Lord Treasurer] that he would use all his interest with the Queen, that such a thing might not be put upon them: and withal acquainted him with the small ability of the Archbishop to do any thing in this matter. I shall set down the sum of this letter, (the effect of his consultation with the Archbishop,) wherein the good Dean interposed for the right of the church, and all other churches of the land; and shewed what great inconveniences might follow to the state of the Church in general, in case such a thing should take place.

Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, to the Lord Treasurer about this matter.

His letter, with his reasons against it.

"That as he was right glad to hear of her Majesty's "great desire to prefer Mr. Rogers, so worthy a man, and "his very good friend; so to his good Lordship's letter "concerning their statutes, (the which he thought not so "strict to require that their Treasurer should be a preacher,) "he was to answer even as it was contained in the humble "supplication they of that church had made to her Ma-

"jesty, and as they had declared unto Mr. Rogers him-
"self: to wit, that he who was to be admitted to the
"office of their Treasurer, that had three several benefices
"annexed unto it, must, by the statutes of their church,
"be an ecclesiastical Minister or Clergyman. Which term
"they used in respect of this time, rather than the name
"of *Priest*, or *one within Orders to say Mass*, used in
"their old statutes. And they said, that he must be a
"preacher; for that sithen massing was put down, every
"Prebendary was by the orders of their church bounden
"to preach, and had his peculiar time of preaching in their
"church appointed to him. And that to the keeping of
"these statutes and ordinances, with many other, (as far 234
"as they were not against God's and her Majesty's laws,)
"both they were already sworn, and he who was by them
"to be admitted to the office of their Treasurer must be
"likewise sworn, to keep the same statutes and ordinances.
"Which he could not see how he, being a layman, or them-
"selves, could perform, without danger of perjury.

"That besides this oath, general to all their Preben-
"daries, their Treasurer was to take another special oath of
"fidelity to the Dean and Chapter. For that he ought to
"see the muniments and evidences of their church kept in
"safety. And that all the new cathedral churches, founded
"by her Majesty's father of most famous memory; and
"the church of Westminster, founded by her gracious
"Majesty; were (as they verily thought) according to
"these old statutes by their foundation, *De uno Decano*
"*Presbytero, et Præbendariis Presbyteris.* For the which
"cause; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace,
"and for that he knew not which of her Majesty's Chap-
"lains had a prebend of like value to their treasurership,
"could not return any certain answer to his Lordship
"concerning any exchange to be made."

The Dean then went on to shew with what strictness they of that church had observed their statutes in this point, by some instances, *viz.* "That Dr. Pennye had a "prebend given unto him without any ecclesiastical cure

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

" annexed. But when he changed his preaching into the " practice of physic, he was deprived thereof. And when " the Lord Bishop of London had given to his son, a " young man, a prebend, having likewise no ecclesiastical " cure annexed unto it, that they, though being long and " much importuned, yet did refuse a great while to admit " him thereunto: neither was he admitted at the last, but " with this condition, that he should within short time " enter into the ecclesiastical ministry: else his prebend " to become void, even as though he were dead. And that " with like strictness they had hitherto endeavoured to " observe their statutes.

" And that if any ecclesiastical person not preaching, or " layman possessing ecclesiastical livings, should (as he " feared) secretly otherwise inform her Majesty, or any of " her most honourable Council; or of Dr. Westphaling's " seldom preaching in their church; (which his Lordship " had noted in his letter;) or of the slackness of others in " preaching, thereby to make their possession of eccle- " siastical livings to seem more tolerable; and withal to " make an entrance to the treasurership, charged with so " many ecclesiastical cures, to a layman, no preacher; " that the like might follow in the deanery, shortly to be " void by his extreme age and much sickliness: and con- " sequently in other the dignities and chief prebends of " their church, best able to maintain learned preachers; " to the great decay of the church, and preaching of the " Gospel: which her Majesty had thus long so graciously " maintained."

He further added in this case, (the ill consequences thereof so nearly touching their church, if Mr. Rogers, so unqualified, were admitted to this place,) " That he would " be right glad, before her gracious Majesty, (if it so might " be,) or before his honourable Lordship, and others of her " Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to be admitted " to make his answer to these men; that the truth (which, " as he doubted, was by some secret dealings, he said, " much obscured) might manifestly appear. And then,

" (applying himself more particularly to the favour of this
" Lord,) that he was most humbly to beseech him in be-
" half of their poor church, [of St. Paul's,] or rather of the Anno 1585.
" whole Church of England, to be a means to her gracious
" Majesty, that their Treasurer's office, charged with three
" benefices, and being, though not great in value, one of
" the chief dignities of their church, (which was of all
" other churches most in the eyes of the whole realm,)
" might be bestowed upon an ecclesiastical person and
" learned preacher; whereby the preaching of the Gospel,
" so long by her gracious Majesty maintained, might still
" be continued. In the which, by the preachers and great
" multitudes of their hearers, her Majesty's faithful sub-
" jects, her Majesty might continually and most heartily 235
" be prayed for. And that their poor church should by
" this benefit be bounden (as it was already most bound)
" continually to pray for her most gracious Majesty's long,
" and long most gracious reign over them; and for his
" honourable Lordship's long and godly life. And thus
" most humbly taking his leave, he commended his good
" Lordship to the most blessed protection of Almighty
" God, dated Jan. 1, 1585. Subscribing himself,

" Your honourable Lordship's at commandment,

" Alexander Nowel."

By way of postscript, he added,

" The value of our Treasurer's office is esteemed about
" 54*l.* yearly. The tenths, subsidies, and a yearly pension
" of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* going out of it, being deducted, remaineth
" clear to the Treasurer about 36*l.* or 37*l.*

" I have thought good herein to inclose certain words
" contained in her Majesty's foundation of her Highness's
" church at Westminster; whereof I was sometime a Pre-
" bendary.

" *Eandem Ecclesiam Collegiatam, de uno Decano Pres-*
" *bytero, et duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, tenore præ-*
" *sentium, realiter et ad plenum, pro nobis, hæredibus et*
" *successoribus nostris, creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordi-*

BOOK III. "*namus, facimus, constituimus et stabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam,*" &c.

Anno 1585. Thus the Archbishop left this good Dean to plead the case of his own church; and in his, and all others. And I hope it took place.

Hooker and Travers disagree in their sermons at the Temple.

We heard under the last year how Mr. Hooker was placed Master of the Temple, and appointed to be preacher to that honourable society; and how he obtained it against Mr. Travers. Yet Travers continued to be Lecturer there. And here began another contest between them. Hooker was a true man to the Church as established: Travers was not so. Hooker had hopes of our forefathers that died Papists: Travers would not allow them to be saved. Hooker was for *universal* redemption; and taught the decrees of God concerning the salvation of mankind by Jesus Christ in more latitude. Travers was for the more rigid way, for *absolute* exclusion of the greatest part of mankind from it, and to be shut up under a decree of reprobation and rejection. These and other differing opinions caused different doctrines to be preached in the same pulpit morning and afternoon. So that as the writer of Hooker's Life reports, that one said, the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, the afternoon's Geneva.

Life of Hooker by Walton.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, by reason of this controversial preaching one against another, the Master laying down his doctrine in the morning, and the Lecturer confuting the same in the afternoon, thought fit to silence Travers, and to stop him from preaching there any more; and withal objected chiefly against him his foreign ordination. Upon this he appealed to the Queen and her Privy Council, and petitioned to be restored to his ministry. And to assist him, he had several great friends at Court. But neither he nor they could ever prevail with the Queen to revoke what the Archbishop had done: for she left spiritual matters to his discretion. But notwithstanding, Travers's petition was thought by his friends so reasonable, and his usage so hard, that they got it privately printed. Which the modest Mr. Hooker found himself

Travers silenced at the Temple, appeals to the Council.

bound hereupon to give an answer to. Which answer he dedicated to our Archbishop; who (upon the reading of it) began to wonder at the man; observing in it so much strong reason, and writ with so much *meekness*, and yet *majesty of style;* as the abovesaid author of his Life expresseth it. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1585.

To give some knowledge of this man's temper, and of the doctrines contested between them, I will specify a few things in that answer of his. Travers had charged him very severely for his charitable opinion of Papists dying in their superstitions. He said, that it encouraged evil affected men to continue still in damnable ways; and others weak in faith, to suffer themselves to be seduced, to the destruction of their souls, &c. To this Hooker said, that they who were present at that speech of his could testify that nothing passed his lips more than was contained in their writings, who, for soundness of doctrine, learning, and judgment, Mr. Travers did, he dared to say, not only allow, but honour: [meaning, it is like, Calvin, Beza, &c.] That what he had said was only this: "I doubt not but that "God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers, living "heretofore in Popish superstition; inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly." And even this, he said, was spoken in a sermon, the greatest part whereof was against Popery. 236 Answer to Travers Supplicat.

Further, Travers had misliked that Hooker had termed God a *permissive*, and no *positive* cause of the evil which the Schoolmen called *malum culpæ*. Secondly, That to their objections, who said, "If I be elected, do what I will, "I shall be saved," Hooker had answered, that the will of God in this thing was not *absolute*, but *conditional; i. e.* to save the elect believing, fearing, and obediently serving him. Thirdly, That to stop the mouths of such as grudged and repined against God for rejecting castaways, he had taught that they were not rejected, no not in the purpose and counsel of God, without a foreseen worthiness of rejection going (though not in time, yet in order) before. "For if God's electing did in order (as needs it must) pre-"suppose the foresight of their being that were elected, Hooker's vindication of what Travers misliked.

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

"though they were elected before they were; nor only "the positive foresight of their being, but also the per- "missive of their being miserable, (because election is "through mercy, and mercy doth always presuppose mi- "sery:) it followed, that the very chosen of God acknow- "ledged, to the praise of the riches of his exceeding free "compassion, that when he in his secret determination "set it down, *Those shall live and not die*, they lay as "ugly spectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung "and mire, as ulcers putrefied in their fathers' loins, "miserable, worthy to be had in detestation. And should "any forsaken creature be able to say unto God, Thou "didst plunge me into the depth, and assign me unto "endless torments, only to satisfy thine own will, finding "nothing in me for which I could seem in thy sight so "well worthy to feel everlasting flames?"

When he saw that Mr. Travers carped at these things, only because they lay not open, he promised at some convenient time to make them clear as the light, both to him and all others.

When he was asked what his grounds were, he answered, that St. Paul's words concerning this case were his grounds. The next thing Travers demanded of him was, what authors he did follow in expounding of St. Paul, and gathering that doctrine out of his words, against the judgment, he said, of all Churches and all writers? Hooker to this gave answer, that he was well assured that to control this *over-reaching speech*, (as he styled that bold saying of Travers,) the sentences which he might have cited out of Church confessions, together with the best learned monuments of former times, and not the meanest of our own, were more in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of. But that Travers gave him at that time great cause to think, that alleging of other men's words, to shew their agreement with his, would as much have displeased his mind, as the thing itself for which it had been alleged. For Travers had often, he said, in public place bitten him for this. Al-

though he had never in his sermons, as he added, used many of the sentences of other writers: and had made most of his sermons without any at all: having always thought it meetest, neither to affect nor to contemn the use of them.

And when Travers had misliked using human authority, in preaching God's word, as the testimony of mere mortal man, Hooker alleged that which under no pretence in the world would be disallowed, namely, *reason*. Not meaning thereby his own reason, as it was reported by Travers, but that sound divine reason; reason, whereby the conclusion out of St. Paul might be demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of only; reason, proper to that science whereby the things of God were known; theological reason, &c. This was the reason, he said, which he intended. And in this, he said, he did that which by many was enjoined as the only allowable, but granted by all as the only sure and safe way, whereby to resolve things doubted of in matters pertaining to faith and Christian religion. 237

Articles of pretended unsound doctrine gathered by Travers against Hooker.

For we must know that Travers (and that partly out of prejudice) had taken great exceptions at some passages in Hooker's sermons, preached at sundry times at the Temple; and had drawn up a note of his doctrines; which he called *unsound points of doctrine;* and they consisting of fifteen articles. As, "That the Church of Rome was a "true Church of Christ. That the Fathers that lived and "died in Popish superstitions were saved, because they "sinned ignorantly. That they who are of the Church of "Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in "Christ, &c. That predestination was not the *absolute* "will of God, but *conditional*. That the doings of the "wicked are not of the will of God *positive*, but only *per-*"*missive*. That reprobates are not rejected, but for the "evil works which God did foresee they would commit," &c. But I pass these articles over thus briefly, being set down by me in another place.

Addit. to Hooker's Life.

These articles were delivered, either by the Lord Trea-

BOOK III.

surer or the Archbishop, to Mr. Hooker, (who was most concerned in them,) and they were collected chiefly from a sermon he had preached, March 1585. To all which he wrote answers, in reply and vindication of himself and his sermons. Of which I shall repeat nothing, but refer the reader to the additions of Hooker's Life, set before his Ecclesiastical Polity. But the Archbishop, being called upon for his judgment on either side, discreetly, after his manner, gave it, with some moderation, *viz.*

Anno 1585. Hooker's reply and vindication.

The Archbishop's remarks thereon.

I. Papists, living and dying Papists, may notwithstanding be saved. The reason: ignorance excused them: as the Apostle allegeth, *I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly.* 1 Tim. i. 13.

To this the Archbishop set down his judgment in these words; shewing how Travers had misrepresented Hooker's expressions, *viz.*

"Not *Papists*, but *our fathers*. Nor *they all*, but *many* "*of them*. Nor *living and dying Papists*, but *living in* "*Popish superstitions*. Nor simply *might*, but *might by* "*the mercy of God*, be saved. *Ignorance* did not excuse "the fault, to make it no fault: but the less their fault "was, in respect of *ignorance*, the more hope we have, "that God was merciful to them."

II. Papists hold the foundation of faith. So that they may be saved, notwithstanding their opinion of merit.

Which the Archbishop thus determined. "Papists over-"throw the foundation of faith, both by their doctrine of "*merit*, and otherwise many ways. So that if they have, "as their errors deserve, I do not see how they should be "saved."

III. General repentance may serve to their salvation, though they confess not their error of *merit*.

Archb. "General repentance will not save any but the "faithful man. Nor him for any sin, but for such sins "only as he doth not mark, nor know to be sin."

IV. The Church of Rome is within the new covenant.

Archb. "The Church of Rome is not as the assemblies "of Turks, Jews, and Painims."

V. The Galatians, joining the Law with Christ, might have been saved before they received the Epistle. CHAP. XIV.

Archb. "Of the Galatians, before they were told of their "error, [of making the observation of *circumcision* neces- "sary to believers,] what letteth us to think, as of our "fathers, before the Church of Rome was admonished of "her defection from the truth?" These were the Archbishop's correctings of some of Mr. Hooker's expressions; or rather, as Mr. Travers had insincerely misrepresented, his assertions. Anno 1585. 238

CHAP. XV.

Mr. Whitaker, the Queen's Public Professor of Divinity, motioned for Master of St. John's college, Cambridge. Objections against him. Dr. Pern's letter to the Lord Treasurer about Whitaker. Elected. In troubles arising to the University of Oxon, the Archbishop applied to. Makes statutes for the cathedrals. His visitations; and consecrations of Bishops. Of Chichester, Dr. Bickley, Warden of Merton. Savil succeeds him there. Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford; Bellot, Bishop of Bangor. The Archbishop unites two churches. Licences granted on divers occasions. A new Platform of discipline. Is made a Privy Counsellor. A mock communion. Penance enjoined for it by the Archbishop.

Endeavours for and against Whitaker to be Master of St. John's college.

UPON the promotion of Dr. Howland, Master of St. John's college, to be Bishop of Peterborough, consultations were entered into among the Fellows for some agreeable person to be their governor in his room. Mr. William Whitaker, B. D. and the Queen's Public Divinity Reader, had his eye on that place. And though his interest in that college was but small, (especially among them that were not *puritanical*, as he was esteemed to be,) yet he had the recommendation of our Archbishop, and another powerful friend, *viz.* the Lord Treasurer

BOOK III.

Burghley; by whose influence and industry Whitaker at last (though not before February the next year) carried his point. But in the mean time it was necessary first to clear his way, and to remove, as much as he could, all obstructions. He was of Doctor's standing, but had not taken that degree; nor seemed inclinable so to do. This gave occasion to the college and University to conclude the reason thereof to be, that he was touched with the principles of the Puritans; who disallowed of that title as Antichristian, and not to be conferred by any University power; nor did allow of any other Doctors, but those that were *doctors* (i. e. *teachers*) in the Church, as a distinct ecclesiastical office. And it was further observed of Mr. Whitaker, (to create this surmise of him,) that he was desirous of the degree of Doctor some years ago, before he was of sufficient standing; and application had been made by Dr. Pern, Vice-Chancellor, to the High Chancellor, to procure him a royal dispensation. But now he was of another mind. It was also generally given out, that the said Dr. Pern, that had formerly been of St. John's college, now one of the eldest Heads of the University, and of great influence there, did use his interest for another, in opposition to Whitaker; and that he advised the college to obtain a mandate from the Queen, in order to exclude him.

Anno 1585.

239

The Lord Treasurer his friend.

The Lord Treasurer therefore (fixing upon Whitaker to be the fittest man to govern that college, the constitution whereof he well knew) expostulated with Dr. Pern, in a letter to him, for endeavouring to procure letters from the Queen, or other great persons, to the college, to elect some other; and for obtaining voices of the Fellows, both of the seniors and juniors, for a friend of his. Yet in the conclusion telling him, that he would suspend the continuance of his old good-will and favour towards him, till the return of his declaration to him of his doings at this time, and intendment hereafter of proceeding in that matter, for the election of the Master of St. John's. Dr. Pern was now at Croydon, with his great friend the Archbishop. And

though he be not here mentioned, yet I make no doubt it was consulted between them both concerning an answer to this letter, that should express an esteem for Whitaker; and particularly, to move the said Lord that he might take his degree; a thing so requisite to be done, to take off objections against him. Anno 1585.

Dr. Pern soon cleared himself to the said Lord with earnest protestations of his honourable esteem of his Lordship, of the falseness of the report brought to him, and of his just value of the worth and learning of the said Professor: and withal adding his advice concerning him. For to this tenor did his letter run, dated from Croydon, Sept. the 1st.

Dr. Pern's letters to him concerning Mr. Whitaker, in vindication of himself. Epist. Academ. penes me.

"That he had read with great admiration, and no less "grief, that his Lordship, being always his singular good "Lord, should, by any sinister and unjust report, conceive "any kind of offence toward him; of whose favour he had "been, most of all men's, desirous, as of a singular trea- "sure, &c. He assured his Lordship he was not any way "privy or partaker of any labour, either for the procuring "of any letters from her Majesty, or from any other noble "persons; nor yet for the obtaining of any of the Fellows' "voices, seniors or juniors, for the same, for any friend of "his. And that of this matter he did not so much as "think, before the reading of his Honour's letters. That "his Lordship knew how earnest a suitor he had been to "him, [like a good University man,] for the staying of all "such letters, contrary to the statutes and good founda- "tions of the colleges: the which he knew would be the "great decay of all good learning and order in the same "University; if the elections according to statutes, both of "masterships, fellowships, and scholarships, were not ob- "served. And that therefore he neither hitherto had, nor "yet ever intended to join with any, to make any such in- "direct suit in court against his Honour: adding, that he "thanked God he was too old an Head in Cambridge that "day to join with any factious members in St. John's;

BOOK III. Anno 1585.

"the which had been cunning practitioners in shaking off "their Masters and Heads. But he trusted their new "statutes would help to alter that case hereafter, without "great and sufficient cause.

"And that whereas it was contained in his Honour's "letter, that he should seek to prefer a friend of his to the "mastership, he thanked God (he said) he was not so "foolish to think, that if he, and an hundred such as he "was, should bend all their endeavours against his Ho- "nour herein, they could any thing prevail. And he as- "sured his Lordship, that the ancient and hearty good- "will that he bore unto St. John's, and the dutiful re- "verence and faithful love that he bore to his Honour, "was such, that there was no friend's good-will that he "knew, the which he esteemed so dearly, as, if he were "able, he would seek to benefit him herein, with such a "loss to the college, as in any wise to diminish his sin- "gular good-will to the same. Who both had and might "more pleasure the said godly foundation divers ways, "than any man living in this land. For the which, as a "poor member and well-willer, to the utmost of his power, "he added, he did heartily thank his Honour."

240 And then descending to speak of Mr. Whitaker, he pro-

To move Whitaker to take his degree of Doctor.

fessed to the said Lord, "that both for his singular learn- "ing and great modesty, and many excellent good deserts "of the Church of God, he had always and did still hearti- "ly love him, and esteem him worthy of that place and a "better. And that he doubted not but that his Honour "would move him to take the degree of doctorship in "Divinity; which by the statutes of the University was "requisite for the Queen's Reader in Divinity; who was "appointed *Doctor cathedræ illius facultatis*. For that "he had the creation of all the Doctors that proceeded in "Divinity: the which he could not do, except he were first "Doctor himself. And that the said Whitaker had been "very desirous of it about three or four years past, being "one year before the time that he could proceed orderly. "And that he had spoke to him, then being Vice-Chan-

" cellor, to write to his Honour for to obtain of her Ma- Anno 1585.
" jesty a dispensation that he might proceed, (having done
" all his acts,) notwithstanding the want of the time only.
" The which he accordingly did, and it was expedited to
" his Lordship by the Dean of Powles, his loving uncle.
" And because ever since that time that he might have
" proceeded without any dispensation, and since the time
" of his marriage, for that by none of the persuasions of the
" Heads of colleges at Cambridge he would be induced to
" proceed, it was feared that he had been alienated by the
" persuasions of some that were near unto him; which
" were thought not to like well of that degree, nor of other
" good orders in the University. Which fantastical hu-
" mours, added this good Doctor, daily given to dangerous
" innovations, if any such should take root in the Univer-
" sity, as they did in other places, both the Church, and
" consequently the commonweal, should soon come to ruin
" thereby; if he principally, and all the governors of col-
" leges, should not study and labour to bridle and restrain
" the licentious affections of the youth of the University
" at this day. And that herein, if either he or they should
" want his honourable assistance, all good exercises of
" learning, and good orders in the said University, would
" shortly be overthrown. To the maintenance whereof
" Mr. Whitaker, by his good example in that great col-
" lege, should do more good than a great many others, to
" God's glory, the peace of the Church, her Majesty's
" good liking, his Honour's great comfort, and his own
" singular commendation. Whereof, saith Dr. Pern, in
" the conclusion of his letter, he should for his part be as
" heartily glad as any friend he had. And praying his
" Lordship to keep this letter secret to himself, he sub-
" scribed himself,

" Your Honour's most bounden and daily orator,
" Andrew Pern."

To the latter part of this letter, as it was written in the Archbishop's house at Croydon, so there is little question

BOOK III. but he was of counsel with the writer; both in respect of the care therein shewed to preserve the youth of that Uni-
Anno 1585. versity from disaffection to the practices of the Church enjoined, and to prevent Mr. Whitaker from being carried away on that side.

Whitaker elected and admitted Master of St. John's.

That I may not leave this University matter half way, and imperfectly related, I add, that at length, not before the latter end of the next year, *viz.* the 25th February, 1586, and that with much opposition, he became Master of the said college, and that chiefly by the interest of the Lord Treasurer; as appeareth by Whitaker's letter to him the next day, written in elegant Latin; signifying the difficulty wherewith it was brought to pass, and his promise to follow the wise instructions he gave him in the government of the college. The contents of the letter were:

Of which he writes to the Treasurer.

"That he was now elected and admitted into the mas-
" tership of St. John's college, but with very great difficulty
" and contention. He acknowledged his Lordship's good-
" will towards him: and beseeched him to defend with his
" authority him whom he had brought into that college;
" to aid him with his help, to fortify him with his patron-
" age. That of the state of their affairs others would write
141 " plainly to him. That it should be his chief care to keep
" the statutes of the college himself, and to take care that
" they should be kept by others: to nourish peace; to give
" every one that which was right and equal, without fa-
" vour and parties. And that he trusted so to be, that
" those who seemed then to be divided in their minds
" should soon agree in one: which unless it were done,
" many inconveniences, he said, must needs follow. He
" added, that his election was called in question; but that
" it depended upon his Lordship and his colleagues, [that
" is, who by commission were visitors of that college.]
" Which if it were firm, (which was no doubt to him,) his
" election must be most firm also. And that whatsoever
" of scruple might be in the minds of some, that his Lord-
" ship might very easily by his authority [perhaps as Chan-
" cellor] take away. That as to himself, even those that

" were his adversaries professed they had a worthy esteem " for him, but disproved of that manner of election. And so " commended the thing to his great wisdom and authority." Anno 1585. This was dated from Cambridge, the 26th February, 1586.

I only add, that the said Mr. Whitaker (by the advice, as we may conclude, of the Treasurer) took his degree of Doctor of Divinity soon after, *viz.* anno 1587, when one of his questions was, *Papa est insignis ille Antichristus.* I have taken occasion to say so much of this man, being of such figure in his time in the University, and of such reputation still for his learned writings against the Papists; and who may fall in our way to say more of hereafter.

Disturbance in Oxon, which the Archbishop endeavours to allay.

This year was our Archbishop concerned for the state of learning in the other University of Oxford; being much out of frame about this time in divers respects. And he had several things in his mind to confer with the Lord Treasurer about, for the better settlement of peace in that place of learning. And in a letter to that Lord, dated March the 21st, 1585, he writ, " that he longed till op- " portunity might serve to impart the same unto him. For " that though it did not particularly belong to his Lord- " ship's charge, yet he was persuaded that he had a very " tender care thereof, in respect of the Church and com- " monwealth, whereof it was a principal member." Though the particular cause or causes of this address of our Archbishop in the behalf of Oxford is not specified, yet I find, in other papers relating to that University, two concerns upon them this year, to the great molestation of their studies. To which I suppose the Archbishop referred.

By infringing their privileges by the Queen's purveyors. Cart. Acad. Oxon. penes me.

In a letter of the Heads to the said Lord Treasurer (to whom they betook themselves as the great patron of learning and religion) it appears, that there was an attempt now made upon a privilege of that University: which was, that the University, and all within five miles of it, should be free from the Queen's purveyors, to take corn for her Majesty's household, or to carry it: shewing to that Lord, that it had been granted by the favour of divers princes, that those that lived within five miles of Oxford should not

BOOK III.

be bound, as others were, to those duties of providing bread-corn for the use of the Court. Now there came some such pretended officers thither, and compelled divers persons within those limits to those burdens. These that were thus injured resorted with their complaints to the Heads of the University, telling them they were ready to do any thing that became honest men and dutiful subjects to do. In this matter, therefore, they did earnestly desire that Lord to interpose on their behalf, by their letter, dated December 9. "praying him, in those times of iniquity, "and in so great a dearth as then (it seems) was, that "they might not be deprived of such a benefit." Their supplicatory letter may be found in the Appendix, for the better understanding of their affair.

Anno 1585.

Ex oneribus illis frumenti quibus ad usum aulæ regiæ alii astringuntur, minime teneantur.

No. XXVII.

They are sued about their privileges.

They had been this summer, and still were, in a law-suit, commenced against them by one Leonard Perrot, on the part, it seems, of the Queen: having called the privileges of that University (which they pleaded) into question, and sued those that defended them, as encroachers upon the Queen's prerogative. For finding he should not be able to succeed in his undertaken cause against the University, if, according to their old and usual custom, the matter were tried within the University, which was not to be cited to any foreign court of judicature, but that matters that concerned their members were to be tried in their own courts; therefore he took that desperate course, to call in question their privileges, and to charge the defenders thereof in *crimen imminutæ Majestatis*. This had made them, in the month of May, to apply to the said Lord Treasurer's equity and goodness, to suppress both the covetousness and boldness of this troublesome man, and to assist honest men, unjustly and undeservedly brought into danger; and to protect the University against so signal an injury, or rather calamity. This troublesome business was depending even to the month of March, when the Archbishop solicited the Lord Treasurer in the University's behalf.

242

That University's contest with

Another matter of trouble happening about this time also to the said University, was a contest with the towns-

men of Oxford, who laboured much to get a *salvo* for the oath they used to take to the University, for the better preserving their liberties and customs: and that though the Mayor and Bailiffs took that oath, yet the Aldermen and Burgesses (to make it as favourable to the rest of the town as might be) refused to take it, but with the *salvo* of the liberties of the town: for which they pretended a charter. This controversy came before the Queen's Council. Then the University offered several reasons why the Aldermen and Burgesses, all of them, should take the oath without any such *saving*. Whereof the first was an ancient charter of Henry III. granted to them, "That the "Mayor and Bailiffs should swear, *quod conservabunt* "*libertates et consuetudines Universitatis*. And that Ed- "ward I. appointed, that the Aldermen and fifty-eight "Burgesses should swear, *secundum tenorem chartæ Do-* "*mini Regis*. Which was to be referred to Henry III. "Therefore no *saving* being there, no *saving* ought to be "admitted herein." This paper, containing this and the rest of the University's reasons, for the honourable respect I have to that University (wherein I am incorporated) and to their privileges, I have inserted into the Appendix, from the original. Numb. XXVIII.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1585. the townsmen about their oath.

Our good Archbishop was now applied to by the University of Oxon, in both these extremities, for his friendship and assistance: and he as readily took their parts; and being very well versed in University matters himself, had several things, material to the purpose, to impart to the Lord Treasurer, (as he writ to him,) and others of the Privy Counsellors, in their behalf.

I find other cares upon the Archbishop this year; namely, about framing statutes for the cathedral churches, that hitherto either wanted them wholly, or wanted amendments and alterations, to comport with the reformation of religion from Popery; and redress of other inconveniences in them. He signified now, in the month of March, to the Lord Treasurer, (who had put him upon doing this work,) that he had brought the statutes for cathedral churches to

The Archbishop frameth statutes for the cathedrals.

BOOK III.

some perfection; and would send them shortly to him to be perused.

Anno 1585.

We come now to relate the Archbishop's visitation of some dioceses, this year vacant, and of his consecration of some new Bishops into such sees. The diocese of Chichester, being vacant by the death of Curtess, (who seems to have died the 27th February, 1584,) was visited by the Archbishop. The articles to be inquired in every parish, upon this visitation, *sede vacante*, by the authority of the most reverend Father in God, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, &c. were these that follow:

Chichester diocese visited. Reg. Whitg. fol. 116. b.

Articles of inquiry.

First, Whether the Minister had used any other form or manner of public prayers, than what was prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer: or had altered any of them, &c. 2. Whether he, or any other, had took upon them to read lectures or preach, being laymen, or not ordered according to the laws of this realm, or not lawfully licensed. 3. Did he, upon Sabbath-days and holydays, call for and instruct the
243 youth in the Catechism, and principles of the Christian religion: and once every Sabbath-day put the churchwardens in mind of their duty, to note who absented themselves from divine service: and upon the goods and chattels of such to levy 12*d.* a piece: and such likewise as irreverently behaved themselves there. 4. The fourth article related to the Minister's using the Form of Thanksgiving after childbirth for any woman unlawfully begotten with child, otherwise than upon the Sabbath-day or holyday: and also with public acknowledgment of her sin; in such form as the Ordinary prescribed. 5. Whether the Minister in public prayer time wore a surplice, and went abroad appareled, as by her Majesty's Injunctions and Advertisements was prescribed. Did he privately exercise himself in godly prayer and study, &c. 6. Had he, or any other, spoken against any part of the Book of Common Prayer, or against any of the Articles agreed upon by the Clergy of both provinces anno 1562: or defended any Popery, or other seditious schismatical error. 7. Whether any in the parish

was suspected to serve [*i. e.* worship] any monument of superstition or idolatry; or to resort to any Mass, or other service disallowed; or to any Popish Priest for shrift: or that did not resort, according to the law, to divine service publicly. 8. Whether any in the parish taught children publicly, or sound in any house privately. Were they licensed by the Ordinary. Was he of religion. Did he teach the Catechism, which was set out for that purpose, to his scholars. 9. Whether the hospitals and almshouses were used according to their foundation and ordinances. Whether legacies, and other sums of money, given for good and godly uses, were employed according to the intent of the givers. 10. Whether any had married within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity or affinity: any separated in that respect, kept company still together: any man that had two wives, or any woman two husbands: any incestuous, incontinent persons: any common drunkards, ribalds, swearers, sorcerers, charmers, usurers, &c. 11. Whether any departed this life whose wills were not proved. 12. Had any ordinary register, clerk, or apparitor, concealed or winked at any offender presented; or commuted any public satisfaction or punishment for money. Whether any of them had exacted excessive and unaccustomable fees in any ecclesiastical matter. 13. Whether the Minister was a preacher, or had any other ecclesiastical living: where he did remain and abide. 14. Whether any refused to come to divine service. Had they any children. Where and with whom they remained. Had such any children, kinsfolks, or friends beyond the seas. Did they depart with licence. In what parts of the other side of the sea did they remain. What relief had they. 15. By virtue of their oath, they [the churchwardens] should make diligent inquisition, and truly present in writing the names and surnames of all that had offended, or were suspected to offend, in any of these articles, or against any part of the Queen's Injunctions, or any ecclesiastical law, &c. I have abbreviated these articles of inquiry; and so they are but imperfectly related, for brevity sake. But they

BOOK III.

are set down at length (as they are in the Archbishop's register) in the Appendix.

Anno 1585. N°. XXIX. Bickly made Bishop of Chichester.

From the visitation of this vacant diocese of Chichester, we proceed to give account of the filling of it, which was not before the latter end of January; when this weighty charge in the Church of England fell upon Thomas Bickley, S. T. P. Warden of Merton college, Oxon, formerly Chaplain to Parker, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, and an exile under Queen Mary. He was confirmed Bishop of the Holy Trinity church in Chichester, on Saturday, Jan. 29, in St. Mary le Bow church, London; and consecrated on Sunday, Jan. 30, following, in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth; a blank being left in the register for the names of the Bishops assisting.

Reg. Whit. vol. i.

The Archbishop knew his abilities for a Bishop.

The Archbishop's good opinion of Dr. Bickley for a place of government in the Church, may appear by what he wrote in one of his letters last year to the Treasurer concerning him. "I would to God," said he, "that it would "please her Majesty to place him, and such as he is, in "the rooms now vacant." For the Archbishop knew that he

244 was a resolute man, and one that would discharge his duty without fear: as may appear by this passage concerning him. In his archidiaconal visitation, as it seems, (for he was Archdeacon of Stafford,) he found one of the Clerks defective in his duty, either in his subscription, or want of due observance of the rules and orders of the Church; and so gave him a reprimand, and suspended him, or put him under some other censure. Nor did it hinder the Archdeacon's doing justice upon this offender, though he were the great Earl of Leicester's Chaplain; (whom he had preferred to some place in those parts;) nay, and this Archbishop's kinsman too: for he was both. As for the Archbishop's part, he was very well contented with the punishment inflicted upon his kinsman, as he signified in his correspondence with the Lord Treasurer: who was concerned about this matter; and feared some evil like to fall upon Dr. Bickley from the Earl; who would look upon it as some affront done to himself. The Archbishop added

Bickley censures the Earl of Leicester's Chaplain.

of this Clergyman, that he was a good scholar, and, as he hoped, not affected that way, [*viz.* towards Puritanism,] further than to please my L. of L. (as he cyphered him with those two capital letters only.) And that he intended to pick some occasion to leave that living, whereunto he had no great fancy. But that indeed he was affected, as the Archbishop proceeded, with the disease of this time, *viz.* popularity and vainglory. And therefore this, the Archbishop said, would be a good schooling to him. He said further, that this man was of his own bringing up; and that whatsoever he said, he had it by his means. And therefore he doubted not but that he would be ruled and advised by him. And that he [the Archbishop] had urged him against his will to take that place, to please that great Lord, though now he repented of it. But as for Bickley, what he had done he bid the Lord Treasurer not doubt but that in this action he had done wisely and lawfully. But the Treasurer's fear was in the behalf of that deserving man, that it might expose him to the wrath of that great favourite; who, being a man of pride and stomach, might resent what was done to his Clerk, and so be a means of stopping all Bickley's future preferments, and the service he might do in the Church. But the Earl being now the Queen's General in the Low Countries, in his absence this bishopric was conferred on him. Anno 1585.

Savyle recommended by the Lord Treasurer to succeed him in Merton college.

Upon this preferment of Bickley, the wardenship of Merton college becoming void, the Lord Treasurer sent his letters to that house, recommending to them Mr. Savyle, a Fellow there, afterwards Sir Henry Savyle, well known for his excellent learning and abilities in Greek, mathematical and philosophical studies: which the college, as well knowing his worth, and being one also of their own members, readily and cheerfully complied with; as appears by the answer they returned, dated from Merton college, March the 8th.

Their answer.

"That they had received his Lordship's letters concern-
"ing the succession of Dr. Bickley's place, directed to
"them, in favour of Mr. Savyle, one of their body. And

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

" that of his deserts to the room, albeit they were of themselves sufficiently persuaded, as being a man well known and well approved among them, yet had his Lordship's commendation so greatly increased their former opinion, that since the foundation of the house, they believed never any man was nominated with the like consent, or greater applause. But that whereas the statute of their foundation imported three several persons to be named by them, whereof their patron, my Lord of Canterbury, was to elect as to his Grace should seem most meet; they most humbly craved his means to his Grace, for the full and complete perfecting of this his benefit towards their house. For which, as they should think themselves doubly bound to yield most humble thanks, so should they be ready continually to pray for the prosperous success of his honourable affairs." To which no doubt the Archbishop readily consented, and elected the said Savyle, as appeared by the success.

Westphaling made Bishop of Hereford.

The church of Hereford also being now destitute of a Pastor, by the death of Scory, the Queen sent her *congé d'élire* to the Dean and Chapter of the said church; which ran to this tenor:

245 *By the Queen.*

" Elizabeth,

The congé d'élire. Regist. Whitg. vol. i.

" Trusty and welbeloved, wee grete you well. Whereas the bishopric of Hereford is now void by the death of the late incumbent of the same, we let you wit, that calling to our remembrance the vertue, learning, and other good qualities of our trusty and welbeloved Herbert Westphaling, D. D. we have thought good, by these our letters, to name and recommend him unto you to be elected and chose to the said bishopric of Hereford. Wherefore we require and pray you forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, to procede to your election, according to the laws of this our realm, and our *congé d'élire* sent unto you herewith. And the same election so made to certify unto us under your common seal. Given under

"our signet at our manour of Richmond, the 23d day of "November, 1585, in the 28th year of our reign." CHAP. XV.

Anno 1585.

Accordingly the said Dr. Westphaling, Treasurer of St. Paul's, and Canon of Christ's Church, Oxon, was confirmed in the church of St. Mary de Arcubus, London, Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Hereford, the 29th of January, 1585. And on Sunday following, *viz.* January the 30th, the Archbishop, by virtue of the Queen's commissional letters, did consecrate the said Westphaling in his chapel at Lambeth; using the rites and ceremonies, *de usu moderno*, of the Church of England, according to the form prescribed in the book, entitled, *The Manner and Form of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* The Bishops assisting were ——————— Here is a blank left; the names of those Bishops being by the negligence of the Register omitted: as before in the *Acta et Habita* of the consecration of Dr. Bickley, Bishop of Chichester. Regist. Whitg. vol. i. fol. 41.

Hugh Billet, S. T. P. was also elected and confirmed Bishop of Bangor in St. Mary le Bow, London, January 29, 1585, and consecrated on Sunday following in the chapel at Lambeth: that is, on the same days and places as the two former Bishops were. And the Bishops assisting not set down, a blank being left for their names as before. Billet made Bishop of Bangor.

The Archbishop did this year unite two churches; namely, of South Summercotes in the county of Lincoln, and North Summercotes in the same county; that so both being laid together, the fruits might be a better subsistence for an able Minister: the fruits and revenues of South Summercotes being (*22l. 2d. ob. q.*) so small as not sufficient for an agreeable maintenance of the Rector there: (as it ran in the instrument:) and, in consideration of other burdens belonging to the same church, did not, nor could suffice for the future. And since the perpetual vicarage of North Summercotes, in the town of South Summercotes, then was legally vacant, of the Queen's presentation, and Unites two churches. Regist. Whitg. vol. i. fol. 111.

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

was near and contiguous to South Summercotes, and was not above 9*l.* 18*s.* value; for these and other causes shewn his Grace, and by him approved, by his authority he did unite, annex, and ratify the said perpetual vicarage of North Summercotes, with all the rights and appendences, to South Summercotes, to be incorporated thereunto during the present Rector's incumbency, and not otherwise. The instrument was directed to John Sparkes, Clerk, Preacher of God's word, Rector of South Summercotes. Provided notwithstanding, that the celebration of prayers, and administration of the sacraments, and cure of souls, be not neglected in both churches; and the accustomable burdens and dues be observed to the Archbishop, Bishop of Lincoln, and Archdeacon.

Licences granted from the Archbishop for teaching school. Regist. Whitg.

There were licences granted out this year from the Archbishop to certain persons for teaching school; as there were afterwards from year to year: some for teaching grammar; some for teaching reading and writing only. I shall specify two granted this year; and on what *provisos*. The one was to Jos. Brown, B. A. *ad instruend. erudiend.*

246 *et informand. quoscunque pueros in literis grammaticalibus, aliisque documentis licitis et honestis: ac de jure, legibus et statutis hujus regni Angliæ in ea parte permissis et approbatis, in quocunque loco publico vel privato tuo arbitrio, eligend. &c. in et per dioc. Winton. et Cicestren.——Tibi de cujus fidelitate, literarum scientia, morum probitate et diligentia plurimum confidimus, licentiam, &c. ad nostrum beneplacitum, tantummodo duraturam,* &c.

Where I observe, the schoolmaster is stinted to teach only in some particular diocese or dioceses, and not elsewhere; and that the matters wherein he was to instruct his scholars were lawful and honest, and agreeable to the laws and statutes of the kingdom; to prevent instilling into them Popish or seditious principles. And as to his qualifications; to be faithful, honest, and diligent, and endued with competent learning. And, notwithstanding, his licence to remain only during pleasure: that so his bene-

The conditions of such as were so licensed.

fit by teaching school might depend upon his diligence and sober behaviour.

The other sort of licences for English schoolmasters ran, *in facultate legendi ac scribendi, aliisque documentis licitis et honestis,* &c. as before: such a licence was granted this year to one Stephen Woodcook. And this licence to remain only during pleasure. I only hint this, to shew the forms of licences (once for all) for teaching school in those times, and the limitations. Anno 1585.

To these I might add another sort of licences appearing in this Archbishop's register this year; namely, for eating flesh in the time of Lent. I shall only give the instance of one, (which was somewhat extraordinary,) granted to Ambrose Potter, of Gravesend; to eat flesh and white meats during his life with his wife; but with this proviso, he do it soberly and frugally, cautiously, and avoiding public scandal, as much as might be; and not to do it openly: and with this preface: "That since laws that are made "for the benefit of all, yet even their intent and meaning "was, that there should be some slackening of their force, "for the health and safety of each, &c." It was provided also, that according to a statute lately set forth, that on each feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin yearly, or within six days following immediately after, he should give 6*s.* 8*d.* in the parish wherein he should live, to the poor's box: and to fulfil all and singular things, which in the foresaid statute of the act of Parliament in the fifth year of the Queen's reign, in that behalf provided, were contained; whatsoever canonical constitutions were made in that behalf notwithstanding. Licence to eat flesh in Lent. Cum leges ad omnium utilitatem conditæ, ad salutem singulorum de vigore suo aliquid remittere etiam ipsæ cupiant. Regist. Whitg.

Other licences for eating flesh in Lent ran in the same tenor, only that caution is not in another dated this year, *viz.* of giving 6*s.* 8*d.* to the poor's box. But this was not for life, as the former was.

I find another licence this year pretty remarkable, because unusual, granted to certain persons for the receiving the holy Sacrament at another parish church. A contention happening (as this licence sets forth) between Edm. A licence to certain persons to receive the Sacrament at another

BOOK III.

Harrison, Francis Purkas, Edm. Brown, and Rich. Purkas, of the parish of Great Yeldham, in the county of Essex, and one Hudson, incumbent of the said parish; the same Hudson, *animo ductus malitioso*, i. e. being carried by a malicious mind, refusing to minister the holy Sacrament to them, now the good time of Easter drawing near; they therefore earnestly desiring (as it became them) the wholesome food of their souls, had humbly made supplication to be allowed to receive the same within the parish church of Toppesfeld, near adjoining to them, from the hands of the discreet man Mr. Whiting, the Rector or Vicar of that parish: accordingly he granted them a licence or faculty so to do in this time of Easter. Dated April 4, 1585.

Anno 1585. parish church. Regist. Whitg. fol. 126. b. Vos tam salutiferum animarum vestrarum pabulum plurimum (ut decet) exoptantes, &c.

The last day of September, the 27. Eliz. the Archbishop sent in to the Barons of the Exchequer the names and surnames of all such as had been collated or presented to any ecclesiastical preferments and benefices, together with the names of those preferments and benefices, throughout his province, from Michaelmas the last year to this present; in obedience to the Queen's writ issued out from the Exchequer, and signed Roger Manwood, Knt. Lord Chief Baron, and Flower, deputy to Sir Christopher Hatton, who had the charge of the first-fruits and tenths: first beginning with a list of the preferments in his own diocese of Canterbury, and then setting down all the rest in order in the other dioceses. And these certificates were
247 sent in yearly; that the Queen's revenues arising from the tenths and first-fruits due from the Clergy might be the better known. And this is another thing I note once for all.

The names of such as had been preferred to benefices, sent to the Exchequer by the Archbishop.

The Disciplinarians had this year drawn up a more precise and exact platform of discipline (as they imagined) for the government of the Church; but varying in some things from their former; which nevertheless they affirmed was according to the prescript of the word of God. For about the year 1583, (when as before that time the platform of Geneva had been followed by the Puritans,) a particular draught was made for England, with a new form of

A new platform of discipline comes forth. The Archbishop's judgment of it.

Surv. of the Discipline, p. 66. edit. 1593.

common prayer to be used in public, therein prescribed. The year ensuing, in Parliament time, came forth the platform, amended and rectified, as a most perfect pattern for all Churches. By virtue of which platform all the present practised orders, laws, and ceremonies, were to be cut off at one blow. And this was laboured then to be established: but it prevailed not. Shortly after the Parliament was broken up, this platform was found again to have some things amiss in it; and was committed to Travers: and by him underwent a new review and correction: and so came forth again in the year 1586. But a copy of it came to the hands of the Archbishop, and from him to the Lord Treasurer, (to whom he always communicated all matters relating to the Church's concerns,) who sent it back to the Archbishop. And he told his Lordship what his judgment of it was, namely, "That it was a very con- "fused platform in his opinion, and differing from all "others: neither could it long stand."

Anno 1585.

In the month of February, on the day of the Purification of our Blessed Lady, our Archbishop was sworn of the Queen's Privy Council. And with him William Lord Cobham, Warden of the Five Ports; and Thomas Lord Buckhurst, (afterwards Lord Treasurer,) the next day. And so the Archbishop was now in a nearer capacity to serve the Church, by advising the Queen from time to time; and likewise answering such objections against the Clergy, and slanders raised upon them, whensoever any of the Privy Council might mention any such, or complaints be preferred, to their or the Church's prejudice; and as some of those Counsellors had done before very plentifully. Which was the cause of several letters written to him from the Council Board. This was brought to pass chiefly by the Lord Treasurer: who took the opportunity of getting him and the other Lords into the Council, in the absence of the Earl of Leicester, now in the Low Countries. Which did not a little grieve him when he heard of it, as the writer of the Archbishop's Life tells us. And with these two new sworn Privy Counsellors with him he linked himself, to

Made a Privy Counsellor. Stow's Chron. p. 1201. edit. in 4to.

Sir Geo. Paul. Life of Whitg. p. 49.

BOOK III.

Anno 1585.

the strengthening of his interest with the Queen, when he should have occasion to move any thing in behalf of the Church.

One enjoined penance by the Archbishop for a mock communion.

The Archbishop did enjoin an exemplary penance upon one Joseph Leak, of Edmonton in Middlesex, for a most scandalous crime against not only the Protestant, but the Christian religion; intending, as it seems, thereby to make a mock of the holy Communion, as administered by the reformed Churches. I place it under this year as near as I can guess, for the MS. is without date. The case was this; (as I find it among the papers of the Lord Burghley:) A company of people met together in some place in that parish, upon the marriage of a couple of ordinary people, where they spent the whole day in piping and dancing. And when night came, this man would needs have the company withdraw into a barn, where they continued their exercise till one or two after midnight. And when they were ready to depart, saith Joseph Leak, Nay, but we will first have a *communion* *, and so farewell. Thereupon he caused one of the rabble to go to the next alehouse for bread and beer. Which being brought, he appointed one to be the clerk, whose name was Edward Smith †, to deliver to the company the beer, which he termed wine; and another to be sexton, to follow the clerk, and to fill the cup when it was empty. And when he had thus appointed his officers, he made himself a square cap, and cut the bread for the communion. And this done, he, playing the part of the minister, went before, and delivered to the company the bread, abusing the words of our Saviour,

248 *Take, eat*, &c. taking the bread out of a hat, which he carried under his arm. The clerk and sexton followed with their wine, according to his appointment. And when their communion was ended, they sung, instead of a Psalm, a vile profane song, called, *The Dogs of Tottenham*, &c.

This most blasphemous and impious action was made known to the Archbishop by Roger Green, the Vicar of that parish. And the said Joseph was enjoined penance

* Papists call the sacrament of the Lord's Supper a *communion*, in derision of Protestants.

† Fled to Holland.

by the Archbishop, to be done in the said parish church of Edmonton; where he had given such a wicked example. But he was obstinate, and unrelenting of his wickedness, and would not perform it; threatening to kill whosoever came to apprehend him. And Jasper Leak, Justice of peace, [his brother,] presently thereupon fell out with the said Vicar; calling him ill names at his pleasure, threatening to drive him out of the country; seeking by indirect means to discredit his person; thinking thereby to bring his doctrine into contempt. Anno 1585.

Informations against him, suspected of Popery.

These further informations were brought in to the Archbishop, sitting, as it seems, in the commission; that Robert Partridg, Gent. then constable, having a warrant sent unto him from the Archbishop for the attaching of the said Joseph, according to his duty did attach him. But the said Joseph not only resisted the said constable, but also beat him, and wounded him very dangerously: and when the said constable certified Jasper Leak of the said warrant from the Archbishop, he denied the warrant to be lawful; and further threatened to send him to Newgate, if he durst attach his brother by that warrant. Further, that John Cornwal, father-in-law of the said Leak, (whose wife and daughters were recusants,) was vehemently suspected to have Mass said in his house, by reason of the resort of one Pooly, who was suspected to be a Priest; with divers others. Further, it was informed, that Jasper Leak had not received the holy Communion since Maunday Thursday was twelvemonth, and had been presented: but as they thought by the means of Dr. Stanhope his friend, [Chancellor to the Bishop of London,] nothing was done. Another information against this man was, that he had not received the Communion with them [*i. e.* in the parish of Edmonton] at any time; came to church seldom or not at all; and within this two years had begotten two bastards upon two poor maidens in their parish. Which two maidens (as themselves report) were both forced by him. What the end of this high misdemeanor was, I find not:

BOOK III. Anno 1585.

but by this passage it appears how necessary the Archbishop's authority, by virtue of the Queen's commission, was, to check the bold insults in those days, of atheism, blasphemy, popery, as well as other attempts of unquiet spirits against the established worship and peace of the Church.

249

CHAP. XVI.

Travers silenced by the Archbishop. He writes his case to the Lord Treasurer. And sues to him for his liberty to preach. His exceptions to Mr. Hooker's sermon. Hooker's account of Travers's controversy with him. And vindication of his doctrine. The Archbishop excepts against Travers's taking Orders at Antwerp. His reasons for the lawfulness of his ministry. The Archbishop's animadversions thereupon. Forbids Cartwright to answer the Rhemists English translation of the New Testament. The Archbishop's favour to Samuel Fox, for his father the Martyrologist's sake.

Anno 1586. Travers applieth to the Lord Treasurer, to be restored to his preaching.

IT was shewn before, under the last year, concerning the contest betwixt Mr. Hooker, the Master of the Temple, who preached in the morning, and Mr. Travers, who preached the lecture there in the afternoon: and how the latter, led by some modern principles imbibed at Geneva, disliking the doctrines preached in the mornings, (that advanced more the goodness of God to all mankind, even to Papists, nay heathens, and the universal grace of God,) set himself to confute them in the afternoons: whereupon Hooker was fain in his sermons to vindicate himself, and clear his assertions. It hath been told likewise, how, besides Travers's preaching against him in his own pulpit, he had likewise drawn up in writing Hooker's supposed false doctrines in divers articles: all tending to draw that honourable auditory into parties and factions, instead of preaching to their edification. And lastly, how for the pre-

venting these undecent jarrings and contentions, the Archbishop prudently interposed, and forbade Travers to preach there any more. This unexpected stop put him upon trying his interest with the Lord Treasurer, (especially having sometime preached to his family; and so had him his friend.) It was on the 27th of March, 1586, that he delivered his mind to that Lord in a smooth letter, (making some unhandsome reflections therein upon the Archbishop for what he had done,) to this tenor: CHAP. XVI. Anno 1586.

His letter to him for that purpose. MSS. Burghlian.

"That notwithstanding it was an ordinary thing with "the people, being not able to judge and discourse of "the causes themselves, to justify authority, howsoever "that proceeded, and to disallow the things condemned "by them, whatsoever they were; yet that sundry good "reasons encouraged him to present this his most humble "petition to him, and to hope by his Honour's great wis- "dom and equity to be relieved. That there were many "notable precedents of ancient times, both in our sacred "stories, and in other ecclesiastical, which shewed, that "God in his wisdom and providence had so disposed, that "a gracious aspect of a notable and honourable counsellor "had oftentimes qualified the indispositions of some, occu- "pying chiefest place in the government of the Church, "against the faithful preachers of God's word. That this "comfort he was in so much greater hope to receive by "his Lordship's means, for his great wisdom and deep "judgment to discern of the causes, wherewith God had "blessed his Honour, in his gracious mercy, to his own "glory and the good of his people. That for the excellent "spirit given unto one, many might have cause to honour "and glorify him that gave it.

"Moreover, that the honourable favour which his Lord- 250
"ship had vouchsafed him in his ministry, even to the "using his service for a time, in the instruction of the "Church in his own house, and many times in supporting "and furthering the same in the Temple, did give him "good hope, if he had not misgoverned himself so far as to

BOOK III.

Anno 1586.

" make him unworthy of the continuance of his Lordship's " countenance and favourable regard of him, that he could " not be destituted of so comfortable protection, in his so " needful time. But that if his Lordship should find, that " the thing for which he was blamed had been dutifully " done by him, and to the good service of Almighty God, " of her most excellent Majesty, as Defender of the Faith; " and, under her Highness, to their Honours of her Coun- " cil, and the Church; which he served by bond of that " calling, which none, (he alleged,) while he dealt according " to his duty in it, could lawfully and without offence to " God take from him; [as the Archbishop had done:] " then he trusted, that as some had been means to strike " him down, so his good Lordship would be, as God's " fatherly hand, to set him up again. Wherefore in good " hope of such issue, as might be honourable to God, and " to his Lordship, as the worthy means, profitable to his " Church, and comfortable to him in continuing of his " ministry, he beseeched the Almighty more and more to " sanctify the noble spirit he had endued his Lordship " with: and so to direct him in his high and honourable " state in this life, as it might be incomparably increased " by participation of the glory of his kingdom in the life to " come. Writ from the Temple the 27th day of March, " 1586. Subscribing himself,

" His Lordship's bounden
" At commandment,
" Walter Travers."

Thus did this man use all his eloquence and flattery with this noble Lord, to control what the Archbishop had done, and, by the power of that great Minister of State, to get himself restored to his preaching again; which calling, as he wrote, none could lawfully deprive him of.

The very next day after Travers had written this letter, being Sunday, he heard the Master of the Temple preach there; and took great exceptions to several passages in his sermon, as containing much heterodox doctrine; and

forthwith diligently noted it down in writing, the more to expose the preacher: and then dispersed his notes to divers; and among the rest to the said Lord Treasurer. Anno 1586. Now that the said Master might not be wanting to himself, in vindicating his behaviour in his ministry to the said Lord Treasurer; and that he might be left to judge fairly on both parts; he soon after sent the objections made by Mr. Travers against that sermon, with his own answers thereunto. That so that wise and pious Lord might weigh and scan, whether he had justly accused his doctrine or no: therein relating truly what he had delivered to his auditors; and what matter of dislike the other had taken thereto: and subjoining his own vindication. This excellent paper of this meek learned man hath been already published by me elsewhere, to which I refer the reader. But the ground of all the contest was, that Hooker had said, "That he doubted not, but that God "was merciful to thousands of our fathers, who lived in "Popish superstition. For that they sinned ignorantly. "But we have the light of the truth." To which Travers opposed, "That salvation belonged to the Church of "Christ: and that we might not think, that they could be "capable of it, who lived in the errors held and main-"tained in the Church of Rome, that seat of Antichrist. "Wherefore to his people God spake in this sort, *Go out* "*of Babylon, my people*," &c.

Exceptions taken by Travers to Hooker's sermon answered.

Additions to the Life of Hooker.

This man, disliking the way of ordination by Bishops according to the English book, went over to Antwerp, and there was made Minister by some Elders and Ministers, and namely, by Villers and Cartwright, in a private congregation, after the form of Geneva. Other Englishmen also fetched their ordination thence; one by name, Robert Wright, Chaplain to the Lord Rich. This Villers, that thus took upon him to ordain Ministers, seems to be the same Villers that Camden mentions in his History: that he knew him a preacher in France; who came into England [I suppose to avoid persecution] in a threadbare cloak, and grew rich here by a common collection for him,

251

Travers made Minister at Antwerp.

Villers.

Hist. Q. Eliz. p. 209.

BOOK III.

for reading a divinity lecture. He was afterwards Chaplain to the Prince of Orange; and of considerable power with him. Who, fearing lest the Prince should look towards the English, among other things, affirmed, that Queen Elizabeth had never a martial man, to whose valour and fidelity she could entrust an army, but Sussex; and he not much favouring the Protestant religion. So that when, in the year 1575, the Prince not finding himself strong enough to withstand the Spaniard, thought of flying to the French, the Queen sent her Ambassador [Daniel Rogers] to him, to dissuade him. And by others she sent to him. But, by means of the opposition of Villers, nothing was effected. This Villers, I suppose, went afterwards to Antwerp, and was Minister of a reformed congregation there: and undertook to give Orders to the English Puritans; as he did to Travers.

Anno 1586.

The Archbishop excepts against Travers's foreign ordination.

And this was the Archbishop's great reason of his disallowance of Travers, and his refusal to restore him to his ministry, *viz.* his ordination at Antwerp, and his denying to receive the Orders of the ministry according to the English book of ordination. But he, taking it for granted that his Orders received in a congregation of the reformed religion from the hands of reformed Ministers was lawful and good, argued, that he ought not to be ordained again, to qualify him to perform his calling of preaching the Gospel. And for the proof of this he framed divers reasons: which he presented in writing to the said Lord Treasurer: who sent them to the Archbishop to peruse and examine the strength of. And he again sent them back to that Lord with his own short marginal animadversions upon those reasons; for the said Lord's consideration and satisfaction. These *reasons* were prefaced with this title: *A note of certain reasons, which I humbly desire may be throughly and indifferently considered, for satisfying that which is alleged against me, of having been made Minister at Antwerp, as a sufficient cause why I should be restrained from preaching, except I become Minister again according to the order here established.* These reasons of his in short

His reasons for the validity thereof.

were: "That the making of a Minister, being once law-
"fully done, ought not by the word of God to be repeated.
"That pastors and teachers of the Church in the New
"Testament had in like manner by the same word their
"calling to their ministry. That the reiterating again in
"one dominion what was sufficiently done in another,
"taketh from Christ's authority given him of God in all
"places. That it made his kingdom like the kingdom of
"an earthly prince; as if it were bounded with certain
"limits. That the repeating the former calling to the
"ministry made void that former calling; and conse-
"quently such acts as were done by him, as confirmations,
"marriages, &c. That repeating of one action of that na-
"ture, that by the word of God was not to be reiterated,
"made the repeating of all others, which were of the like
"nature, as lawful. As, to be baptized again, and married
"again to such persons as come into this country after
"their baptism or marriage celebrated in another. That
"the making void such actions, as were done in all the
"Churches of God, gave dangerous occasion of schisms
"and divisions; since the Church of God is one, and a
"communion was to be maintained among all the saints,
"and in all the Churches. That the universal and perpe-
"tual practice of all Christendom, in all places and in all
"ages, proved, that Ministers lawfully made in any Church
"of sound profession ought to be acknowledged such in
"any other." And then he proceeded to particular in-
stances. As first, "in Polycarp, who being a Minister in 252
"Smyrna, arriving at Rome, at the request of Victor, the
"Bishop there, and by the good consent of all, dealt in the
"ministry, and administered the Lord's Supper. Many
"Scotchmen and others, made Ministers abroad, had been
"acknowledged for such here, and executed their ministry
"accordingly: and so did Mr. Whittingham; though he
"was the first that was called in question in this case.
"And lastly, that by the statute of the 13. Eliz. the law
"appointed not any formerly ordered to be ordered again

BOOK III.

" according to the form established; but only to subscribe " the articles, to qualify them to officiate."

Anno 1586.

The Archbishop's notes upon Travers's reasons.

The sum of what the Archbishop observed and noted concerning these reasons, and in confutation of them, was; " That he yielded it to be true, that a Minister lawfully " made, ought not to be made again; but yet that Tra- " vers's schoolmasters [meaning the Ministers of the fo- " reign Presbyterian Churches, for which he quoted Da- " næus's Isagoge] thought and practised otherwise. That " as to what was said, that the ordination celebrated in " one dominion ought not to be reiterated in the dominion " of another, because this would be an encroachment upon " Christ's kingdom, having authority given him by God " every where; the Archbishop consented; but added, " that yet the French Churches practised otherwise; ad- " mitting none of our Ministers, ordained according to the " laws of this Church, to exercise his function among " them, without a new kind of calling according to their " platform. To that article, that the repeating the calling " to the ministry made void the former calling, and conse- " quently so were all such acts as were done before, as " confirmations, marriages, &c. the Archbishop's note was " peremptory, that *this was untrue*. To what was further " said, that then also all acts of the like nature must be " reiterated, *viz.* that one baptized or married in one coun- " try, must upon his coming into another country be bap- " tized or married there; the Archbishop denied it by this " short note, viz. *Nothing like*. As to that assertion, that " Ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profes- " sion in faith were acknowledged such in any other; and " this to be the universal and perpetual practice; the " Archbishop made this only exception; *always excepting* " *such Churches as allowed of presbytery, and executed it*. " Then as to his examples, this was the Archbishop's ani- " madversion, that Mr. Travers's cause was far differing " from Polycarp's. For he went not to Rome to be made " Minister, but being ordained Minister according to the

" order of the Church wherein he lived, was suffered to " execute his function at Rome. But Travers, misliking " the order of his own country, ran to be ordered else- " where, by such as had no authority to ordain him; to " the contempt of the ministry of this Church, and the " manifest maintenance of schism. That he knew no such " foreign Ministers executing the ministry here; but if " there were, their cause was far differing from his. That " Mr. Whittingham, had he lived, had been deprived, " without special grace and dispensation: although his " cause and Mr. Travers's were nothing like. For he in " times of persecution was ordained Minister by those that " had authority in the Church persecuted: but Travers " in the time of peace, refusing to be made Minister here " at home, gadded into other countries, to be ordained by " such as had no authority: condemning thereby the kind " of ordaining Ministers at home. That the laws of this " realm required, that such as were to be allowed as Min- " isters in this Church of England should be ordained " by a Bishop, and subscribe to the Articles before him. " Lastly, whereas Travers had said, that the last Archbi- " shop of Canterbury was acquainted with his manner of " calling to the ministry, and so was the Bishop of London, " and were contented he should preach at the Temple, (as " he had done now almost six years,) and that the present " Archbishop himself had not taken any exception against " it: our Archbishop said, that this was to abuse their pa- " tience: and that he never allowed of his kind of calling; " neither could he allow of it." This is the sum, in short, of this paper of reasons set down by Travers, in plea for himself; and of the notes of the Archbishop set in the margin of that paper. But the whole papers, being somewhat long, I have laid in the Appendix. To which the diligent reader may have recourse.

CHAP. XVI.

Anno 1586.

253

N°. XXX.

To Travers we annex Cartwright, the Archbishop's old antagonist; with whom he had again now something to do. Who being so averse to the state and constitution of the reformed religion in this Church, the Archbishop cared

The Archbishop forbids Cartwright to answer the Rhemists' Testament.

BOOK III. Anno 1586.

not that he should have any hand in defending of it against the Papists; foreseeing that, if he did, he must sprinkle divers of his own conceits and opinions among his arguments. Whereby he might do as much harm one way, as good another.

The Rhemists, to stop the mouths of the Protestants as well as they could, for their restraining the common people the use of the Scriptures, had made an English translation of the New Testament, set out with divers annotations, vindicating their own doctrines, as agreeing with those places of Scripture noted, and confuting those of the Protestants, as contrary thereunto. This work called for a sound answer, both in regard of those notes and of the translation itself. Several persons there were that put Cartwright upon this employment: whereof many were of the Puritan sect; and some again were courtiers: and they probably did it to divert him from being troublesome to the Church; and supposing his labour might be better employed that way. The chief of these were, a certain Earl, [the Earl of Leicester, I suppose,] and Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary; who, in the year 1583, (as the publisher of that book informs the reader,) was one that not only incited him to the work, but insured him of such aid as should be necessary for his finishing of the same. To which purpose he sent him an hundred pounds towards the charges; for the buying of books necessary to read and examine; and for the procuring of writers. This was about the year 1583, as appeared by the date of Cartwright's letter in answer to that Counsellor's motion, and to testify his receiving of the said sum. The same year he was solicited very earnestly to the same purpose by several learned men of the University of Cambridge, as appears by a Latin epistle by joint consent written to him. Which epistle is printed before the book; whose names are subscribed to it: all of them of the like principles, *viz.* Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Crook, John Ireton, William Fulk, John Field, Nicolas Crane, Giles Seintcler, Richard Gardiner, and William Chark. The like letters,

Cartwright hath divers encouragements to do it.

Confutation of Rhemists' translation. pr. 1618.

exhorting him to this work, he received from divers Ministers of London and Suffolk; which, for some personal and special reasons, (saith the publisher,) were thought fit to be concealed; [one may guess what those reasons were;] but were ready to be shewn on just occasion. Anno 1586.

Cartwright undertook the work. But as he had these friends and encouragers, so he had potent adversaries: from whom he met with such discouragements, that he was moved often to lay his pen aside, as he wrote, in the year 1586, to an Earl and Privy Counsellor of great note; who before had writ him a letter, to set himself resolutely to this undertaking. Hath others that discouraged him.

The Archbishop was another that opposed him therein. And from him he received a commandment about this year to deal no further in it. Martin Marprelate, in his libel, taketh notice of this act of the Archbishop's as a mighty crime: and maketh it one of the conditions he propounded of peace between the *reverend and worthy Mr. Marprelate, Gent.* (as he styleth himself,) *and the reverend Fathers his brethren, the Lords Bishops;* namely, to suffer Mr. Cartwright's answer to the Rhemists' Testament to be published. And a second stroke he hath at the Archbishop elsewhere in the said book on the same account; saying, "That he heard once from the mouth "of a man of great learning [but of their own party no "doubt] and deep judgment; who, having seen some part "of this man's answer to the same Rhemists' and traitorous rhapsody, gave his judgment thereof in these words: "That Mr. Cartwright had dealt so soundly against the "Papists, that for the answering and confuting of the adversary, that one work would be sufficient alone. He "further added, that the adversary was confuted by "strange and unknown reasons; that would set them at "their wits end, when they saw themselves assailed with "such weapons, whereof they never once dreamed that "they should be strucken." And then the libeller asketh, turning his speech to the Archbishop, "Will your "Grace receive any else that are the hinderers of his pub- Marprelate quarrels with the Archbishop about Cartwright's answer to the Rhemists' Testament. p. 38. and 28. 254

BOOK III. Anno 1586.

"lishing of this work? Still bereave the Church of so "worthy a jewel; nay, so strong an armour against the "enemy?"

Epistle of some of the University to Cartwright.

It could not be well taken by the said Archbishop, or the friends of the Church established, that the Cambridge Divines, in their foresaid letter, had given such commendation unto Cartwright's former works, (which must be his books against Dr. Whitgift,) extolling his great abilities from the substance of his writings, in these words: "That "it was not for every workman workmanlike to frame "God's tabernacle; but for Bazaliel and Aholiab. Nei-"ther was every one to be rashly thrust forth into the "Lord's battles: but such captains were to be chosen "out of David's worthies. Of which they acknowledged "him to be, in former battles undergone for the walls of "our city, *viz.* the Church. And that they doubted not, "but if he would engage in this war, that he, fighting for "conscience and country, nay, for the most holy place of "the temple, would be able to tread under foot the force "of the Jebusites, &c." By the *walls* of the Church, meaning the outward government and discipline of it. And for his fighting for these walls these epistlers gave such high commendations unto him.

Non cujusvis est e vulgo artificis affabre conficere tabernaculum Dei, sed Bezalielis et Aholiabi. Nec quivis in bella Domini *temere* intrudendus, sed e fortibus Davidis deligendi duces. *Qualem cum te* agnoscimus ex superioribus præliis pro civitatis nostræ, Ecclesiæ, muris susceptis, *non dubitamus, si hoc* certamen inire velis, &c.

In short, by reason of the opposition Cartwright met withal, especially from the Archbishop for the causes abovesaid, his book was neither fully finished, nor published at all in the Queen's reign; till the year 1618, and then privately printed, having been finished, with some few chapters in the Revelations, (left undone,) by Dr. Fulk; the place and name of the printer being omitted: with this title, *A Confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament: so far as they contain manifest Impieties, Heresies, Idolatries, Superstitions, Profaneness, Treasons, Slanders, Absurdities, Falsehoods, and other Evils*, &c. *By the reverend, learned, and judicious Divine, Thomas Cartwright, sometime Divinity Reader of Cambridge.* Some particular exceptions the Archbishop took to his answer to the Preface of that

Rhemish Testament, (which he communicated to the Lord Treasurer,) which we shall set down under the year 1590. CHAP. XVI.

I insert here an instance of the particular honour and respect the Archbishop had for the reverend Mr. John Fox, the famous Martyrologist: who, as a reward from the Queen, had the lease of Shipton under Wichwood in Oxfordshire given him, being a prebend, belonging to the church of Sarum, with a manor annexed. This lease Mr. Fox gave this year (the year before his death) unto his eldest son Samuel, upon his return home from his travels abroad; which was about the end of June: as I find it by him written in a journal of his own. But Piers, Bishop of Sarum, a Court Bishop, and the Queen's Almoner, had begged it of her to collate to it; having, as he reckoned, the greatest propriety in it; and accordingly had the grant of it. Whereupon Mr. Fox applied himself, in his father's name, to the Archbishop, declaring his case. Who thereupon presently gave him a letter, dated July the 14th, to the Bishop. And the Bishop as readily granted his request, out of a due sense of a man that had so well deserved of the Church, for his vast written labours of the history of this Church, and the persecutions of the true professors of it: nay, and more than his request. For he promised to settle an exhibition upon Father Fox's second son, whose name was Thomas, bred up in King's college, Cambridge; and when he was capable of it, of a prebend in his church of Sarum. But he studied physic, and afterwards became an eminent physician in the college at London. For to this tenor did the Bishop's answer to the Archbishop run, dated the same day with the Archbishop's to him.

Anno 1586. The Archbishop's kindness to Mr. Fox, for his father's sake.

Thomas Fox.

" Grace and peace from God the Father, &c. That he 255
" had received his Grace's letter in behalf of Mr. Fox's
" son, for that prebend of Shipton: the grant whereof her
" Majesty had already made unto him: because it was a
" prebend belonging to the church of Sarum, in respect
" whereof he laid (as he said) some claim unto it. That

The Bishop of Sarum's letter to the Archbishop in favour of Fox.

BOOK III.

Anno 1586.

" he thought good to procure the disposition of it into his " own hands. That nevertheless ready he was, to the ut- " most of his power, to pleasure that good man Mr. Fox. " And that to this point, his son, the bearer hereof, and " himself, were grown. First, because he thought some " blemish to be in the lease, for want of confirmation of " the Dean and Chapter before the death of Mr. Randal, " (to whom the lease was made,) he promised him either " to confirm the said lease again, or to make him a new " one, if this misliked him. For that him, upon whom he " [the Bishop] meant to bestow the prebend, and was his " domestic Chaplain, and to marry his niece very shortly, " he was sure of in this matter, to be at his command- " ment; and he had promised already the performance " thereof before him unto Samuel Fox. The Bishop added " moreover, that he had promised him to bestow some " other prebend upon his younger brother, as soon as any " fell void, after he was capable of it. And in the mean " season to give him some exhibition quarterly towards " his maintenance in the University. And this (he said) " he trusted would satisfy his Grace and Mr. Fox. If not, " that upon the understanding of his Grace's further plea- " sure therein, he should be content to yield further to his " better contentment. And thus he left the Archbishop " to God's merciful tuition. From his house at Sarum. " Subscribing himself,

" His Grace's to command in Christ,

" Jo. Sarum."

The Archbishop's value for Fox's Martyrology.

This was the judgment and venerable esteem the Archbishop and Churchmen in those days had of that reverend and learned Confessor, and his labours. So useful, as they judged, that our Archbishop openly in print (in his answer to Cartwright) confessed, that he had read over Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments from one end to the other: how low soever the esteem of him grew afterwards among some, even of the Clergy.

I find Mr. Samuel Fox quietly possessed of, and enjoyed

this lease of Shipton: and sometime lived there; and in the year 1590, on new year's day eve, (the same day thirty years whereon himself was born,) was born into the world, in the parsonage house of Shipton, his eldest daughter Anne, by Mrs. Anne Leveson, whom he married the year before, in the house of Sir Moyle Finch, at Eastwel in Kent; and being then steward to Sir Thomas Heneage, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen. CHAP. XVI. Anno 1586. S. Fox's Journal.

CHAP. XVII. 256

A Parliament. The Puritans bring in a bill and book. The opposition it met with. Two notable papers of arguments to this purpose; supposed of the Archbishop's drawing up. The House petition the Queen for the new model. Her notable answer. Matters transacted in the Convocation. Their benevolence. Their subsidy. The province of York grant the same. Their petition to the Queen. The Clergy's address to her; with a tract against the new model. Puritan Ministers engage themselves by subscription to the Discipline. Observations upon it. Of their resolution to set it up by force.

IN the Parliament that sat this year, 28. Eliz. Octob. 29, called together by the Queen, chiefly for the thorough examination of matters concerning the Scotch Queen, (when our Archbishop, with the Lord Treasurer and Lord Steward, were Commissioners in the Queen's name,) the disaffected to the present ecclesiastical government and worship laboured earnestly again, as they had done in the last Parliament, to bring their ends to pass. And for that purpose brought in a bill and a book, Febr. 27. And some of the members made speeches, (that this design might go down the better,) touching the necessity of a learned ministry, and for amendment of things amiss in the ecclesiastical A bill and a book brought into the Parliament. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 410. a.

BOOK III.

state. And in order thereunto offered that bill and book written. The *bill* contained a petition, that it might be
Anno 1586. enacted, that all laws then in force touching the ecclesiastical government might be void: and that this *book*, which was another form of public prayer and administration of the sacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies, might be only used in the Church, instead of the old one. And it was motioned, that the book might be read. Whereupon the Speaker of the House said, that her Majesty before that time had commanded the House not to meddle in this thing: and that she promised herself to take order in those matters of the Church, he doubted not, to the good satisfaction of all her people: and so desired them to spare the reading of it. But notwithstanding the Court would have it read. But when they were ready to hear it,
Dalton. Dalton, a member, presently stood up, and said, "It was "not meet to be read, in that it appointed a new form of "administration of the sacraments and ceremonies of the "Church, to the discredit of the Book of Common Prayer "and the whole State. And added, that he thought this "would bring her Majesty into indignation against the "House, thus to enterprise the dealing with those things "which her Majesty especially had taken into her own "charge and direction." But several others notwithstanding spake earnestly for the reading of it. But the hour being past, the House broke up: and neither the petition nor book was read. And the Queen sent to the Speaker for both. In the beginning of March, it was
Wentworth. moved again by Mr. Wentworth. And divers of those men that were so earnest for it were sent to the Tower, after their having been sent for to the Privy Council. Which some of the Parliament thought an infringement of their liberties. But Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain, a Privy Counsellor, told the House, that those gentlemen, he supposed, were committed, not for any thing that concerned the business or privileges of the House, but for something else: as it is likely, for encroaching

upon the Queen's title and prerogative, as supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical, and intermeddling with matters touching the Church, which her Majesty had so often inhibited, as causing much disputation and meetings between the two Houses in former Parliaments, to the hinderance of public business. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1586. 257

There is a speech against this *bill* and *book* preserved in one of the MS. volumes in the Lambeth library, entitled, *Memoirs of Affairs in Church and State in Archbishop Whitgift's Time;* the Speaker thereof not named; but I conjecture, upon some reasons, that it was drawn up by the Archbishop, and delivered in the House by Sir Christopher Hatton, since he did not use to be silent in these matters. And on account of the great weight of it, and being omitted in D'Ewes' Journal of Parliaments, I shall here set down the contents of it, *viz.* "That whereas the book and "bill had been greatly commended, and, through manifold "business, his study in the Scripture went little further "than what concerned the information of a true Christian, "in matters as well of faith as manners; besides, that he "always deemed it a special part of Christian sobriety, for "every man to contain himself within the bounds of his "own vocation; and not to presume too much upon his "own knowledge, to dispute and determine ecclesiastical "matters; appertaining rather to learned Doctors and "grave Fathers of the Church; but yet a great part of "this desired reformation of the Church came within the "compass of his profession, touching matters of State; he "craved therefore their heedful regard, while he should "open to them sundry points of great consequence." And then he began first to speak "of the Reformation, begun "in Edward the Sixth's time, and continuing under Queen "Elizabeth; as consisting in the establishment of three "things. I. Of a true government of the Church, greatly "corrupted, and falsely usurped by the Bishop of Rome. "II. Of the pure doctrine of Christ by a sound reformation "and purgation thereof from Popery. And III. Of a godly "order for public prayer and administration of sacraments,

A speech in the House against the bill and book. MSS. Lambeth.

BOOK III.

" with other rites and ceremonies, instead of Popish Mass, " barbarous service, and other corruptions."

Anno 1586.

The Reformation commended.

Then he proceeded to speak of the Reformation in general: " That it was made upon the most grave consider- " ation by the chief Doctors and Fathers of this Church; " that it had been often fined and refined; and by her " Majesty at length brought to such perfection, as the pro- " fession of this reformed Church in England had been, " ever since, the chief key and stay of true religion in " all the reformed Churches in Christendom. What joy " (added he) was once in England for this Reformation! " How many letters had been written hither by strangers, " to congratulate the sincerity and happiness thereof! " And how many challenges had been made, and books " written, in defence of the same!" Then he came more particularly to handle that part which touched the government of it. And therein he fell into the consideration of the new book, shewing the danger and inconvenience of many particulars of it. But I refer the reader to the per-

No. XXXI.

usal of this excellent paper in the Appendix: wherein the true state of the case, between the new reformers, and those that stuck to the reformation as it then stood, is shewn: and which being found among Archbishop Whitgift's papers, and of his Secretary's hand, I am very inclinable to think was of the Archbishop's own composing, as the substance of such arguments as were proper to be used against this bill and book; both which seem to have been read afterwards, though endeavoured to have been smothered at first. For in this speech are several particulars of the said bill and book specified and animadverted

The book, a form of service.

upon: which supposeth them to have been read. As, that the book was called a *form of service*, but in truth it was none, as being left to every Minister's choice to use that, or the like to it. That the whole of the book for the public exercises was only a service to be used before and after sermon. That it permitted not the Confession to be said in the Church at all. As for the Offices for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Minister was to pray and to min-

ister thanks "in such words, or the like in effect." So that all, or the most part, was left to the Minister's spirit. That in the Creed they did in effect abrogate the article of the *Descent of Christ into Hell*. That of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, they threw out three; *viz.* the thirty-fourth, of *Traditions;* the thirty-fifth, of the *Homilies;* and the thirty-sixth, of *making of Bishops and Ministers*. That they took away the right of presenting to benefices from the lawful patrons, and settled them upon their *elders*. That they took away impropriations from the laity, and settled them upon the Ministers. That they lessened the Queen's revenues, by taking away her impropriations too: and, it was to be feared, her tenths and first-fruits, according as their greatly admired book of *ecclesiastical discipline* directed. That the calling of Archbishops and Bishops was not agreeable to the word of God, &c. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1586. 258

There be also in the same MS. volume one or two tracts more to the same purpose; one against this new discipline, now so violently pushed on; and the other in behalf of the present constitution of the Church, drawn up, I make little doubt, by the Archbishop, either to be made use of in the Parliament House by some members, now at this critical time, when all was in such danger; or for the Lord Burghley's or the Queen's own perusal. And that we may once for all see the merits of this cause, wherein the Archbishop was so earnestly concerned, I shall here faithfully transcribe them from the original, of his Secretary's hand.

The former tract was entitled, *Certain Mischiefs ensuing the Puritans' Demands and Platform;* in ten articles.

A tract against the demands and platform of the Puritans.

"I. It overthrows her Majesty's Supremacy: which "consists chiefly in these three heads; *viz.* her title and "supreme government over all persons and causes eccle- "siastical. That no law be made and put in practice "without her particular assent. That the appellation in "causes ecclesiastical be made to her Highness's Chan- "cery; as it was before to the Pope. All three must in "effect be abolished.

BOOK III.

Anno 1586.

"For the first; they say, the Prince, being no elder, is "in the number of those, *qui facile debent pati se regi et "gubernari;* and not the supreme governor.

"For the second; the making of all ecclesiastical laws "they ascribe to the Senate wholly: and do give to the "Prince authority only to punish such as offend their "orders. Which is indeed to give her Highness govern- "ment *in personas tantum, non in causas; et potestatem "facti, non juris.*

"For the third; their appellations lie from the elder- "ship to a conference; from that to a provincial; from "that to a national synod. Which must definitively end "all.

"II. It taketh from her Majesty that part of her prero- "gative royal, whereby she is patron paramount of all the "benefices in England, accruing to her by lapse or other- "wise.

"III. It taketh from her Majesty, and all other of the "laity, that part of their inheritance, whereby they present "unto ecclesiastical livings. *Jus patronatus.*

"IV. They hold it unlawful to pay to her Majesty the "first-fruits and tenths of their livings: or that either her "Majesty or any layman shall have in their possession "any impropriation.

"V. They require to have more colleges built, for the "increasing of that number which is to fill their presby- "teries: and that all the Bishops' livings, and such lands "as appertained heretofore unto abbeys, may partly be em- "ployed that way, and partly to the better maintenance of "their presbyteries.

"VI. It overthroweth both Archbishops and Bishops: "and so consequently one of the chief degrees of the estate "of this realm; desiring, as of necessity, an equality of "Ministers.

"VII. It overthroweth all the ecclesiastical constitu- "tions, laws, and ordinances, which have been made ever "since the Apostles' times. That so they may make such "other as shall be thought meet in every congregation.

"VIII. It overthroweth a great part of the common "laws and statutes; as, besides those which depend upon "her Majesty's Supremacy, the statute of Mortmain, &c. "If this platform should go forward, it may boldly be 259 "averred, that one whole man's life of Parliaments would "not be sufficient to make new laws, which might bring it "to any tolerable state of government.

"IX. It overthroweth the present division of this land "into parishes, and requires a new one to be made, an- "swerable to their fancies.

"X. It maketh her Highness subject to their excom- "munications: and so, consequently, is not unlikely to "prove a matter of great danger. For if her Majesty "should be excommunicate, and not yield thereunto, the "chief authors of this platform do affirm, that then *lege* "*feudorum*, which they say holdeth in kingdoms, her "Majesty's subjects, or any others, are freed from their "oaths of fidelity.

"What dangerous propositions the chief patrons of this "new devised government have published of late years, "how natural born subjects may rebel against their Prince, "depose him and execute him, every man knows, who "have read the books entitled, *De jure Magistratus in* "*Subditos;* Buchanan, *De jure regni apud Scotos;* and "Junius Celta's book entitled, *Vindictæ contra Tyran-* "*nos.*

"It condemneth the government of the Church ever "since the Apostles' times; and containeth many more "strange assertions, and some impossibilities.

"*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

"*Malum benè positum nè moveas.*"

Another tract in favour of the present ecclesiastical government.

And as the platform was in this paper notably and substantially confuted; so the Archbishop (as I presume him the writer, with the assistance of some Civilian) composed another learned discourse, to prove the present government of the Church, as it then stood, to be right, necessary, and expedient; and if any thing were amiss therein, what regular course was to be taken quietly to reform. This dis-

BOOK III.

course went upon these heads: *viz.* I. That the present form of our ecclesiastical government in England is godly and necessary. II. That the ordinances of our Church, and the means appointed by law for their execution, are good and commendable. III. That if any thing be generally amiss in ecclesiastical affairs, it appertaineth, under her Majesty, unto the Clergy in the Convocation or Synod, to be reformed. IV. That when orders are agreed upon by the Clergy, and confirmed by her Majesty, those men ought to be punished that wilfully oppose themselves, and will not obey them. And then the conclusion is,

Anno 1586. Lamb. library. vol. Memoirs.

" Therefore sith the present government is lawful, let " us embrace it: the orders being singular, let us obey " them. If any defect be, let us refer the supply thereof " unto the convocation house. And lastly, when orders " and laws are made, let us labour they may be observed, " and persuade men they may not do what they list upon " every vain suggestion of an idle brain. *Non est singulis* " *concedendum quod per Magistratum fieri potest; nè oc-* " *casio sit majoris tumultus; regula juris.*

" To conclude, let us interpret every thing to the best. " The laws, the Prelates, and her Majesty, mean well. " And then as the law saith, *Non dubium est in legem* " *committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, contra legis* " *nititur voluntatem.* Cod. lib. 1. de leg. et const. leg. 5."

The Queen's answer to the petition of Parliament for the new model. MSS. Lambeth.

Let me add, that the zealous members in this Parliament seemed to have stretched this matter even to the addressing the Queen in behalf of this new model. For such a petition there was, though the author of the Journal of Parliaments is silent of it. For the Queen's answer to them I have met with in an authentic MS. Which (because she appeared not herself in person this sessions of Parliament) was delivered to the House by one of her Court: *viz.* " Her Majesty is fully resolved, by her own " reading and princely judgment, upon the truth of the " Reformation, which we have already; and mindeth not " now to begin to settle herself in causes of religion.

260 " Her Majesty hath been confirmed in her said judg-

" ment of the present reformation, by the letters and writ-
" ings of the most famous men in Christendom, as well of
" her own dominions as of other countries.

" Her Majesty thinks it very inconvenient and danger-
" ous, while our enemies are labouring to overthrow the
" religion established as false and erroneous, that we, by
" new disputations, should seem ourselves to doubt thereof.

" Her Majesty hath fully considered, not only of the ex-
" ceptions that are made against the present reformation,
" and doth find them frivolous; but also of the platform
" that is desired, and accounteth it most prejudicial unto
" the religion established, to her crown, to her govern-
" ment, and to her subjects.

" Her Majesty thinketh, that though it were granted
" that some things were amiss in the Church, yet seeing
" she is fully persuaded, and knoweth it to be true, that
" for the very substance and grounds of true religion, no
" man living can justly control them; to make every day
" new laws in matters of circumstances, and of less mo-
" ment, (especially touching religion,) were a means to
" breed great lightness in her subjects, to nourish an un-
" stayed humour in them, in seeking still for exchanges.
" *Malum est et reip. noxium, assuefieri homines ad facili-*
" *tatem mutandarum legum.*

" If any thing were amiss, it appertaineth to the Clergy
" more properly to see the same redressed. *Unicuique*
" *in sua arte credendum. Quam quisque norit artem, in*
" *hac se exerceat. Navem agere ignarus navis timet.*

" Her Majesty takes your petition herein to be against
" the prerogative of her crown. For by their full consents
" it hath been confirmed and enacted, (as the truth herein
" requireth,) that the full power, authority, jurisdiction,
" and supremacy in Church causes, which heretofore the
" Popes usurped and took to themselves, should be united
" and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

The Convocation. Extract of Convocat. Rev. F. Atterbury, D. D. nunc Ep. Roff.

And now with the Parliament we will give some short account of the Convocation; which began to sit Octob. the 16th, by virtue of the Queen's writ to the Archbishop.

BOOK III. Anno 1586.

Who issued his commission to five Bishops, the Vicar General, and Dr. Dunn: and it was prorogued to the 24th of October following. At the fourth session, November 4. Dr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, was presented Prolocutor. The Archbishop then gave a general commission to five Bishops, to Dr. Redman, beforesaid, Dr. Aubery, Vicar General, Dr. Goad, [Goodman,] Dean of Westminster, and Dr. Dunn, Doctor of Laws, to act in his absence.

Things transacted therein.

At another session, *viz.* Session 8, November 16. at a conference with the Lower House, the Archbishop gave intimation to present, if any Bishop had ordained or instituted any unworthy person, or any breach of the canons; that it might be reformed.

Session 13, December 2. articles were brought in for the increase of learning in inferior Ministers: which were not the same with those that were brought in, in the former Parliament time; but may be supplied from the register; being not elsewhere to be found, as I know of; entitled, *Orders for the better increase of learning in the inferior Ministers, and for more diligent preaching and catechising.* Wherein certain *exercises* were appointed to the Ministers for their improvement in the study of divinity. These orders, consisting of divers articles, may be seen in the Appendix. And two schedules were then brought from the Lower House, (in pursuance, no doubt, of the Archbishop's intimation.) First, a complaint of disorder in Norwich diocese; *viz.* I. That there was no observation of the canons. II. That unworthy persons were ordained and instituted. III. Penances were commuted by ecclesiastical judges. IV. Chancellor and Commissaries catched at causes, who should get most. V. Excommunication denounced for trifles. VI. No care was had of the poor; and orderly painful preachers were discharged: the disorderly promoted, and made reformers. VII. Exaction of fees. VIII. Preaching without licence. Whereupon it was desired, that none might preach by licence, unless he conformed to the Book of Common Prayer, and used it in all

N°. XXXII.

Complaint of matters amiss in Norwich.

his administrations. And, IX. A restraint of *prohibitions* was prayed, and a regulation of fees.

Anno 1586.

The other schedule was entitled, *Suffolk Archdeaconry particularly*. I. The Communion not at all, or but in part, used and observed. II. The wearing of the surplice refused. III. Holydays not observed. IV. The Communion was received by many sitting; and those that conformed to the Church called *time-servers*. V. Stipendiary Preachers and Curates mutinous and disorderly. VI. Questmen were faulty in not presenting non-comparents, contumacious, and suspended [persons.]

261

Suffolk archdeaconry.

The Convocation was prorogued by the Archbishop to February the 17th, on which day it was held at St. Paul's, London. Session 3, March the 3d, the Archbishop, at a conference, propounded to the Clergy the granting to the Queen a benevolence, besides a subsidy granted already: to which the Bishops and Lower House assented. The subsidy was one single subsidy of six shillings, payable yearly at two shillings per pound per annum: the first payment to be October the 2d, 1588. Session 4, March the 4th, was a draught of a grant of a benevolence of three shillings per pound, brought up from the Lower House, to be paid at three payments yearly: the first payment to be May the 1st, 1587. This benevolence was presented to the Queen in a very humble dutiful manner in writing, bearing date the same fourth day of March, by the Archbishop, and signed with his seal. Therein "thankfully remembering her Majesty's manifold and great benefits, that "all the realm received by the blessing of God, under her "happy and peaceable government: and they of the Clergy "especially, by her princely care of them. Whereby they "enjoyed not only their lives and livings, but the free exercise of their ministry and function, the true preaching "of the word of God, and the sincere administration of "the sacraments. And that they seeing the infinite occasions that through the execrable malice of the enemies "of the Gospel did daily arise, whereby she was driven to "many extraordinary expenses, for the necessary defence

The Clergy's subsidy.

And benevolence to the Queen.

BOOK III.

Anno 1586.

" of the Gospel and her own dominions; in token of their " dutiful and thankful hearts with one joint consent, over " and above one subsidy of six shillings in the pound, " granted to her and her heirs and successors; they " yielded to her Highness' person only, a benevolence or " contribution of three shillings in the pound besides. All " vicarages under the value of ten pounds, all lands, re- " venues, &c. belonging to either of the Universities, or " the colleges and halls, and houses of students in the " same, or to the collegiate church of Westminster, the " free chapel or college of Windsor, &c. or to any holy " house, hospitals, or grammar schools, &c. excepted."

Number XXXIII.

The whole instrument may be found in the Appendix: which may shew the method of the Clergy's grants of benevolences and contributions in Convocations in former time: wherein they prayed her Majesty to assent to the same grant by her letters patents: and likewise to license them in the Convocation to make orders and decrees for the better levying and payment thereof. And accordingly the Queen issued out her letters patents under her Great Seal. Which letters are exemplified in Dr. Atterbury's book of Convocations.

Rights, &c. of an English Convoc. p. 642.

The province of York grant the same.

To which I may add, that the Clergy of the other province now sitting in Convocation at York granted the same subsidy and benevolence on the 9th of March; and the payments to begin at the same time with those agreed on in this Convocation: as appears by this letter from the Presidents of that Convocation in the north, to the Bishops of that province, *viz.* of Durham, Chester, and Carlisle, then, I suppose, come up to the Parliament. " Our duties " unto your Lordships remembered. In the Convocation " of the Prelates and Clergy of this province of York, " holden here the 9th of this instant March, according to " our bounden duties; with the advice and consent of " your Proctors and their substitutes; we have not only " granted unto her Majesty a subsidy of six shillings of " every pound of our ecclesiastical promotions and livings " in this province, payable in three years; the first pay-

Paper Office.

" ment to be due the second of October, 1588, and so " yearly; but also a contribution or benevolence unto her " Highness' person only, of three shillings of every pound " of our said promotions and benefices, to be likewise paid 262 " in three years; the first payment to be due the first of " May, and so yearly, &c. Unto which grant of benevo- " lence her Majesty hath not only yielded her royal assent " with acceptation and allowance thereof; but also hath " licensed and authorized us in our Synod or Convocation " to ordain, devise, and make decrees and orders for the " true collection.

" Matthew Hutton.
York, 24th *of March*, 1586. " William Palmer."

The Archbishop's exhortation to the Clergy.

Session 7, March the 10th, the Archbishop, by the Queen's command, thanked the Clergy for their benevolence: and warned the Archdeacons to be vigilant against disorderly Clerks; and that in regard of the House of Commons, who had set so hard upon the Clergy. And to take care that preachers preached to edifying, not matters of state. Then the Prolocutor prayed that the articles agreed on by the Bishops, formerly mentioned, for the increase of learning in inferior Ministers, might be read: which was done. And then the Archbishop exhorted all the Clergy to do their duty.

Session 10, March the 15th, the engrossment for the benevolence, and the ordinances for the collection thereof were brought in, and consented to by both Houses. Then the Lower House beseeched the Lords the Bishops, to be careful of their ordinations; and to provide that their officers took not excessive fees. And that they would force every instituted person within a certain time to take inductions, or else to sequester the profits.

Session 14, March the 24th, came the Queen's writ to dissolve the Convocation; and it was accordingly then dissolved. The Bishop of St. Asaph, and all others under suspension, (as it seems for absence,) absolved. And the

BOOK III.

Archdeacon of Canterbury had a mandate from the Archbishop, appointing him collector of the benevolence.

Anno 1586. The Clergy's petition to the Queen when they granted the subsidy.

As for the subsidy which the Clergy in this Convocation also granted, it was confirmed by act of Parliament, though the benevolence were not. And as it was usual for the Clergy upon these grants to the Queen, to petition her Majesty for some favours, or redresses of injuries then suffered; so I find such a petition now (or the last subsidy before this, I cannot determine which) put up to her by the Upper House, upon the desire of the Lower, for remitting of lapses, and pardoning irregularities. And the motions they desired the Archbishop and Bishops to make in their behalf were as follows: "With how great hatred "the common sort of men are inflamed against the Min- "isters of the Church; how watchful for the haltings of "their leaders; and how narrowly they sift every syllable "of the statutes; by which ecclesiastical livings become "void daily, and continual examples declared unto them. "If we compare (as they went on) the charges of ecclesi- "astical persons in these our days with the immunities "they have heretofore enjoyed; if it be considered with "what cold devotion all tithes are paid; if we set before "our eyes how hard it is to wring a free presentation from "a lay patron; if it be remembered, how much every rec- "tory wants of that it hath been worth heretofore, by rea- "son of the taking away of offertories, laying down of til- "lage, and non-payment of tithes personal; it will appear, "that a benefice of 20*l.* in the Queen's books will now "more hardly sustain the incumbent, than heretofore a "benefice of 10*l.* Wherefore seeing the great charges of "ecclesiastical persons must needs increase, in regard of "the malice of the foreign enemy; and the charity of men "towards our calling is like to decrease: as also, for that "unto many poor Ministers the encumbrance growing by "pretended lapses, grounded for the most part upon false "surmises, hath been more hurtful than all the payments "to her most excellent Majesty. May it please this ho-

Cotton librar. Cleopatra. f. 2.

" nourable Synod, that the reverend Fathers and Lords, " which present the free and voluntary subsidy of the " Clergy to her Highness, may be humble suitors to her Anno 1586. " gracious clemency in the behalf of her most faithful sub- 263 " jects, the Clergy of England and Wales. That her High- " ness' free pardon may extend itself to the forgiving of " all lapses and irregularities of her Clergy whatsoever; " except only in causes of high and petty treason, wilful " murders and felonies, and other enormous faults. And " her Majesty's most faithful subjects, the Ministers of the " word of God, shall continue to pray unto God for her " Majesty's long, gracious, and prosperous reign." This draught I conclude was by the direction of the Archbishop; or at least inspected by him, having an insertion or two of his own hand. And this act of clemency was granted the Clergy by the Queen, as appears by an act of Parliament this session, of her most gracious general free pardon.

This Convocation made use of for a precedent by Archbishop Laud, anno 1640.

These grants of this Convocation (let me observe by the way) Archbishop Laud made use of, as a precedent for the Convocation in the year 1640, (whereof he was President,) to justify their sitting and acting, when some doubts were made of the legality. " In this Convocation thus con- " tinued, we made up our act perfect for the gift of six " subsidies, according to ancient form in that behalf: and " delivered it under seal to his Majesty. This passed *nemine* " *refragante*, &c. And we followed a precedent in my " Lord Archbishop Whitgift's time, anno 1586. Who was " known to be a pious and a prudent Prelate; and a man " not given to do boisterous things against the laws of the " realm, or the prerogative of the Crown; one that went " just and fair ways to both."

Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 80.

The Convocation appeal to the Queen against their adversaries this Parliament.

Having given this brief account of this Convocation, and particularly of our Archbishop's concerns and influence therein; I will now proceed to some particular acts of it, tending to the preservation of the Church's constitution against the strong endeavours in this Parliament to overthrow it, as was shewn before. As the Parliament was

BOOK III.

Anno 1586.

dissolved March the 23d, so it seems the next day, when the Convocation was dissolved, or soon after, they humbly addressed to the Queen, with this writing drawn up, I believe, chiefly by the Archbishop, against the foresaid bill and book. Which writing had this title, *The Project and Platform of outward Church Government, exhibited in a Bill and Book the last Parliament, by such as disturb the peace of the Church by seeking innovation, is absurd in divinity, and dangerous in policy to this State: as appeareth by the several writings of such as are favourers and devisers thereof; and by the Bill and Book itself.*

MSS. Biblioth. Lambethan.

"That it is absurd in divinity, we are and will be ready "to make manifest unto your Majesty, if you doubt there- "of, now, or whenever it shall please you."

Memoirs, Num. 178.

The danger in policy they made to appear in respect of her Majesty and the laws. For the making out of which I refer the reader to the paper itself among the MSS. in the Lambeth library.

Ministers engage themselves to the Discipline by subscription.

We may observe from all this before related, with how much vigour the Lower House in these two last Parliaments pressed the bringing a new government, and another book of public religious worship into this Church: which must be attributed in a great measure to the new disciplinarian Ministers, four and twenty in all, who in two *classes*, (as they called their meetings for religious matters,) one in Warwick, and another in Northampton, had subscribed the book, called, *The holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God:* whereof Travers, before spoken of, was the chief author. Whereof in the Warwick *classis* Thomas Cartwright was the first subscriber. In this book was contained the very effect of all that they sought for hitherto. Unto which all their confederates of the ministry subscribed in these words: "We "acknowledge and confess the same agreeable to God's "most holy word, so far as we are able to judge or discern "of it, excepting some few points [which they had sent to "their reverend brethren, in some assembly of them, for "their further resolutions.] And we affirm it to be the

"same which we desire to be established in this Church "by daily prayer to God: which we profess, as God shall "offer opportunity, and give us to discern it, so expedient, "by humble suit unto her Majesty's honourable Council "and to the Parliament, and by all other lawful and con- "venient means, to further and advance, so far as the law "and peace of the present state of our Church will suffer "it; and not to enforce to the contrary. We promise to "guide ourselves, and to be guided by it, and according to "it, &c. We profess uniformly to follow such regard, "when we preach the word of God, as in that book by us "is set down, in the chapter of the *Office of Ministers of* "*the Word.*" And divers other things they promised: as, to observe their meetings together, that is, every six weeks classical conferences, and provincial meetings every half year, from their conferences to send some unto them; and general assemblies every year.

Anno 1586. 264

The methods to bring in the Discipline.

And by virtue of these solemn professions and promises, no question, they wanted not for diligence in exciting as many of the gentry and members of Parliament, as they could, to further this their discipline. Which must first be enterprised by laying aside the Bishops and their courts; which they artfully charged with much corruption; and the conforming Clergy, which they clamoured much against for their ignorance; and the Common Prayer, as being full of superstition, and the remainders of Popery. And then after this they had it in their thoughts (which they hinted in their private letters) to proceed upon the more dangerous methods of force and violence, if their other milder courses of application to the Council and the Parliament, and their prayers, succeeded not.

Observations made upon the book of Discipline. MSS. de reb. Puritan. penes me.

Nor was Archbishop Whitgift negligent of this danger- ous book of the *holy discipline*. We find observations made upon it, either by him or some of his Chaplains, as it seems. In which observations, one was, That it should not be forgotten, that this their form of discipline was the matter that they talked of, when they writ, that "if every "hair of their heads" [it was Cartwright's expression in

BOOK III.

his book] "were a several term of their lives, yet they "ought to spend them all for the attainment of it." This observer writ also, that it was to be observed, that their doctrine was this: "That if the civil magistrate, after so "many petitions made, [and not a few petitions they had "already made,] should refuse to erect it, then they might "do it themselves." This appeared by a letter written by Payne, one of that party, to Lloyd, another: wherein he said, "That it was now looked for at their hands [naming "Travers, Chark, Barbar, &c. chief Ministers among them] "that they should play their parts courageously against "the proud Prelates, flat enemies, as well to her Majesty's "soul, as their godly intent. And that they could not be "discharged of great disloyalty to Christ, except they pro-"ceeded with practice: and so furthered the Lord's cause "by suffering," &c.

Anno 1586.

It was observed likewise from a letter of one Snecam, another of this faction, what his counsel was, *viz.* "That "if the magistrate could not be induced to erect the *dis-*"*cipline* by their persuasion, then they ought to erect it "themselves. Because it was better to obey God than "man. In this point, said another of them, [*viz.* Payne,] "we have dolefully failed, which now or never stands us "in hand to prosecute with all celerity; without hungering "and staying so long for Parliaments, where bishoply ad-"versaries bore the greatest sway in God's matters."

Consistorian doctrine.

It was observed further, that this was the Consistorian doctrine, "That in this very case, subjects might withstand "their Prince. That the Ministers, after due admonition, "might excommunicate him, as an enemy against the "kingdom of Christ. That being so excommunicate, the "people might punish him. And that thereby he ceased "to be their King." For which the foresaid writer quoted Junius Brutus and Buchanan.

CHAP. XVIII. 265

Examination of Ballard, the Priest, in the Tower. What his judgment was of Archbishop Whitgift's book, and of the Puritans. The Archbishop and Bishops charged to be promoters of Popery. The Archbishop's judgment in the Star-chamber against Secretary Davison. Divers tracts set forth about the laws for Papists. A discourse, or speech, about the falling away to Popery. A cautious licence from the Archbishop for bringing in Popish books. A form of prayer and thanksgiving prescribed by the Archbishop for the use of his province.

AS we have seen what the Puritans' endeavours were, in the particular accounts already given of them; so we shall now look upon the other enemies of this Church and State, namely, the Papists. The realm, and the religion, as reformed, professed in it, were in great jeopardy from Mary Queen of Scots, kept a prisoner in England necessarily, for Queen Elizabeth's safety: and though she were in hold, yet holding a very dangerous correspondence with the Pope and the King of Spain, the Queen's sworn enemies; plots were carrying on this summer to assassinate the said Queen, and invade the land, for the rescue of Queen Mary, and for the settling her upon the English throne. And at last one Anthony Babington, Esq. being found a fit man for their purpose, was to marry her, and then the crown to be set upon her head. And in order to this, a desperate conspiracy was undertaken, for the murdering of the Queen, and raising a rebellion: wherein Ballard, a Priest, and divers others (whereof fourteen were afterwards executed) were concerned.

Anno 1586.

Danger of Papists by means of the Scotch Queen.

When this was discovered, (which was about the month of July,) it gave a mighty alarm to all the nation. And the Queen's Council fell earnestly into deliberation about two things: *viz.* securing the Queen's life against Papists; and for the better suppressing of recusancy, especially on account of a foreign invasion threatened by the Pope, the

Disciplinarians take occasion hence to blame the Archbishops.

BOOK III.

King of Spain, the French King, and other Roman Catholic Princes, joined together in a confederacy, which they called *the holy league;* for the rescuing the Scotch Queen, and the introducing of Popery; and overthrowing the present government in Church and State. The *new reformers* soon made use of these occurrences to promote and further their own designs, by laying the fault of these stirs and dangers, in a great measure, upon the Archbishops and Bishops, and their neglects of providing a learned ministry, and for their stopping the mouths of those that preached against Popery, and insisting so much upon Popish ceremonies. And to second this charge, Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Queen's household, and a Privy Counsellor, having some converse with the aforesaid Ballard in the Tower, being under the said Knollys's charge, shewed some particulars of that Priest's judgment in the controversies between the Bishops and the Puritans: who used speech to Sir Francis (whether to please him, or, like a cunning Romish Priest, to keep the differences open and wide among the English Protestants) to this tenor; (as that said Knight, in a paper of his own hand, wrote:)

Anno 1586. The holy league.

Ballard's judgment of the Archbishop and the Puritans.

"That he obstinately affirmed, he would require no better "books to prove his doctrine of Popery by, than the Archbishop's writings against Cartwright, and his Injunctions "set forth in her Majesty's name. That Ballard disgraced "the Archbishop's writings, saying, that they were taken
266 "from the doctrine of their Schoolmen. And that both "he and Babington acknowledged, that if any man among "our Protestants were worthy to be accounted virtuous, "they were those that were counted by us Puritans; be- "cause they would not (said he) be corrupted with double "or treble benefices: and that they lived somewhat vir- "tuously, according to their profession, and were offended "with Popish ceremonies: and then he proceeded to shew "how the Bishops promoted Popery, *viz.* that unlearned "and reading Ministers were rather a furtherance than an "hinderance to the Jesuits and Seminary Priests, in their "seeking to reconcile her Majesty's subjects to the Pope.

"That although the Archbishop and Bishops, &c. did "acknowledge her Majesty to be supreme governor in "cases ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their courts "in her Majesty's name, (but by virtue of Popish canons,) "as was thought meet in King Edward's time. And that "although the said Bishops could allege, that their ma- "gistracy over their brethren, and their names of Arch- "bishops and Bishops, &c. were in use in the primitive "Church, yet they did forget that they were then but lords "or magistrates of order only, made by the Prince, and "not lords of absolute power, ruling without appeal. Anno 1586.

"And that the cause of the Archbishops and Bishops, "&c. their maintenance unlawfully of Popish ceremonies, "and of an unlearned ministry, was their own ambition "and lucre, without regard of her Majesty's danger to fol- "low thereby: which danger was increased by their vio- "lent suppressing of zealous preachers, sound in doctrine, "but scrupulous in Popish ceremonies. That those late "fourteen conspirators against her Majesty's life, through "recusancy now executed, were all born within the time "of her Majesty's reign, and instructed to this conspiracy "by the diligent Jesuits, by reason of the froward negli- "gence of our Bishops; that did not only neglect to have "the youth of this realm diligently to be taught, by caus- "ing them to be well catechised; but that they were ra- "ther enemies and hinderers of zealous preachers, that "would have catechised the youth freely without hire." Sir F. Knollys makes the Bishops the cause of Popery.

This was written by Mr. Treasurer, October 15, the month after Ballard and Babington were executed: the paper being thus endorsed by his own hand, *Mr. Tresorer's learnings in the Tower.*

Thus did that party make use of this Popish plot at this time (however falsely and maliciously) to compass their own ends, to make the Archbishop and the hierarchy odious, and to applaud their own Ministers.

To which let me add, that in the month of July, when the plot was discovered against the Queen's life, and upon it a serious consultation was held in the Privy Council His advice for the Queen's safety.

BOOK III.

about her safety, then Sir Francis being absent, and so, according to custom, was bound to send in writing what his advice was in this case; he propounded three things; (in one whereof he had another fling at the Archbishop and Bishops;) *viz.* I. He thought it necessary that the wars for the defence of the liberties of the Low Countries should be maintained: and for that end a Parliament should be assembled, and grant money. II. That a strait account should be taken of recusants: and that a difference be made of traitorous and seditious recusants, and those that were more simple. [For it seems there were then two sorts of recusants, some more quiet, others more violently acted by Jesuits for the overthrow of the government.] And that special care should be taken that recusants came not into the Court, and especially into the Queen's presence. III. His third advice was, that it was necessary for her Majesty's safety, that the absolute authority of private Bishops without appeal should be restrained. So that they should not condemn zealous preachers against the Pope's supremacy, for refusing to subscribe to unlawful articles; nor without the assembly of a synodal council of preachers. For that absolute authority of private Bishops did teach a way, and make a highway, to Popery. And that because ambition and covetousness were chief instruments to draw lordly Bishops thereunto. This paper, all of his own handwriting, I leave to be read at length in the Appendix, he being a Privy Counsellor, and composed to be deliberated upon in relation to this present emergence; and to shew the spirit of the Puritans at this time towards the Archbishop and the rest of the spiritual governors of the Church.

Anno 1586.

Which, among other things, was,

That the authority of Bishops, and subscription, be taken away.

Numb. XXXIV.

267 These dangerous plotters having suffered the law, the main person in the plot yet remained, *viz.* the Queen of Scots. Queen Elizabeth, seeing no other way could be taken, and the letters of that Queen coming to hand, wherein it appeared she had held a dangerous correspondence both with Babington and others, her enemies, abroad, consented at length that that Queen should undergo her trial:

which was held at Fotheringay castle. Where, after a full examination, she was found guilty, and condemned to die. It was a great while before Queen Elizabeth could bring herself to give way to these proceedings with a crowned head, having many scruples both in point of honour and conscience about it; which her courtiers, her divines, and her lawyers endeavoured, by discourses and writings, to remove: which would here be too long to relate. The Archbishop of Canterbury's judgment was warily delivered; as endeavouring to decline, as much as he could, such matters of state, as more fit for politicians than divines to resolve. And there is a discourse, (in the volume of the Memoirs of this Archbishop,) which, if it were made by him, was handled under this general case, whether, "if any violence be attempted against princes, the "treason may justly touch them who gape for the crown."

Anno 1586.

The Archbishop tender in giving his judgment about the Queen of Scots.

Biblioth. Lambethan. No. 178. p. 35.

But when the Queen had surmounted her scruples, and her Parliament, assembled chiefly for this affair, called upon her very earnestly that execution might be done; to pacify them, she at length, by great persuasion, signed the warrant for that unhappy Queen's execution; yet intending the said warrant should lie by. But Davison, her Secretary, a wise but zealous man, to hasten the warrant down, stayed not for any further order from the Queen. And so execution was done without her knowledge. Whereat, when she understood it, she was in a very great consternation, and stormed excessively. Several of her great Counsellors, that were any way privy to it, were banished the Court. And among the rest the Lord Treasurer, who wrote a most humble and penitent letter to her, to be restored to her favour again. Beal, one of the Clerks of the Council, the forwardest of all the rest, was commanded likewise to forbear the Court, and his office; and remained under her displeasure a great while. But the storm chiefly fell on Secretary Davison. He was for this brought as a great criminal into the Star-chamber, and fined 10,000*l.* and imprisonment. Each of the nobility that sat judges there gave their sentence upon Davison's

The Archbishop's judgment against Davison in the Star-chamber.

BOOK III.

act. I shall only mention, that our Archbishop, one of the judges, approved the fact, (as our historian sets it down,) that is, of Davison's getting the warrant signed, and commended him. But the manner and way of doing it he utterly condemned: that is, as it was urged against him by the Queen's counsel at law: namely, "that the Queen "never intended, (as Popham, the Queen's Attorney, de- "clared and aggravated,) that the Queen of Scots, though "condemned, should have been put to death, for causes "best known to herself alone, and not be searched into "by others: nor that she could by any means be per- "suaded to consent thereto, either by the estates of the "realm, or by the repeated instances and reasons of the "Council: notwithstanding she had, for preventing of dan- "gers, commanded a warrant for the Queen's execution "to be drawn up, and committed it to Davison's trust and "secresy. That he nevertheless, being sworn Secretary, "forgetting his allegiance and duty, contrary to what the "Queen had commanded him, acquainted the Council "therewith; and put the warrant in execution without "her knowing any thing at all of it." This was that which moved the Archbishop to give his judgment as he did.

Anno 1586. Camd. Eliz. p. 392.

After this the State looked very sternly upon all those of the Popish religion in England; and many Seminary Priests and Jesuits were taken up and executed; (as some were also the last year;) and more banished, never to return into England again: or if they did, immediately to be executed, by virtue of a statute made in the last Parliament against their coming into this realm to pervert the Queen's subjects. The penalty was, that if any such, who had taken Orders beyond sea, did come and remain here
268 in the realm forty days after the rising of that Parliament, it was deemed high treason in them.

Discourses on this occasion writ against the Papists, and in vindica-

This occasioned several discourses to be drawn up; some to open the eyes of the English to see their danger from that sect of men; and some to vindicate the severe proceedings with them. One of these discourses written

was, *Concerning the dangerous State of the Realm, by reason of Priests and Seminaries, perverting the Queen's Subjects from their Allegiance to her, and the Religion established.* This was composed by the learned and wise head and hand of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, written about this time, as near as I can guess. Another writing there was about this time to take off the clamour of Papists, that the Queen put Priests to death merely for religion: which was a matter the Protestants had declaimed so much against; and yet as if now guilty of it themselves. This paper therefore was to shew, "that it was not for re-"ligion, but treason, that these executions were done upon "them." And that they were prosecuted and punished in truth upon an old statute of King Edward III. in whose reign a law was made against such as should compass or imagine the King's death. There was yet another discourse writ now, as it seems, "that princes might use "compulsion by mulct against heretics." This seems to have been drawn to satisfy the Queen, or some other of the great men, for punishing Papists so much a Sunday, and so much a month, for absence from church, and for not coming to common prayer. Yet another tract was written for the foresaid good ends, which tended to prove, "that Jesuits might lawfully be banished." And "that "upon the contempt of such orders they might be executed; "and the receivers of them punished severely." This was to give satisfaction to the practice that was now thought on for curbing Popish Priests, and others, by banishment. These three last papers being in the MS. volume of *Matters in Archbishop Whitgift's Time*, and mostly writ by his Secretary, I conclude were either of the Archbishop's drawing up by command from above, or by his special direction.

Anno 1586. tion of proceedings with them.

Biblioth. Lambeth Memoirs.

It was observed now likewise, how the Papists gathered many proselytes; and many Protestants fell off to Popery: which occasioned another paper to be drawn up in the month of December this Parliament time, (Mr. Robert Beal, Clerk of the Council, the composer;) whether by him

A writing for the staying of the falling away in religion.

BOOK III. Anno 1586.

prepared to be delivered in this Parliament, whereof he was a member, or by direction and for the use of the Privy Council, it is uncertain. It was entitled, *Means for the Stay of the declining and falling away in Religion.* The cause whereof is made to be partly for lack of instruction; for that there had not been that care taken to furnish the Church with learned and godly Ministers: and partly the corruption that had grown by the ill example of the recusants not coming to church, and the Seminaries' subtile persuasions. Divers methods were propounded for the remedying of the former. The writer thought it needful, that all that were presented to livings should undergo a strict examination by the Bishops in their several dioceses, with the assistance of certain grave and well affected gentlemen of the same diocese: and that patrons that were recusants should commit the choice of new Ministers to the Bishop of the diocese: and that *Quare impedits* should be stayed: and that for the deciding of all differences between the Bishop and the patron, the two Chief Justices of England, and others, should be joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury; with many other things touching the restraint of recusants. This paper (though written by a Puritan) may deserve to be read, and being somewhat long, I have cast it into the Appendix.

No. XXXV.

The importation of Popish books charged upon the Archbishop.

It seems to have been laid to the Archbishop's charge about this time, that by his means Popish books were brought over from beyond seas hither into England, in these dangers from Papists at home. But as it was true that the Archbishop did grant a licence to one Ascanio, an Italian merchant, (and only him,) to bring over a few of such books, yet it was with very great caution; namely, that he that brought them in should enter into strict bonds to let them be perused by the Archbishop and some of the Council, before they should be set forth and dispersed. And this licence the Archbishop granted upon this good consideration, that such books being perused by learned men, the adversaries' arguments might be the better known, in order to the confutation of them: and that

269

oftentimes thence matter might be collected of sundry things relating to this Church and realm, that might turn to its use and benefit. As may appear by the said licence, which ran in these words: "Whereas sundry books are "from time to time set forth in the parts beyond seas, "by such as are addicted to the errors of Popery; yet in "many respects expedient to be had by some of the learned "of this realm: containing also oftentimes matter in them "against the state of this land, and slanderous unto it; "and therefore no fit books to pass through every man's "hand freely: in consideration whereof, I have tolerated "Ascanius de Renialme, merchant bookseller, to bring "into this realm from the parts beyond seas some few "copies of every such sort of books; upon this condition "only, that any of them be not shewed nor dispersed "abroad, but first brought to me, or some other of her "Majesty's Privy Council, that so they may be delivered, "or directed to be delivered, forth unto such persons only, "as by us, or some of us, shall be thought most meet men, "upon good considerations and purposes, to have the read- "ing and perusal of them. Yeoven at Lambeth, the "day of October, 1586. *anno reg. Regin. Elizab.* 28°."

Anno 1586.

His cautious licence for the same.

There is one thing more I have to relate this year of our Metropolitan, expressing the sense he had of the imminent danger the Church and kingdom were now in, by the leagues and plots at home and abroad carrying on against both, now newly come to light. Which caused him piously to prescribe a devout form of prayer to be drawn up, printed, and used in all the churches throughout his province; that God in his seasonable mercy would avert these threatening calamities; together with a thanksgiving for the late preservation of the Queen's life. Which form was set forth the month after Babington's villainy came to light. And in order to the dispersing of the same, the Archbishop sent his letters to the Bishop of London; which ran in this tenor:

The Archbishop appoints a form of prayer these dangerous times.

"*Salutem in Christo.* Whereas I have caused to be set "forth in print a book, containing an order of prayer and

Reg. Whitg. vol. i. fol. 126. b.

BOOK III.

Anno 1586.

" thanksgiving for the preservation of the Queen and the " realm, from the traitorous and bloody practices of the " Pope and his adherents, to be used at times appointed " in the Preface of the same book, (the true transsumpt " whereof I send unto your Lordship herewith in print.) " These are to pray and require your Lordship, that with " all convenient speed you do not only publish, and cause " to be put in execution, the said book of prayers, accord- " ing to the tenor thereof, throughout your own diocese; " but also that you will send several copies and trans- " sumpts, together with copies of these my letters, to all " the rest of my brethren, the Bishops of my province: " willing and requiring them, and every of them, to do the " like in their several dioceses and jurisdictions. And so " I commend your Lordship to the grace of God. From " my house at Croydon, the 24th August, 1586."

CHAP. XIX.

270

The Treasurer's secret letter to the Bishops, to inform him of the Justices of the peace. A metropolitical visitation of Bath and Wells. Visits Saltwood and Hith hospitals. Digby, a Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, expelled by Whitaker the Master. Appeals to the Archbishop; who, with the Lord Treasurer, restores him. Concerned in the expulsion of a Fellow of Bene't college, one Hickman. Reports his case to the Lord Treasurer. The Archbishop writes to the Bishops for the Clergy to find men and arms: and for praying and fasting. His dealing with divers Popish gentlemen in Wisbich castle.

Anno 1587.

THE warnings which the last year the plots by Papists gave, made the Court vigilant against that sort of men, dispersed every where within the Queen's dominions. And because many of the Justices of the peace in the several counties were either favourers of such recusants, or were such themselves, or some of their families, and likewise to

The Bishops secretly sent to, to inform how the Justices stood affected;

lessen the over great numbers of Justices complained of, a new commission had now gone out from the Court; whereby a great many, formerly in the commission of the peace, were left out, either for their inability of learning, or insufficiency of wealth, or chiefly for the causes beforesaid. But it seems this business was not so warily performed, but that many deserving men were in this new commission laid aside, and some less deserving, and of suspected religion, put in, or continued. For the better knowledge who and what these persons were, the Lord Treasurer made use of our Archbishop, as well as of the rest of the Bishops of the several dioceses, by a secret letter circulary to them, written in the month of September, 1587; praying them, to whom the care to further religion in the counties in their dioceses more properly appertained, and that for God's cause, and in favour of justice, to confer, either by their letters, or by some of their godly Ministers, or by others well affected to religion and justice, about this cause, and to inquire the truth, as near as by circumspect inquisition they might, of the points following, *viz.* "Who "they were that were displaced. And how many of them "were meet to be restored, and for what particular rea- "sons and considerations. Who were left in the com- "mission that might be spared on these considerations: "(which indeed were especially meant for the excluding "of them:) as, whether any of them were such as refused "to come to church: whether they were hinderers of reli- "gion in their actions, in favouring recusants, seminaries, "and Jesuits: whether their wives and families came not "to the church: whether they had not their fathers or the "children in commission in the same counties with them: "whether they were not more busy (by colour of law) to "nourish suits than to compound them: and whether they "were of so mean living and countenance as not to answer "in subsidy; as not having 20*l.* or some better value in "goods."

Anno 1587.

In these points.

And that these points he and all the rest of the Council thought to be matters worthy to disable any to remain in

BOOK III.

commission. And therefore he prayed their Lordships to have regard, in their inquisitions and certificates, to these several respects. And that they would use his letter with that circumspection, as to deal herein with none but such as were discreet and secret; so that neither he, for seeking to be satisfied, nor they, for dealing herein, might be maligned and sinisterly censured. Assuring them, that he had no other meaning, but to be so truly informed, that with a safe conscience he might give his advice to the reformation of the abuses which her Majesty earnestly minded to have advoided by the excessive number of unmeet Justices. And lastly, assured them he would keep secret their advertisements to himself. This whole letter, written *propria manu*, I have put in the Appendix, to be preserved among the papers of remark.

Anno 1587.

271

Number XXXVI.

The Archbishop visits Bath and Wells.

This year the Archbishop held a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Bath and Wells, June the 10th.

Hospitals of Saltwood and Hith visited.

And the same month he issued out a commission for visiting the hospitals of St. Bartholomew's in Saltwood, and St. John's in Hith; together with the parish churches of Saltwood and Hith; (hearing of much ruins and abuses there;) with the priors, brothers, and sisters of these houses or hospitals. The Archbishop's commission was directed to Rogers, the Suffragan of Dover; Sir Thomas Scot; John Coldwel, Doctor of Physic, Dean of Rochester; William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury; Thomas Smith, Esq. Dr. Lewen, &c.

Digby, a Fellow of St. John's college, expelled; appeals to the Archbishop.

There was one Everard Digby, a senior Fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge, who had made application to our Archbishop, upon some hard usage from Dr. Whitaker, Master of that house; who, with a party of the Fellows, had expelled him, having somewhat rigorously taken the advantage of a statute against him: though the bottom of it was an ill-will the Master had conceived against him, upon suspicion that Everard was a favourer of Popery, and a corrupter of the college with Popish doctrines; and that he had given encouragement to Papistry there. The Archbishop, with the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of

that University, (to whom also he had appealed in February,) both as visitors now of that college, heard his complaint, suing for redress in the supposed injury done him, touching his deprivation: charging the Master to have proceeded therein rather of particular displeasure and malice towards him, than of any just cause given on his part. Whereupon the Archbishop and the Chancellor, in a letter to Dr. Legg, Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Pern, and Dr. Bell, two other of the Heads, desired them to hear the cause impartially; and then to inform of all circumstances, for their better understanding of the case, in order to know what was fit for them to determine therein. And it was found that Mr. Whitaker had proceeded maliciously.

Declares the case to the Lord Treasurer.

But he, being aware of this, had gotten an interest with the great Earl of Leicester, and his brother, the Earl of Warwick, and likewise with the Earl of Essex: and that by informing them how popishly affected Digby was, and how dangerous a person he was in their college. But what the Archbishop's thoughts were in this case, he disclosed both to the Lord Treasurer and to the said Earl, (who had earnestly written to him to favour Dr. Whitaker,) stating the truth of this case to the said Treasurer in this manner: "That Mr. Whitaker, Palmer, and some others "of St. John's college, had dealt very extraordinarily in "this matter of Digby's: and, as he [the Archbishop] "thought, contrary to their own statutes; but he was "assured, contrary to the rule of charity; he might say, of "honesty also. For that they had, as he proceeded, pri-"vately laboured with the Earls of Leicester, Warwick, "and Essex, and informed their Lordships of divers mat-"ters against Digby, that he was a Papist, a seducer of "the youth in the college, an approver of some doings "beyond sea, and such like. Whereof they neither had "complained to them, [the Lord Treasurer and himself,] "nor had punished the same at home; as they ought to "have done, if it were true. And that thereupon the "three said Earls had written their several letters to him "against Digby; and for the staying of the sentence."

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

The Archbishop added, "That he did not think that "Mr. Whitaker, who had received so many good turns "from him [the Lord Treasurer] especially, would have so "used himself. That it was far from *divinity*, [of which "he was the Queen's Public Professor,] to seek to over-
272 "rule by letters: and that it was contrary to the rule of "charity to backbite a man, and to condemn him in cor-"ners; especially to such noble personages, before he "might be judicially heard and convinced;" as the Archbishop with some sharpness expressed himself in respect of Mr. Digby, and with some regret with respect to himself, that he must, by denying those great men, be put under a likelihood of incurring their displeasure. He proceeded, adding, "That he was sorry that Mr. Whitaker "did so far forget himself. But that without doubt it was "the violence of *preciseness*, which desired a rule and go-"vernment absolute without controlment, were it never "so vehement and unjust. That it were convenient that "Mr. Whitaker should understand of his ill dealing here-"in. For that, so much as in him lay, he went about to "breed some hard conceit in those noble men towards "him [the Archbishop] especially, who had least deserved "any such thing at his hand." This was dated from his house at Lambeth, the last day of April, 1588.

His letter to the Earl of Leicester, who had writ in behalf of Dr. Whitaker. Int. Epist. Whitg.

His next care was upon this trouble brought upon him by Whitaker's telling his tale to Leicester, to satisfy that haughty Earl, as well as he could, in the denial of his request: who had prayed his Grace to stay his present proceedings in this matter, until he might conveniently speak with him himself: adding, that therein he should think himself beholden to his Lordship. Yet notwithstanding these words of this great man, the Archbishop would not forbear doing right in matter of judgment; but however gave this respectful answer to the Earl: wherein it will appear how the Archbishop insisted upon the irregularity and rigour of Whitaker's proceedings with this Fellow; and how, in a just cause, as this he judged was, he would not comply:

Anno 1588.

Therein shewing Whitaker's defects in his proceedings.

" Right honourable, and my very good Lord: Digby's " matter hath been deliberately and thoroughly heard by " my Lord Treasurer and myself, and some others: and " we find very manifest defects in the manner of proceed- " ing against him. Such as, if they might be tolerated, " should bring too violent a government into the college, " and breed many inconveniences. Wherefore, as well in " respect of justice, as of due observation of the college " statutes, we have already determined that matter. We " have seen and heard Mr. Whitaker's objections to the " contrary; and find them not to be of any moment, as " grounded upon false principles, and misunderstanding of " the foresaid statutes. If there be any great matters to " charge Digby withal, as is now pretended, then are they " much to blame in suffering the same to be so long un- " punished, or not complained of; and in expelling him " for so small a trifle; when as they might have done it " for so great and weighty causes. It hath been before, " and is now again offered unto them, if they think it not " good to deal at home with him therein, they should fur- " ther complain of him to us; where he shall be assured " to receive according to his deserts.

" But I am sorry that Mr. Whitaker, whom I have al- " ways so greatly tendered, and who did not lack my help " for extraordinary favour to obtain that mastership, should " in a cause of his own, and wherein he is thought to seek " his private revenge, use this uncharitable and indirect " course, I think I might say, contrary to his oath and " statutes of that college. Digby is a man unknown to " me. Mr. Whitaker hath had my help and furtherance " in most of his preferments. And therefore, if there were " respect of persons to be had, the matter would be soon " decided. And it would be much more credit for Mr. " Whitaker to prosecute the other matters against him, " being of so great importance, than to persist in this of " so small moment, and already, according to justice, or- " dered. And so being very heartily sorry for your Lord- " ship's sickness, and praying for your recovery, I commit

BOOK III. "you to the tuition of Almighty God. From Lambeth, "the last of April, 1588."

Anno 1588. Now because so many great men were concerned in this private matter, and that the integrity and ability of our Archbishop may further appear, I go on more particularly

The cause of Digby's deprivation.

273 to relate it. Digby was deprived; for that, contrary to the statute, his commons were unpaid for a month. For which debt he was published to be out of commons, at the time appointed by statute for that purpose, by Dr. Hickman, in such manner as was ever used heretofore: and his name was crossed in the buttery, for a more particular warning unto him of his being out of commons. He was complained of three several times to the President, and once to the Master, for sitting down at the table to take his commons, three several days, not having paid his commons. And was thrice admonished for his sitting down. And the admonition was written in a book, according to the statute. And after this, the Master pronounced the sentence of deprivation against him, according as the statute setteth down for the offence: that is, after three admonitions without amendment. This was the representation of the matter of fact on the Master's side. But then on Digby's part it was shewn, that he had answered the debt before the sentence of deprivation. And desired the Master to take up the matter in controversy between Fellow and Fellow, according to a statute. Several objections also Digby made to the admonition; that it was not given according to statute.

Popery charged upon him.

These things again were urged against Digby: the vehement suspicion of his being of corrupt religion: that he preached at St. Mary's, and commended voluntary poverty. Which Dr. Fulk confuted not long after in the same place, as being a Popish position. That he inveighed in open assembly against Calvinists, as schismatics. Two Bachelors of Arts of that college, known Papists, (one named Smith, flying away from the college for such,) mentioned Digby for one that way disposed, and Smith acknowledged he had encouragement in his religion from him.

Other things were laid to his charge, as open contempt of the Master, President, and government. But these matters were not the cause for which he was deprived: and therefore on the 6th of April, the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer wrote a letter to the President and Fellows of St. John's college, (which may be read in the Appendix,) touching Mr. Digby's not meriting exclusion from his fellowship: giving their reasons why they judged him not justly deprived, and that they found him clear *a mala fide, et mora in non solvendo.* And so he was restored to his fellowship: though he stayed not in the college long after. He was the father (as I have been told by a knowing man of that house) of the unhappy zealous Sir Everard Digby, concerned in the gunpowder plot, and executed for it, being but a young man.

Anno 1588.

Number XXXVII.

Rev. T. Baker, B. D.

Another such a case, happening this year in Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, came also before our Archbishop. In May, one Anthony Hickman, Fellow of that house, was deprived for his pride, and laziness, and quarrelsomeness. Which being interpreted by Dr. Copcot, the Master, and the Fellows, a breach of one or some of their statutes, they declared him expelled. Whereupon he appealing unto the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, some of them examining the matter, and the articles objected against him, found it not to be a sufficient cause of his deprivation. And these were Dr. Legg, Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and Mr. Chaderton, who testified this their judgment under their hands for Hickman's use. Who had recommended his case to Secretary Walsingham, to whom in some sort he was related. And therefore, without his privity, they, the Master and Fellows, had not, in due respect to him, proceeded. And since there was not a majority of all the Fellows that agreed to his expulsion, (several being absent,) he had the judgment of several Civilians, *viz.* Hammond, Forth, Cæsar, and Legg, that this punishment was wrongfully executed upon him. The matter passed at length unto the High Chancellor. To whom Dr. Copcot and the Fellows wrote, praying him not to believe a

The examination of the cause of the deprivation of a Fellow of Bene't college, committed to the Archbishop;

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

few men, whose hands Hickman had obtained, rather than them who dwelt under the same roof with him, and had seen and known him, and had borne his behaviour so long a time. And that *they* had not so much deprived him as the *statutes;* or those very statutes that he, their Chancellor, had been the great means of procuring them by the royal authority. This cause depending till December; Secretary Walsingham being informed that Hickman's behaviour was not such as he was charged with, the Master and Fellows took their voluntary oaths before the Vice-Chancellor, of the truth of these articles of misdemeanor exhibited against him.

274

By Secretary Walsingham and the Chancellor of the University.

Upon the desire also of the said Secretary, recommending the consideration thereof unto the Archbishop, (the rather, perhaps, Dr. Copcot being his Chaplain,) he heard the whole matter, with some assistants learned in the laws. And after a full hearing told he Hickman, "that he "had been no otherwise dealt withal, than he should have "been, if he himself had been in Dr. Copcot's place." Now being without hope elsewhere, he sued unto the Lord Treasurer last: unto whom under her Majesty the cause only appertained, if unto any without the college: whereof Copcot, a stout man, told that Lord in a letter to him, he made some doubt, in regard of his oath to the college: he sent also a person to him, who should shew his Lordship that there was doubt of it; and withal to inform his Lordship with what had been done in Hickman's case. And added, "that had he had any signification from the "Archbishop of Canterbury that he had done amiss, he "would have so ordered the matter, that his Lordship "should not have been troubled with it. But that if he "had done his duty, he besought his Lordship that he "might be maintained. Otherwise, as the college was un-"done in respect of wealth, [meaning by the last Master, "Dr. Norgate, who had run the college deep in debt,] so "good government must fall, unless by his good favour "(whereupon he only relied) he might at that time have "help." The matter thus lying before this great Lord,

and High Chancellor of that University, he sent one Mr. Settel, a Fellow of that college, to the Archbishop, desiring him, who was well acquainted with it, to certify him what he found touching the cause and manner of putting this man from his fellowship, that he might justly determine it himself. To whom his Grace, in a letter the same day, gave this relation of what he had done therein. Which I shall the rather set down, being a particular case relating to a University statute, and shewing the judgment of the Archbishop therein.

Anno 1588.

The judgment of the Archbishop therein.

"Thus, he said, it was that Mr. Secretary had requested him by his letters to take some pains in it: and that thereupon he heard divers times by speech and witnesses to and fro, what both the parties then thought good to say: and upon the same consulted with some lawyers. He remembered they were of opinion with him, that the causes laid down against Hickman, being by him for the most part all confessed, and not sufficiently advoided, were good causes by their statute then alleged to proceed against him to expulsion. That the greatest doubt was made of the manner of the sentence; because it was done but by the Master and five Fellows, making the greater part of eight Fellows, then assembled and being at home. For that the statute is in that case, *per Magistrum, et majorem partem societatis, excludatur*. Which (as Mr. Hickman urged) must needs be seven Fellows; the whole number (which was then fully supplied, though four were from home) consisting of a Master and twelve Fellows. That he [the Archbishop] caused this point, being a matter of law, to be considerately deliberated: and that the lawyers had informed him, if two parts of the whole three parts of a corporation be present, (so that all the other which are at home be called,) and the greater part of the two parts assembled do agree, that in law such determination is good. And therefore, if custom there had so observed, as law had appointed, that the Master and the greater part of eight might determine of any act in the college; so that

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

" the rest were either from home, or being called did ab-
" sent themselves; then this determination was good by
" law, and by that statute. Since which time, as the
" Archbishop proceeded, he was certified, that the custom
275 " of the college was sometimes to proceed to elections
" and other matters of weight by the greater part of seven
" Fellows only, being at home; and that the statute there,
" even in the election of the Master, was, that the voices
" of three Fellows may serve for that matter, being of
" greatest moment. He added, that he also knew, that in
" divers other little colleges in that University, where all
" the Fellows had voices, there was by custom none other
" consent used to be required, but of the greater part of
" those who were at home, without any respect whether
" two third parts of the whole society be at home or not.
" So that, as he concluded, for any thing that he had yet
" heard, or could conceive, he was induced to think that
" the proceeding against Mr. Hickman was orderly, and
" according to statute in that behalf. And thus with his
" hearty prayers to God for his Lordship," &c. It was dated from Croydon the 18. Decemb. 1588. But now we go to more public matters.

The Archbishop to the Bishops, for the Clergy's finding arms.

This year, 1588, was the most dangerous year of the Queen's whole reign, both for her own and the kingdom's safety, and of the present Church of England. For a dreadful invasion of this land was now resolved upon, and vast preparations making for that purpose by the Pope, and the enraged proud King of Spain, and other Popish princes in league. A vast fleet was got ready to come into our seas, breathing nothing but destruction and slaughter. And which, however called by them the Invincible Armada, yet, by the good providence of God, was at last dispersed and miserably shattered, and came to nothing. Which I leave the state-historian to relate. But by orders sent to the several Lieutenants of the counties, all the nation put themselves into the best defence they could. Nor were the Clergy to be behindhand in this necessary preparation. And therefore a letter, coming from

the Lords to the Archbishop, to write to all the Bishops in his province, to deal with their cathedral churches, and other beneficed men; he in the month of May accordingly wrote his circular letters to the said Bishops, to take order for their Clergy's finding arms. Wherein the Archbishop urged, "that they [the Clergy] were of the same "commonweal with the rest of the Queen's lay subjects, "and embarked in the same common danger; yea, and "more, in respect of their calling, and public profession of "religion: whereby they were bound to go before others, "as well in word as in good example. And therefore he "advised them to weigh with themselves, what dutiful "forwardness against these extraordinary imminent dan-"gers was very congruously expected at their hands, for "the defence of their gracious Sovereign, their own fami-"lies, and country. And that, besides the expectation of "the best men, and the stirring up of those that otherwise "were but slow, into further service, and the discouraging "of the common enemy; their readiness herein would be "a good means to stop the mouths of such, as did think "those temporal blessings which God had in mercy be-"stowed upon them, [the Bishops and Clergy,] to be too "much. And therefore spared not in grudging manner to "say, that themselves were forced to their great charges "to fight for us, [*i. e.* us of the Clergy,] while we lie quietly "at home, without providing any munition in these public "perils.

Anno 1588.

"And therefore, according to the import of the Coun-"cil's letters, for the furnishing them of the Clergy with "lances, light horses, petronels on horseback, muskets, "calivers, pikes, halberds, bills, or bows and arrows; he "required the Bishops to take a special care, by all good "persuasions, to move such ecclesiastical persons as were "of ability, to be ready with all free and voluntary provi-"sion of men, horse, and furniture, as each Bishop should "think fit to allot unto every one to find. And to be "shewed at some convenient day and place. And to cer-"tify the names of every particular ecclesiastical person,

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

"and the particular furniture by him provided. That it "might appear what regard every one severally had of his "duty, for the furthering of the present necessary service: "being no great charge, and so expedient for every one to "have in readiness for the defence of his own person, "house, and family, upon any sudden occasion that might 276 "hereafter happen." This was the substance of the Archbishop's letter: which may be read at large in the Appendix. Wherein it may also appear, that the Archbishop had stayed some attempts made by some lieutenants of the counties, to cess the Clergy to find arms, as they did the rest of the inhabitants of the counties, as was usual at common musters, according to the rate of their livings. Which he did, as he told the Bishops in his letters, for *certain considerations*, which are not mentioned. But some of them surely were, to preserve the liberty of ecclesiastical persons, who had the privilege of taxing themselves; and to hinder occasions of a *melius inquirendum*, and of racking the Clergy. Which therefore must be reckoned among the good turns done by the Archbishop to the ecclesiastical state.

Number XXXVIII.

Endeavours to cess the Clergy, stopped by the Archbishop.

Appoints public prayers to be used in this dangerous time. Regist. Whitg. fol. 148.

And as in the first place humble applications were to be made to God by his overruling providence to prevent this threatening calamity, so the good Archbishop piously appointed prayers (and some of them by his order composed) to be used at this time all the province over. For which he sent his directions to all his Suffragan Bishops, in the month of July, by letters to this tenor.

"*Salutem in Christo.* Considering the dangerousness "of the time, I think it very convenient that you cause "public prayers to be had in every several parish within "your diocese, according to the letters heretofore written "unto you: foreseeing, that no order of fasting, or other "exercise be used, than such as you shall prescribe ac- "cording to the laws and orders of the Church established. "I have caused a book, upon the like occasions penned, to "be newly printed with some additions: which you may

" have for your diocese, if you send for the same. And so " wishing you to be careful herein, I commit your Lord- " ship to the Almighty. Lambeth, the 10th of July, 1588. Anno 1588.

" Your loving brother in Christ,

" Jo. Cant."

His directions to Ministers of his province in several articles. MSS. D. Joh. nuper Ed. Elien. No. 206.

And this was very seasonable, the appearances of things now looking very gloomy: and great apprehensions and fears possessing the hearts of good men, from the malice of the enemies of the Queen and the Gospel professed in this land, accompanied also with a great dearth. And together with the order for prayer and fasting, he set forth several articles to be observed by the Ministers of his province, for the better directing and assisting the people's repentance and devotions: as I find them shortly set down by a Minister of London (then living) in his private journal, *viz.* " I. That the Book of Common Prayer [according " to the rules and orders of it] be observed and kept. " II. To pray most heartily a form of prayer now newly sent " them. III. To read the Homilies, and [those that had " ability] to preach sermons. IV. The people to be ex- " horted especially to relieve the poor. V. To keep absti- " nence, and use sober diet. VI. In faith and hope to ex- " pect God's help. VII. To be merciful, and to forgive, " and to omit offences each to other. VIII. All conventi- " cles of innovations straitly to be forborne, and to be ut- " terly avoided. IX. The using of all possible means to " obtain mercy at the hands of our good Saviour, to be " forthwith resolved on: and that with all diligence. X. " The days and times of these public exercises to be Sun- " days, Wednesdays, Fridays, and holydays. XI. The " Lord Mayor and Justices quietly to be sought unto for " the provision of bread, &c. XII. Monthly certificates to " be made by every Minister of their collections for the " relief of all the poor in each parish, by the churchwar- " dens and collectors."

Deals with some Popish gen-

When the present danger from the Spanish navy was over, yet the fears of the Popish strength and malice re-

BOOK III.

mained. And all possible care was used to secure the Queen and kingdom for the time to come, as much as might be, against them. An eye was now cast upon the Popish recusants throughout the nation. For besides the Priests and Seminaries, many lay gentlemen of that religion were also taken up, and put under custody, and sent to the castle at Wisbich. And now, in the month of December, the Lords of the Council sent to the Archbishop to send for the said gentlemen, and to tender to them the condition of a bond, (required of such as were imprisoned for hearing Mass, and not coming to church,) in order to their better security, from making any disturbance at home at this time, when there were such apprehensions from abroad. This message from the Lords was occasioned by those gentlemen's petition (as it seems) for their liberty; and who had sent to the Lords their submission under their hands subscribed, according to a statute of the 23. Elizabeth. On the 12th of December they came before the Archbishop, and to him they acknowledged their submissions, which they had subscribed before, and promised therein to continue. But when the Archbishop offered them the condition of the bond, that was drawn up by Mr. Attorney, according to the tenor of their Lordships' letters to him, (a copy whereof the Archbishop in his answer to the said Lords of the Council had sent,) and required of them to be bound in 2000*l.* apiece for the performance thereof, (what this bond was we shall see by and by,) this they boggled at.

Anno 1588. Gentlemen. His account of them to the Lords.

277

The statute they were imprisoned for.

These were persons (and they of considerable rank) that had offended against the act of the 23. of the Queen, cap. 1. *To retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience:* and contrary thereunto had heard Mass; the penalty whereof was an hundred mark, and a year's imprisonment: and had not repaired to the church or chapel, or place of common prayer; the penalty for which neglect was every month 20*l.* and for twelve months so forbearing, beside the said forfeitures, to be bound, with two sufficient sureties, in the sum of 200*l.* at least, to the good

behaviour: and so to continue until they conformed themselves, and came to church, according to the meaning of a statute made in the first year of the Queen: yet with this proviso, that if any of these persons thus transgressing should, before they were thereof indicted, or at their arraignment, or trial before judgment, submit or conform themselves, then upon recognition of their submission in open assizes, they should be discharged. Now the *submission* they yielded to; but to the signing the *bond* they could not be brought; especially as it was drawn up. Anno 1588.

Their names.

For Sir Thomas Fitz-Herbert, Sir John Arundel, Sir Alexander Colepepper, John Talbot, William Tirwhit, George Cotton, and Michael Hare, took exceptions to the clause, *for their good behaviour to the Queen and the State;* because it seemed, as they said, to touch them in credit: and for that they thought they had sufficiently satisfied their allegiance in their subscription. They took likewise exceptions to the clause of *standing to such orders as six of their Lordships should set down under their Lordships' hands;* unless the same might be specified and declared particularly. Sir William Catesby refused, in respect of that clause, *for the good behaviour;* so did Sir Thomas Tresham in like manner, adding thereunto, "that "for his part he would yield to be bound to six of their "Lordships, so far as it might concern to the disposing of "his body, but not of his conscience." There were others of them, *viz.* Richard Owyn, Edward Syllyard, John Leeds, Gilbert Wells, and Thomas Wilford, made stay to be bound, to perform the order of six or more of their Lordships, because they pretended they did not know how far the same might extend.

Will not sign a bond for their *good behaviour.*

And forasmuch as all of them did thus refuse to satisfy their Lordships' letter, in yielding to this bond for the causes aforesaid, the Archbishop committed them to Arkenstal's custody again; and bound every of them in the sum of 1000*l.* to continue his true prisoners, and to be forthcoming, until their Lordships' further pleasure were known what they would have to be done with them. All

BOOK III. this the Archbishop signified to the Council at large: and so committed their Lordships to the tuition of Almighty
Anno 1588. God. Dated from Lambeth, the 13th of Decemb. 1588.
278 Subscribing,

Your Lordship's to my power,
Jo. Cantuar.

The signing of the foresaid bond so unanimously refused by them, and yet offering a submission of the like effect, makes it probable that their ghostly Fathers had the drawing up of the same, so worded that it might admit of some equivocation or mental reservation; to serve them to slip out of their subscribed loyalty upon occasion: considering what bigots these gentlemen were, if we may judge of the rest by some of them, as Talbot, Catesby, and Tresham, chief instruments of that monstrous gunpowder plot some years after.

CHAP. XX.

Letters to the Bishops from the Archbishop, for the observance of certain canons and articles. A Parliament. The disaffected to the Church stir. A bill against pluralities. The Clergy address the Queen about it. The state of the Clergy. The Convocation. Matters transacted therein. Their subsidy granted. Orders for the Clergy. The Archbishop's letter to such as were backward in their benevolence. *A writing to prove the Queen's power in matters ecclesiastical.*

The Archbishop reminds the Bishops of certain articles and canons for the Clergy.

OUR careful Archbishop already well foresaw what troubles and complaints would arise against the Bishops and their Clergy the next Parliament. And therefore providently endeavoured, as much as possible, to cut off occasions. He knew by the former clamours of the disaffected in Parliament, and by intelligence, that the Church and its consti-

tution would be struck at violently ere long, upon the accusations of the unlearnedness, insufficiency, or scandalous lives of such as were admitted by the Diocesans into cures and benefices. Which nevertheless the Bishops and former Convocations had by good orders and canons laboured to correct and remedy. The Archbishop therefore, in the month of November, a little before the Parliament was to meet, thought convenient to quicken the Bishops in the execution of those orders, and to look diligently into the behaviour of their respective Clergy. And that they might have to answer any charges of that nature that were like to be brought loud enough against them before the Parliament, he particularly reminded them, in his letters to them, of certain articles and canons made in Convocation in the years 1584. and 1586, the copies whereof he sent them inclosed. His said letters will more at large shew his intent and meaning, as well as his thoughtful mind in this affair. The tenor whereof was as followeth:

Anno 1588.

The Archbishop's letter to them. Regist. Whitg. Vide chap. xvii.

"That whereas the 2d of December, when they were "assembled in the Synod kept in the year 1586, it was "thought fit and necessary to him and the rest of his bre-"thren, then present in that Synod, (although not as a "judicial act or conclusion by the authority of the Convo-"cation,) that the articles of the tenor of the copy therein "inclosed should be put in execution by their Lordships, 279
"and all the rest of his said brethren, the Bishops of this "province: forasmuch as it was likely it would be looked "for at this next Parliament, how the said articles had "been accordingly used: and likewise, how the canons, "agreed upon by all their consents in the Convocation "holden the 24th of November, in the year of our Lord "1584, and allowed by the Queen's Majesty, had been "observed. Whereof he should have had a certificate "from their Lordships once every year.

"That these were heartily to pray their Lordships with "all speed by their letters to certify him how many si-"thence the year 1584. had been by their Lordships ad-"mitted, either to the ministry, or to any benefice, or

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

"other promotion ecclesiastical within their dioceses. "And how the same persons so by them admitted were in "all respects qualified. And how many of them were "preachers: and by whom allowed. And generally, how "in all points the said Articles and Canons had been put "in execution. And that although it might be, that their "Lordships had for some years heretofore sent unto him "some certificates, yet he prayed them to spare him from "the care of finding the same: and that they would take "the pains to certify him for every year from the begin-"ning. And so expecting their Lordships' speedy an-"swers, he committed them to God. From Lambeth, this "10th of Novemb. 1588."

Motion in Parliament against supposed abuses in the Church.

In the Parliament that began to sit February the 4th, the discontented party, that laboured against the present ecclesiastical state, and to clip the wings of the spiritual governors, stirred again, and brought in their bills, as they had done in former Parliaments. One of the members, this way disposed, made a motion in the House, Febr. 25. that there should be a due course of proceeding according to the laws already established, (without making new ones, which needed not,) but executed, he thought, by some ecclesiastical governors contrary to the purport of the same laws; and also contrary to the mind and meaning of the law-makers; to the great hurt and grievance of sundry her Majesty's good subjects. And then offered some particulars in writing to that effect: and prayed that the same might be read and further considered. Another, a few days after, moved the House touching the great inconveniences grown by the number of pluralists and non-residents; and offered a bill for reformation thereof; praying the same might be read presently. Which was done by order of the House.

D'Ewes' Journal.

A bill against pluralities.

As for this latter bill, the Archbishop laboured much against the passing it, knowing how much the Clergy and the state of learning would suffer by it: and had therefore drawn up several weighty reasons in behalf of Ministers being capable to enjoy more benefices than one; which

have been set down before, for the use of the Parliament, anno 1584. The former motion presently received a check from Mr. Secretary Wolley; putting the House in mind of her Majesty's express inhibition, delivered to the House by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor at the beginning of this session, touching their dealing with any ecclesiastical causes. And added, that for his part he thought this House would incur contempt to her Highness, if, contrary to that inhibition, they should meddle in the matters newly moved. Whereupon the most that was done was the receiving of the said writing. But it was not read at all. And was afterwards, without any thing more done therein, delivered back again by Mr. Speaker unto Damport the mover.

Anno 1588. Chap. xi.

The Queen's inhibition signified to the House.

But we have more to say of the bill of *pluralities;* which went further. It was brought in February 27. and after divers arguments about it was committed to Mr. Treasurer Knolles, Morice, Beal, Sir Robert Jermin, and Sir Francis Hastings, all favourers of the Puritans, and no friends to the hierarchy. This bill was thought fit to be laid aside; and March 5. a new bill of the same import offered to the House by the said Mr. Treasurer: which was read presently the first and second time, and passed the House, and March the 10th sent up to the Lords; where it sunk: for I find not a word more of it afterwards in the Journal. But it passed not the Lower House without considerable opposition. For besides what Mr. Wolley had said before, another spake, shewing divers reasons against this bill. Which reasons seem to have been suggested by the Archbishop to him that delivered them. And they were these. "I. It is a very great innovation; "and therefore contrary to her Majesty's pleasure, de- "clared at the beginning of the Parliament, as I take it. "II. It abridgeth her Majesty's authority; which we are all "sworn to maintain. III. It diminisheth her revenues. "For the greatest fees in the Office of Faculties are due "to her Highness. IV. It injureth all the better and "learned sort of the Clergy. V. It cannot but in time

What was done about the bill of pluralities and non-residences.

280

Reasons urged against this bill. Cott. libr. Cleopatra. F. 2.

BOOK III. Anno 1588.

" overthrow, in both the Universities, the study of divi-
" nity. For who will apply himself to the study of that
" profession wherein he cannot have sufficient mainte-
" nance. VI. It is absurd. For what man of reason will
" think that eight pounds yearly is able to maintain a
" learned Divine? When as every scull in a kitchen, and
" groom of a stable, is better provided for. VII. It will be
" the utter overthrow of a learned ministry, which now
" flourisheth in England more than ever it did: and bring
" in a barbarous, unlearned, and factious ministry. VIII.
" It is to be wondered that such a bill should now be of-
" fered, when there is a canon set down the last Convoca-
" tion, (whereunto her Majesty's royal assent is,) to re-
" medy all inconveniences that reasonably can be objected
" against any abuse in that kind.

" It would be considered in how unseasonable a time
" this bill is offered, the Clergy having granted so great
" subsidies to her Majesty: and what discouragement it
" may be unto them, to understand that there is such a
" bill offered; whereby they shall be all beggared, and
" made unable to perform that which they have pro-
" mised." This last paragraph is another hand, added by Archbishop Whitgift's Secretary; being his hand.

This bill did so nearly touch the Clergy, and so afraid they were of the ill consequences of it, (as was partly shewn before,) that they unanimously addressed the Queen, while they were sitting in Convocation, against it. This address, I believe, was drawn up by the Archbishop himself; and was as followeth:

" *To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.*

The Clergy's address to the Queen against the bill for taking away pluralities.

" The woful and distressed state, whereunto we are like
" to fall, forceth us, with grief of heart, in most humble
" manner to crave your Majesty's most sovereign protec-
" tion. For the pretence being made the maintenance
" and increase of a learned ministry, when it is throughly
" weighed, decayeth learning, spoileth their livings, taketh
" away the set form of prayer in the Church; and is the

" means to bring in confusion and barbarism. How dan-
" gerous innovations are in a settled state, whosoever hath
" judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such great
" inconveniences may ensue, as will make a state most
" lamentable and miserable. Our neighbours' miseries
" might make us fearful, but that we know who rules the
" same. All the reformed Churches in Europe cannot
" compare with England in the number of learned Min-
" isters. These benefits of your Majesty's most sacred
" and careful government, with hearty joy, we feel and
" humbly acknowledge. Senseless are they that repine at
" it; and careless, which lightly regard it. The respect
" hereof made the Prophet say, *Dii estis:* all the faithful
" and discreet Clergy say, *O! Dea certè.* Nothing is im-
" possible with God.* —— Requests without grounded
" reasons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore, not as
" directors, but as humble remembrancers, beseech your
" Highness' favourable beholding of our present state; and
" what it will be in time to come, if the bill against *plu-*
" *ralities* should take any place.

* A Greek sentence falsely and unlegibly written in the copy.

281

" *The state present.*

" Impropriations carry from the Clergy in tithes yearly
" an hundred thousand pounds.

" The lands holden of abbeys, priories, &c. at their dis-
" solution freed from tithes, remaining so, almost as much.

" The colour of former statutes cutteth off tithe wood above one and twenty years growth.

" Customs *de modo decimandi* in most parishes prevail,
" to our great hinderance.

" All which abridging the pastor's portion, without re-
" pining or dislike, we quietly sustain. And yet would
" they tie us to one benefice, a great part whereof being
" thus defalked.

" *The state to come.*

" First, Inconveniences to the Church. The Bishops of
" small benefices are now relieved by benefices *in com-*

BOOK III.

"*mendam.* But then shall be unable to maintain their "state, &c.

Anno 1588. "If every one shall have but one benefice, what differ- "ence shall be between a Doctor in Divinity and a "Scholar?

"As the state now is, learned men are provided for: "but by this bill they shall be least cared for.

"It requireth an impossibility. For of eight thousand "eight hundred and odd benefices with cure, there are not "six hundred sufficient for learned men. Neither if they "were all sufficient, could there be found the third part "of men to supply that number.

"No one benefice can defray the charge of such as are "to be employed upon preaching before your Majesty, or "in other solemn places; or to attend upon Synods, or "other your Majesty's services and public affairs.

"This bill restraineth not laymen to have divers im- "propriate benefices, and to serve them by silly Curates: "and denieth it to learned Divines; who personally dis- "charge their duty, and in their absence have sufficient "substitutes, &c." Then this learned paper went on, shewing the inconveniences of this bill to cathedral churches; inconveniences to the Universities; hinderances to religion. And lastly, inconveniences to her Majesty. In this address Beza's judgment in his notes on 1 Cor. chap. xiv. 29. is animadverted upon, about one Pastor feeding many flocks; *viz.* that what he set down touching pluralities and non-residence was upon information, and not understanding the state of our Church, and the manner of our proceeding in those cases. And that the like information he had touching licences to eat flesh, and some other things; against which he did as bitterly inveigh, as against the other.

Beza's judgment about pluralities noted.

This bill though it seemed to have friends in the Upper House, and speeches made in favour of, stopped there; and went no further. So that notwithstanding all the efforts the new platformers put forth this Parliament, when they promised themselves great successes, nothing was brought

The Puritans' expectations from this Parliament deceived.

to pass to serve their ends. Insomuch that in the Parliament time one of the Puritan Ministers writ to another, namely, Egerton to Fenn, (both men of great name among them,) what their expectation was come to: *viz. Nos nihil boni expectamus in causa religionis. Potius timemus aliquid mali. Nos neminem misisse miramur*, &c. "We "expect no good in the cause of religion. We rather fear "some evil. We wonder none is sent from us. The second "day the Queen came to the Parliament μετὰ πολλῆς φαν- "τασίας, *i. e.* with much pomp, [as Agrippa and Bernice "are described to come to hear St. Paul speak for himself, "Act. xxv.] The Chancellor in his speech said not a word "(for ought I hear) of the affairs of the Church, but only "of danger, and the great charges of the former war, and "of that was coming on, whence what may follow, it is no "difficult matter to know."

Anno 1588. Egerton to Fenn.

But now from the Parliament let us turn our eyes to the Convocation; and observe the influence of the Archbishop here; consulting for the good of the Church, and its establishment, against its enemies, that were strong (as we have heard) in this Parliament. The Queen's writ for the calling together of this Convocation bore date November 13, 1588. 30mo. Reginæ. It was prorogued to the 5th of February following. John Stil, D.D. and Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, preached the sermon at the opening thereof. For the knowledge of which we are beholden to the before-mentioned letter of Egerton, communicating some news of the Parliament. And among the rest, "that Dr. Stil then preached to the Clergy; although, "(as he added,) according to the way of that sort of men, "[meaning the conformable Clergy,] he inveighed against "the favourers of the discipline, yet he did it not bitterly, "but yet slanderously enough."

282 The Convocation. Matters transacted there. Extract of Convocat.

One of the first things the Synod went upon, was (for which the Parliament was now chiefly summoned) the consideration of a subsidy. And session 3. Febr. 12. a committee of both Houses was chosen for that purpose. Session 8. Febr. 28. the Archbishop being not well, the

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

Convocation adjourned to Lambeth: where both Houses met in the afternoon. And the same day, session 9. the Archbishop sat in the great chamber, and the Lower House in the chapel. Then (the Archbishop remaining in his own chamber sick) a committee of Bishops consulted about the subsidy. And having called up the Lower House, the grant of the subsidies was read. Which was for two whole subsidies at six shillings in the pound; that is, 2*s*. payable yearly. The first payment to begin October the 2d, 1591.

The Clergy's grant of subsidy well taken.

The Clergy made this large grant speedily and cheerfully; being sensible of the danger the Queen, the Church, and the whole nation were in at this juncture, from Popish practices abroad and at home: promising withal to send out, according to their abilities, men, with horses and armour, for the defence of the public. This was very well taken, and (for their readiness) got the ecclesiastics a reputation: the matter, no doubt, managed by the Archbishop's wisdom, industry, and influence with the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy. Sergeant Puckring, March the 17th, and the Attorney General, came from the Lords to the Lower House, and brought a bill from the Lords, for confirmation of this subsidy granted by the Clergy, with an instrument of the same under seal, as was customary: together with a bill likewise from the said Clergy, for horses, armour, and weapons: and gave a very special commendation of the same bills, as things of very great importance. This subsidy of the Clergy remains among the public Acts, cap. 15.

Session 12. the Lower House was called up. And the Archbishop took notice of the absents, as contumacious: and then admonished double beneficed Ministers to residence; sometimes at one, and sometimes at another of their benefices: and where they did not reside, to keep good Curates and Preachers. And then he moved them for a contribution to be made for Anthony Tyrrel and Whilliam Tydder, two Romish Priests, converts. Which two had recanted in the month of December at Paul's Cross.

Stow's Annal. 4to. p. 1261.

Anno 1588.

Session 15. March 19. the Archbishop brought in certain orders to be observed throughout his province. The sum whereof was:

Orders to be observed in the province.

I. That single beneficed men should be compelled to residence constant; unless he were a Prebendary of some cathedral church, or Chaplain to the King or some Peer of the realm: or by some other attendance allowed by the statutes to be absent: and in that case to keep a licensed preaching Curate.

II. That double beneficed men should reside equally upon their livings; and that they should keep a licensed Curate where they are not.

III. That beneficed men absent one hundred and twenty days should keep licensed Curates.

IV. That scandalous Ministers, guilty of notorious crimes, should be removed; and never to be admitted to any cure.

V. That no unlearned person, unable to catechise, 283 should be admitted to any cure.

VI. That none might place or displace any Curate without authority from the Archbishop or Bishop of the diocese. Which orders both Houses promised to obey and execute.

Session 21. the Synod being ready to break up, the Archbishop suspended absenters, and such as departed without leave, and by name the Bishop of Litchfield, who so went away. And April the 2d, 1589, came the Queen's writ to dissolve them. And then in pursuance thereof the Archbishop issued out his commission to execute, (both registered,) brought in by the Apparitor General. And the Bishop of Peterborough, by virtue of the said commission, dissolved the Convocation.

The subsidy unpaid by some of the Clergy, complained of in Parliament.

I find another thing done at the Convocation by the Archbishop; occasioned by a complaint made in the House of Parliament by such as were glad of any opportunity to expose the Clergy: which was, that some of them were much behindhand in the payment of their subsidies, and especially their last benevolence, granted by them to the

BOOK III.

Queen, to assist her against her powerful enemies. Whereupon the Archbishop, to prevent all just grounds of finding

Anno 1588.

fault with the whole body of them, sent his circulary letters to those that were negligent herein: checking them severely, and shewing them the evil and dangerous consequences hereof: and at last, assuring them of his effectual proceedings against them, if it were not speedily paid. For to this tenor ran his letters, dated from the Convocation house:

The Archbishop's sharp letter to them on that account. Regist. Whitg. vol. i.

"After our hearty commendation: where, not only to "your particular reproach, but also to the daily discredit "of us all, it is declared in open Parliament, that you "have paid these four years no part of the subsidy due to "her Majesty; nor yet any part of the benevolence granted "to her Highness, to help to support her excessive charges "in these dangerous times, for the defence of her own "royal person, her realms, and subjects; which would be "to very small purpose and effect, if it were no better per- "formed than it hath been from you; we are driven, to "our no small grief, to pray and require you forthwith, "upon the receipt hereof, to take some speedy order to "discharge these duties to her Majesty; and especially "the benevolence; that doth touch us all nearly, and ap- "pertaineth to our care, charge, and duties, to see truly "answered, according to our dutiful promises and grant to "such ordinances that by your own consent we have made "in that behalf; being such, if you did not well consider "thereof, as may endanger your whole state. Which as- "suredly we must and will put in execution, except you "immediately make undelayed payment: requiring you "with all speed to satisfy the contents hereof, touching "the benevolence, or immediately to appear before us; "or so many as are authorized in that behalf, to shew "cause why we should not proceed against you, according "to the tenor and meaning of the said ordinance. And so "we bid you farewell. From the Convocation house."

A writing for the Queen's su-

I meet with a paper in the Cotton library, without date, but drawn up, as I conjecture, about this time. Which I

knew not where to place so well as in this Convocation; composed, as it seems, by some Civilian, a member thereof, by the Archbishop's recommendation of such a work: and that, very seasonably, to evince, that princes are supreme, next under God, in their own dominions, even in causes spiritual: hereby to save the lives (if strong arguments and authority could convince) of many Romish Priests, that were now more rigorously, according to the laws, dealt with and not spared; upon the great provocation given by the Romish faction this year; when many such were executed in the month of August, soon after the victory obtained over the Spanish Armada; both Seminary Priests and Jesuits, and also such as had been reconciled by them, or gave harbour to them. These Priests died the Pope's martyrs, for refusing to swear to the Queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, as well as civil. Who if they would but have owned the same upon oath, might have saved their lives: as some of them did; *viz.* the two Priests already mentioned, recanting at Paul's Cross, and another before in the month of September. Now this learned paper, for the satisfaction of such, and in vindication of this professed doctrine of the Church of England, was to prove, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction always appertained to kings and their judges.

Anno 1588. premacy in spirituals. Cleopatra. f. 2.

284

This was proved from the Old Testament: from the practice of the primitive Church; as appeared in the history of Constantine and other Christian Emperors; and especially Justinian. That they made ordinances concerning points of faith: that they ordained and confirmed councils: that they commanded orders of prayers for the sacraments: appointed punishments to be inflicted upon Bishops, and Priests, and Monks: declared the Communion should be publicly celebrated: condemned such as denied the resurrection and the last judgment, &c. Forbade swearing by God's head, &c. Made laws concerning the Trinity; the person, nature, and offices of Christ Jesus: and divers other laws they made relating to the Church. And reference is made to the code of Justinian,

BOOK III.

and his Novels, for all these, and the like; as may be found mentioned in the said paper: which I have placed in the Appendix. Or perhaps this paper might have been composed for the confutation of a disciplinarian principle, which placed a spiritual jurisdiction and government in Church matters in the eldership, and not in the Prince. Concerning which argument, Hutton, Bishop of Durham, had a learned discourse with the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham, as we shall see under the next year.

Anno 1588. Number XXXIX.

CHAP. XXI.

Hackington vicarage augmented. The conditions for the Vicar, by the Archbishop's instrument. The see of York vacant by the death of Archbishop Sandys. His deserts towards that church. His character; and testimony to this church. Succeeded by Piers, Bishop of Sarum, confirmed at Lambeth. Martin Marprelate's libels. The secret printing press. A letter from some of the Council to the Archbishop, to search for the books and the authors. Expressions against the Bishops in these books. Cases and questions proposed and resolved by the Puritans, at their classical *and* provincial *assemblies. Superiority of Bishops asserted in a public sermon, by Dr. Bancroft. A syllogism against it. Answered by him. Another syllogism, to charge the Archbishop with tyranny. Answered by him. Penry's book. The Cobler's book. Proclamation against seditious books. Seditious preaching at Cambridge. Dr. Pern labours for Fulborn rectory to be laid to Peter house.*

Augments the vicarage of Hackington. Regist. Whitg. vol. i.

IN December this year did the Archbishop do the good work of confirming an augmentation to the vicarage of Hackington, alias St. Stephen, near Canterbury. The instrument whereof, bearing date the 13th of December, was to this tenor: "That upon the daily and earnest solici-
285 "tation of Sir Roger Manwood, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of

" the Exchequer, in behalf of that poor vicarage; and that " there might be some good encouragement for the preach- " ing of God's word there; he had issued out his commis- Anno 1588. " sional letters, dated October 10, 1588, to the reverend his " brother Richard, Suffragan of Dover, and William Red- " man, Archdeacon of Canterbury, to inquire and certify " him of the state and condition of the said vicarage; and " was informed by them, among other things, that the re- " venues of it were in former times more large and co- " pious, by reason of certain superstitious offerings before " the image of St. Stephen in that parish church; which " were now ceased by the good laws, and benefit of the " preaching of the word." Which information the Archbishop had from the said Commissioners; who were in the said commission appointed to make inquisition upon oath concerning these articles, *viz.* how much the vicarage house of Hackington, and all gardens and orchards and other grounds whatsoever to the said vicarage belonging, was worth by the year. *Item*, How much all manner of tithes belonging to the said vicarage was then worth by the year; or had been worth since the putting down of the oblations and offerings to the image of St. Stephen in the said parish church. *Item*, How much by year the oblations were worth to the Vicar, as they had credibly heard or known. *Item*, How many households were in the said parish; and what number of people in the whole. " Wherefore he, the Archbishop, Ordinary of the place, " and patron of the archdeaconry of Canterbury, to which " the rectory of Hackington from ancient time was law- " fully annexed and appropriated; considering and weigh- " ing how the cure of souls, and the administration of the " sacrament, the preaching of the word of God, and other " divine offices, were incumbent upon the Vicar *pro tem-* " *pore;* and being minded to consult the smallness of the " vicarage by all lawful means and ways, according as his " duty was:

" He decreed, ordained, and granted to Richard Cost,

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

" the present Vicar, and all his successors, besides all the " tenths, obventions, oblations, and profits, which the Vicar " and his predecessors enjoyed, he gave all and singular " the tenths of corn and hay growing within the said " parish, to his use, quietly to receive and enjoy; and " which hitherto the Archdeacon of Canterbury in right of " the archdeaconry, or his farmers, might and ought to " have taken. Yet on this condition, that the said Vicar " pay to the Archdeacon Redman, and his successors, ten " pounds of lawful money of England yearly, at the man- " sion-house of the said Vicar, at the four usual times of " payment. And the Vicar to take an oath to reside, and " that he should take no other benefice with cure, nor to " serve any cure of souls elsewhere, nor apply himself to " any ministry, office, or place of Clerk or Petty Canon in " any cathedral church, under pain of five pounds to the " Archdeacon of Canterbury for the time, for every month " that any such Vicar should happen to be found faulty in " any of the foresaid respects. Which five pounds to be " collected and levied, *totiens quotiens*, from the corn and " hay, as granted before by the Archdeacon. But yet, *ex* " *gratia*, it was granted to the said Vicar Cost, that he " should have the place of a Petty Canon in the cathedral " church of Canterbury (which he at present enjoyeth) " during his life, while he should be daily resident upon " his vicarage; to repair the chancel, and bear all the " other burdens incumbent upon his living." And in witness whereof the Archbishop, the Archdeacon, Sir Roger Manwood, and Richard Cost, the Vicar, set their hands and seals in a deed quadripartite.

Where we may observe, how greatly the benefits of the parochial Clergy sunk, upon the ceasing of pilgrimages to saints to which churches were dedicated, and the superstitious offerings at their shrines; and further we may observe, how the Archbishop, though he opposed the taking away wholly of pluralities, which he saw would (if it took place) starve the Ministers, and discourage learning and

the study of divinity; yet that he was no friend to them, nor to non-residences, where the livings might creditably maintain a godly, residing, preaching Minister. Anno 1588.

This living of Hackington before now had the good luck to be favoured by a former Archbishop and Archdeacon, namely, Archbishop Warham, and his nephew of the same name; who had been benefactors to the parsonage house. And the abovesaid Sir Roger Manwood, besides his influence in mending the Minister's living, left also maintenance for certain poor people there. 286 Lamb. Perambul. p. 344. 8vo.

The see of York became vacant this year by the decease of Edwin Sandys, D.D. the last Archbishop there: who died in the month of July, aged sixty-nine: and was buried in the collegiate church of Southwel. Where, on the north corner of the choir, there was erected for him a raised monument; on which appears the figure of an old man, lying along, with a book in his hand, with a great many effigies of his children kneeling on the side thereof. The epitaph set upon his monument was, *Edwinus Sandes, S. Th. D. postquam Wigorniensem Episcopatum* XI *annos, totidemque tribus demptis, Londinensem gessisset, Eboracensis sui Archiepiscopatus anno* XII. *vitæ autem* LXIX *obiit Julii* 10. *anno Domini* 1588, &c. The rest of the inscription being somewhat long, and giving some account of his holy, useful, painful life, I have reposited in the Appendix; for the better knowledge and grateful remembrance of one of our first reformers and confessors. He was a man of great note for his piety and sufferings under Queen Mary, for his firm profession of the reformed religion, narrowly escaping with life beyond sea; and was an exile during that Queen's reign. An excellent and frequent preacher, and careful Bishop of Worcester, London, and York, successively, not only for the maintaining of the Church, as it was established, against sects, but also of its revenues; which were by greedy men sought after. Particularly the great manors of Southwell and Scrowby. A lease of which was laboured by some great man to be obtained. And the Queen over-persuaded wrote to the Arch-

The see of York vacant by the death of Archbishop Sandys.

Numb. XL.

His deserts towards that see.

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

bishop to lease it out for seventy years upon an annual rent, with all the members, houses, woods, parks, rents, revenues, belonging thereto. Which he refused, and chose rather to resign his bishopric. For so he resolutely wrote to a great man at Court, "that the granting of such a "lease would highly displease God, kill his conscience, "and spoil the church of York: and that rather than "grant it, he was resolved to offer the resignation of his "place, and that it should be absolute." A few years after, his London house also was earnestly endeavoured to be gotten from him. Which he told his great friend at Court, the Lord Treasurer, (to whom he made his complaint,) was unreasonably requested of him. Which he could not, as he said, in conscience yield to, and that he remained resolute. And then made this melancholy contemplation upon it, "These be marvellous times. The pa- "trimony of the Church is laid open as a prey unto all the "world: the Ministers of the word, the messengers of "Christ, are become *contemptibiles omni populo*, and are "esteemed *tanquam excrementa mundi*. This was fore- "shewed, &c. our times perform. It might be feared God "hath some great work in hand, for this ignominy done "unto himself." This was written June 1588, *propheti- cally* before his death, (one might almost venture to say,) the next month dying, and the next the formidable Spanish and Italian fleets coming upon our coast, with vows, against the Church and State, of ruin and desolation. And therefore it was deservedly made a part of his character in his epitaph, *Ecclesiæ patrimonium, velut rem Deo sacra- tam decuit, intactum defendit*, &c. i. e. "The Church's "patrimony, as became a thing solemnly given to God, he "defended as inviolable. And by his special favour with "the Queen, he preserved the Church, wherein he lies, "from ruin." And this trouble, to this day, is commonly said to have been the cause of his death.

His testimony of the Church of England. T. Baker, B. D.

To which I add his ample testimony to the Church of England, and his profession and approbation of the doctrine and rites maintained in it; being a clause of his last

will and testament. "Because I have lived an old man in "the ministry of Christ, a faithful disposer of the mys- "teries of God, and to my power an earnest labourer in "the vineyard of the Lord, I testify before God and his "angels, and men of this world, I rest resolute, and yield "up my spirit in that doctrine which I have privately stu- "died and publicly preached, and which is this day main- "tained in the Church of England; both taking the same "to be the whole counsel of God, the word and bread of "eternal life, the fountain of living water, the power of "God unto salvation, to all them that do believe: and be- "seeching the Lord to turn us unto him, that we may be "turned. Lest, if we repent not, the candlestick may be "moved out of his place, and the Gospel of the kingdom, "for our unthankfulness, taken from us, and given to a "nation that shall bring forth the fruits thereof. And fur- "ther, protesting in an upright conscience of mine own, "and in the knowledge of his Majesty before whom I "stand, that in the preaching of the truth of Christ, I have "not laboured to please man, but studied to serve my "Master; who sent me, not to flatter either prince or peo- "ple, but by the Law to tell all sorts of their sins; by the "Spirit to rebuke the world of sin, of righteousness, and "judgment; by the Gospel to testify of that faith which is "in Jesus Christ and him crucified. And concerning rites "and ceremonies, by political constitutions authorized "among us, I am and have been persuaded, that such as "are now set down by public authority in this Church of "England are no way either ungodly or unlawful, but "may with a good conscience, for order and obedience "sake, be used of a good Christian."

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1588.

287

But because there was an author that not long after his death wrote a book called, *A Proposal for Union among Protestants*, (which was presented to the Parliament,) wherein he represented that Archbishop as though he were a favourer of some of the Puritans' principles, by taking and publishing a clause out of his will, *viz.* "That he "ever and presently was persuaded, that some of the

His judgment of Puritan principles.

A proposal for union.

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

" rites and ceremonies were not so expedient for this " Church now, but that in the Church reformed, and in all " this time of the Gospel, they might better be disused by " little and little:" I shall therefore repeat further the very words of his will, that we may take all together: and so the better judge of that most reverend Prelate's true sense and meaning.

" (For the private baptism to be ministered by women, " I take neither to be prescribed nor permitted) so have I " ever been and presently am persuaded, that some of " them be not so expedient for this Church now, but that " in the Church reformed, and in all this time of the Gos- " pel, wherein the seed of the Gospel hath so long been " sown, they may better be disused by little and little, " than more and more urged. Howbeit, as I do easily " acknowledge our ecclesiastical policy in some points " may be bettered, so do I utterly dislike, even in my con- " science, all such rude and indigested platforms, as have " been more lately and boldly, than either learnedly or " wisely preferred: tending, not to the reformation, but to " the destruction of this Church of England: the particu- " larities of both sorts reserved to the discretion of the " godly wise. Of the latter I only say thus; that the " state of a small private Church, and the form of a larger " Christian kingdom, neither would long like, nor can at " all brook one and the same ecclesiastical government. " Thus much I thought good to testify concerning these " ecclesiastical matters, to clear me of all suspicion of " double and indirect dealing in the house of God."

He left a flourishing wealthy posterity, spreading into the counties of Worcester, Bucks, and in the north.

Piers translated from Sarum to York, and confirmed. Regist. Whitg.

He was succeeded by John Peers, [or Piers,] late Bishop of Sarum, and the Queen's Almoner: who was translated this year to be Archbishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Peter's in York. The confirmation of his election to this see was performed on Wednesday, February 19, 31. Elizab. in the chapel of Lambeth, before the most reverend the Archbishop, and the right reverend the

Bishops of London, Winton, Hereford, and Rochester, by virtue of the Queen's letters commissional to them.

Anno 1588.

His character.

This was Dr. Piers's third remove: his first being from the deanery of Christ's Church, Oxon, to the bishopric of Rochester. He obtained, by his learning, good government, and Christian behaviour, a great character from that college, when he went thence, in an epistle, anno 1575, they wrote to the Lord Treasurer for Dr. James to succeed him, *viz.* "That his *benignitas in bonos, in præfractiores* 288 "*prudentia, in omnes moderatio,* were singular. That he "was excellently furnished with the knowledge of all arts: "and that he was the great instrument of the progress of "good learning in that house." They extol his learning, humanity, liberality, beneficence; and as he governed the college, so no question he behaved himself when he was advanced to the government of the Church.

Commission to visit Sarum diocese.

And upon the vacancy of the said bishopric of Sarum by the translation of the said Pearse, [as the name is written here in the register,] a commission for visitation of the said diocese was granted to Tho. Hyde, S. T. B. Chancellor, Canon and Prebendary Residentiary of the said cathedral church of St. Mary, Sarum.

Libels against the Bishops, many and slanderous, come forth, under the name of Martin Marprelate.

The burning zeal of those that were for altering the government of the Church appeared this year and the next, as by other endeavours, so by the many pamphlets and books set forth, full of words and very rude and unbecoming expressions used towards the Bishops, and above all towards the Archbishop, as well as other learned men of dignity in the Church. The chief of these writers was one (or rather a club) affecting to be called Martin Marprelate. These books went under such names as these, *Diotrephes, the Mineralls, the Supplication, the Epitome,* which book bore this title in the front, *O! read Dr. Bridge's book: for it is a worthy work.* This was intended for an answer to a book written by that reverend Dean of Sarum against Marprelate. Another of these pamphlets bore this title, *Have yee any Work for a Cooper?* written in answer to what the Bishop of Winchester,

BOOK III.

whose name was Cooper, had wrote in vindication of the Bishops, and the Church of England, spoken of under the year following. Yet another book against the said Bishop, called, *More Work for a Cooper*. In the printing of which the press was found out and seized, and all their sport spoiled. More books under Martin's name were *Martin Junior*, alias *Martinianæ Theses*. And the same author threatened to put forth many more. And for the furnishing himself with matter, he tells the Bishops what he would do, and how he proposed to work their woe: first, by placing young Martins in every diocese, in every parish, in some parishes two: who should watch the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy at every turn. That when any thing was done amiss, that they might presently publish it. And secondly, that he had made already (and had them in store) certain books of BB. doings: which he would publish, he said, except Travers, Wiburn, Paget, Wigginton, and some others deprived, were restored to their places. The names of these books, prepared and threatened, were;

Anno 1588.

Collect. Archb. Whitg. pen. R. T. Bret. LL. D.

Episto[Episco]mastix.	Martin's Dream.
Paradoxes.	The Lives and Doings of
Dialogues.	English Popes.
Miscellanea.	Itinerarium, or Visitations.
Variæ Lectiones.	Lambathismes.

Of these, the two last (as it seemed) were not finished. And therefore to make perfect his *Itinerarium*, he said, he would make a survey of all the Clergy in the land, and note their intolerable pranks. And for his *Lambathismes*, he would have his Martin at Lambeth from time to time to observe the proceedings there.

Lambathismes.

Other books besides there were of this sort that now came forth, as, *A Demonstration of Discipline*, the *Counter-poison*, &c. And for this purpose, to carry on this design, they had a secret printing press; which they conveyed from place to place, that it might be the more undiscoverable. It was first set up at Mouldsey in Surrey, near Kingston upon Thames. And from thence conveyed

A secret press to print their libels.

to Fausley in Northamptonshire, where the worshipful family of the Knightleys seat was, great favourers of this sort of men. From thence this press was removed to Norton, and from Norton to Coventree, and from Coventre to Woolston in Warwickshire. And thence the letters were sent to another press in or near Manchester in Lancashire. Where the press was discovered in printing *More Work for a Cooper*, as was said before. "Which "shameless libel, as also all the forenamed, (as I find "written in a MS. in the Cotton library,) were fraught "only with odious and scurrilous calumniations against "the established government, and such reverend Prelates "as deserved honour with uprighter judgments." Some of the printers, with the entertainers and receivers of the said press, were proceeded against in the Star-chamber, and there censured. The chief authors of these books were John Penry, a hotheaded Welchman, John Udal, and other Ministers, and Humfrey Newman, a cobbler, a disposer of them, who were proceeded against afterwards for sedition, and condemned: and so it cost some of them their lives. But this belongs to some years yet to follow.

Anno 1588.

Julius F. 6.

289

Command to the Archbishop to search for the authors of Marprelate.

These dangerous libels so plentifully coming abroad, awakened the Queen's Council: who saw it highly necessary to find out these authors, and the printers of their books: and especially that of Marprelate. And for that purpose, letters, by the Queen's order, were directed to the Archbishop from the Lord Chancellor and Lord High Treasurer of England, in the month of November, to search for, by the ecclesiastical commission, the authors and abettors of a seditious book against the ecclesiastical government of the Church by Bishops, secretly dispersed abroad, tending to breed a dislike of the present government of the Church, and expressing in a malicious manner many slanderous reports of his Grace, and other Bishops. Which the Queen being acquainted with, conceived would have a very bad effect, to God's dishonour, to the disturbance of the Church's peace, and besides would give a dangerous example to private persons to subvert all kinds of

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

settled government in the realm. And for his more effectual doing this, certain of the Privy Council were appointed to assist him in this search. This letter was drawn up by the hand of the said Lord Treasurer, and bore date in Nov. 14, 1588, in these words following:

The letter wrote to him for that purpose. MSS. Whitg. penes me.

"After our very hearty commendations to your Grace. "Where her Majesty hath understanding of a lewd seditious book lately printed, as it should seem, in secret "manner; and as secretly dispersed by persons of unquiet "spirits; the contents of the book being principally to "move a mislike of the present government of this Church "of England, by the Bishops, and other ecclesiastical go- "vernors: and therewith also expressing, in a malicious "manner, sundry slanderous reports against your Grace, "and the rest of the Bishops of the realm; for that her "Majesty conceiveth that these kind of seditious attempts, "if they should be suffered, would redound, both to the "dishonour of God, to the disturbance of the peace of the "Church, and be a dangerous example to encourage pri- "vate men, in this covert manner, to subvert all other "kinds of government under her Majesty's charge, both "in the Church and commonweal:

"Upon these considerations, her Majesty hath willed us "to signify to you, though the matter may be judged in "some part to concern yourself, yet her pleasure is, that "your Grace, with the advice of some other of the Bi- "shops, your brethren, should use all speedy means, by "force of the ecclesiastical commission, or otherwise, to "search for the authors hereof, and their complices, and "the printers, and secret dispersers of the same; and to "cause them to be apprehended and committed. And "thereupon to certify us of your proceedings: so as we, "and others of her Majesty's Privy Council, as her Ma- "jesty shall please, may proceed against all the offenders "in this case, as in reason, honour, and in very justice "shall be requisite.

"And for your help, as need shall be, we have required, "by her Majesty's order, our very good Lords, the Lord

" Cobham, the Lord Buckhurst, and Mr. Wolley, all of " her Majesty's Privy Council, to be aiding, with their ad- " vice and assistance, to you, for the discovery of the au- " thors and abettors of the foresaid libelling book. And " so would we, for our parts, readily yield our labours " thereto, if we were not so heavily occupied with the " matters for common justice in this term, as is well " known to your Grace."

Now to shew how justly provoked the Queen was, and the chief and wisest of the Council were, with this vile book, and what reason they had to cause a strict inquiry to be made after this seditious club of writers, I shall here give a specimen of the strain thereof, and the good-will they bore to the Church and Churchmen. (What abuses they bestowed upon the Archbishop, I shall reserve for another place.)

" That our L. BB. as Ihon of Canterbury, with the rest 290
" of that swinish rabble, are petty Antichrists, petty Popes, Expressions against the Bishops and Clergy in Marprelate's books.
" proud Prelates, enemies to the Gospel, and most covet- " ous wretched Priests, &c. I will tell you, Sir, I am per- " suaded in my conscience, that the Lord hath given many " of our Bishops over into a reprobate sense. For they " do wilfully oppose themselves against the Lord's known " truth; yea, and persecute it. And I suppose them to " be in the state of the sin against the Holy Ghost. For " they have manifested in their public writings, yea, and " pressed forth by authority, such horrible, blasphemous, he- " retical, yea, damnable doctrines, which my very heart " trembleth to repeat." And then he spake his pleasure of the Archbishop and several other of the Bishops, (besides other eminent Divines and dignitaries of the Church,) which we shall, in the process of this history, shew. For the rest of the Clergy that were peaceable, and subscribed to the articles required, and especially those of the Convocation, he saluteth them with these terms, " Right puis- " sant and terrible Priests, my Clergy masters of our con- " focation house, whether fickers, worshipful paltripoli- " tans, or others of the holy league of subscription; right

BOOK III.

Anno 1588.

"poisoned, persecuting, and terrible Priests: worshipful "Priests of the crew of monstrous and ungodly wretches, "that, to maintain their own outrageous proceedings, "mingle heaven and earth together. All, who have sub- "scribed, have approved lies upon the Holy Ghost. My "horned masters of the confocation house: this conspira- "tion house: your prestdomes: your government is Anti- "christian: your cause is desperate: your grounds are ri- "diculous: you abuse the high commission most horribly. "Martin understands all your knavery: intolerable with- "standers of reformation: enemies of the Gospel: most "covetous, wretched, and Popish Priests."

Of the state of the Church of England thus he speaks: "There is nothing there but sores and blisters. The "grief is there, even deadly at the heart." This he writeth of the Clergy in general, which he supposed would be assembled in Convocation, when this book came forth.

But notwithstanding all the Archbishop's endeavours to crush these Disciplinarians who dictated all this malice; and whom he well saw, if their principles took place, must be the ruin of the State as well as the Church, as the Queen had signified to him before; yet by this time they came to that growth, that they set up their discipline, and had their *classical* and *provincial* assemblies, as in Warwick, Northampton, Cambridge, &c. where there met divers of their Ministers, and there proposed questions, in matters of religion and conscience, and resolved them: and made orders and decrees for the government of their churches. They handled these particular cases; *viz.* about reading the Apocrypha in the congregation, and the Homilies; about the Sacrament delivered by unpreaching Ministers; about using the cross in Baptism, and baptizing by women; about the hierarchical government of the Church; about subscriptions to the Bishops' articles. They perused also, at these meetings, the Common Prayer, how far they might use it for their ministry sake. They handled also questions between the Papists and Protestants. Here they treated much likewise of their book of the Holy Disci-

Classical and provincial assemblies set up by the Puritans.

Cases propounded and resolved there. MSS. Burghlian.

pline; and approved it, and concluded upon Ministers' subscription to it: and that it should be recommended to the people on all occasions in their sermons, according as their texts led them. And they consulted here by what means the Queen might be brought to settle that discipline. Here they drew up their petitions and supplications. They concluded also in these assemblies about sending certain of their members to be present at Parliament, to offer disputations, to draw up arguments for the use of their party in the House. Here also they took a survey of the Ministers in the several counties, to espy into their lives and learning. Here they expounded the First Epistle to the Corinthians: that by exposing the blemishes and defects of that Church, the need of reforming the Church of England might appear. In these assemblies they chose a moderator, who propounded the questions to be agitated, and noted the judgment and opinions upon them: and registered the things done. And in short, they were begun and ended with prayer for God's direction, &c.

Anno 1588.

At length, by the industry of the Archbishop and his spies, many of their papers and letters were seized: whereby much of their concerns and doings at those meetings came to light. Out of which, I will faithfully transcribe and set down a few things, as I found them in some of the Lord Treasurer's papers; that, as an impartial church historian, I may not conceal, but communicate and preserve some matters of fact relating to religion in these days. Certain notes found among the papers of Mr. Wight, one of the chief Puritan Ministers, shewed, that in the year 1587. there were certain questions sent from the Synod of Cambridge, [*viz.* a *classical* Synod,] which were resolved and agreed upon, anno 1588, *die decimo 4ti.* [i. e. *mensis scil. Junii,*] at a *provincial* Synod at Warwick, as follows: "That private baptism was unlawful. "That it was unlawful to read homilies in the church. "That the sign of the cross was not to be used in Bap- "tism. That the faithful ought not to communicate with "unlearned ministers, although they might be present at

291 Notes out of their papers seized.

BOOK III. Anno 1588.

"the service, if they came of purpose to hear a sermon. "The reason was, because the laymen as well as Ministers may read the public service. That the calling of "Bishops was unlawful. That as they dealt in causes ecclesiastical, there was no duty belonging to them, nor "any publicly to be given them. That it was not lawful "to be ordained by them into the ministry; or to denounce either suspensions or excommunications, sent "from them. That it was not lawful to rest in the Bishop's deprivation of any from the ministry; (except, "upon consultation with the neighbour Minister adjoining, and his flock, it seemed good unto them;) but that "he continue in the same, until he be compelled to the "contrary by civil force. That it was not lawful to "appear in any Bishop's court, but with protestation of "their unlawfulness. That Bishops were not to be acknowledged, either for Doctors, Elders, or Deacons; as "having no ordinary calling. That touching their ecclesiastical discipline, it ought to be taught to the people "upon every occasion. That as yet, the people were not "to be solicited publicly to the practice of the discipline, "till they were better instructed in the knowledge of it. "That the men of better understanding were to be allured "privately to the present embracing of the discipline and "practice of it, as far as they should be capable with the "peace of the Church." And thus far the *provincial* Synod of Warwick.

Questions discussed by them about making Ministers.

In others of the same Wight's papers were several other questions found, discussed by certain learned men of their party, bearing this title, *Questiones tractatæ et discussæ a viris doctissimis, et sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ studiosis.* Some of them were these: "That no man, no, not any academy, "might take upon him *ministerium vagum.* That they "that should take upon them the ministry must be called "thereto by the Church, where they must serve, and by "the *classis* thereof, and also by the *classis* of that Church "where they lived before: or they must communicate "their purpose with some greater assembly. And if by

"them they be found meet, let them be commended to "the Bishop by their letters." [For it seems they did wink at episcopal ordination, to get as many of their party as they could into the ministry and benefices.] "That no "man that was to be made Minister might subscribe to "the Book of Common Prayer. That it was thought meet "that the churchwardens and sidemen might be turned "into Elders and Deacons." Anno 1588.

Other questions more were found in Wight's study, *viz.* "Whether the Church hath been, and may be, without "a Christian magistrate: and what obedience the mem- "bers of the Church are to shew to rulers, being infidels. "[An odd question in a Christian kingdom.] Whether "the Lord hath taken order, and appointed any certain "and ordinary means for the calling and continuance of "the Church under infidels; and worketh the continuance "of it altogether extraordinarily, or but in part. What "the ordinary means are which God hath ordained. Who "should or might, by sufficient warrant from God, pro- "cure and administer these means, for the continuance of "the Church under unbelievers. What the Church then "getteth by having Christian rulers: and what blessings "and mercies they be, not *ad esse*, but *ad benè esse Eccle-* "*siæ*. Which is the care that such princes ought to have "for the good state of the Church. Whether they, to "whom the procurement and administration of the ordi- "nary means, for the continuance of the Church under "infidels, be restrained, and by the word deprived of that "authority under professing rulers, that they may not "both procure and administer these means of themselves, "without consent of Christian authority, as they might "before. What authority and power Christian rulers have "over the Church government; not only in civil causes, "but also in ecclesiastical, and in the things of their own "administration." These were the suspicious questions of this party, tending, as it plainly appears, to the lessening of the power of temporal magistrates in matters of the Church, and taking it wholly to themselves. Other of their questions about magistrates. 292

They had another provincial conference appointed at

BOOK III.

London about these times, (as was desired in Wight's paper,) for the next Michael term, (as they affected to phrase it, instead of Michaelmas,) the year not expressed. Then it was agreed upon, that the oppressions offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the Bishops and the Bishops' officers, and by their courts, should be gathered and registered. This was agreeable to Marprelate's threatenings to the Bishops, *viz.* to have Martins in every diocese, to make observations of their doings.

Anno 1588.

An order at a provincial meeting, to register their sufferings.

It is remarkable also what resolutions were given to other questions, found among the letters of Lord, another of their Ministers; which were also seized: namely, "How, when all the Church's revenues that then were "should be converted, to maintain their presbyteries, her "Majesty should be recompensed for her first-fruits and "tenths. For that they would pay none, as being unlaw-"ful. And how the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. should "be provided for, that the land be not filled with *rogues*," as the expression is in the paper. Who these rogues were, the former clause will suggest, *viz.* the Prelates stripped of all their preferments and revenues.

A question about first-fruits and tenths, and the Bishops' revenues; which were to be taken away.

And for turning out the Bishops a begging, and these Ministers themselves to enjoy their possessions, thus the forementioned Wight wrote in a letter to Littleton, another of that party: "Let the Devil and his deputies, the "Bishops, do what they can. In the mean time let us "take our pennyworths of them, and not die in their "debts. It fares with us, as with the prisoners in Popery. "Our ministry holdeth still; and I doubt not, but it shall "hold, when Eli's house, or rather the cursed children of "Babylon, shall be overthrown, and dashed against the "stones. I mean the abuses, whatsoever shall become of "the men."

Expect the possessions of the Bishops.

The discovery of these papers and letters, with a great many more, brought the writers of them into the Star-chamber, in the year 1589, or 1590, when many of them were taken up and put into prison, and censured. Which, under those years, we shall more particularly speak of.

About this time, the better to complete the work for

throwing down Bishops, a written tract (for I think it was not printed) was cunningly framed by some of the party, against the *superiority* of Bishops over other Ministers: built upon a political foundation, as striking at the Queen's authority: this book was put into Sir Francis Knollys's hands, a Privy Counsellor, to manage at Court for the party. It bore this title, *Touching the Superiority of Bishops, with a Syllogism; and an Answer to the same, and a Reply thereunto.*

Anno 1588.

A tract made against the Bishops' superiority.

This tract was occasioned by a sermon preached January 12, 1588, in the City, [and, as it seems, at St. Paul's,] by Dr. Bancroft, the Archbishop's Chaplain, the author of *England's Scottizing*, and of *A Survey of the pretended Discipline;* a notable antagonist of the Disciplinarians. In which sermon the preacher was charged to maintain, that *the Bishops of England had superiority over their inferior brethren*, jure divino, *and directly from God.* For the preaching of this sermon, I am apt to believe, he had the instructions of the Archbishop, to meet with these loud clamours that were nowadays made against the sacred calling of the English Bishops. After which sermon made, a Counsellor to her Majesty [Sir Francis Knollys, no doubt] did conceive, that the said preacher did therein injury to her Majesty's supremacy.

A sermon by Dr. Bancroft, for Bishops' superiority *jure divino.*

This point of the said sermon he thought fit to relate in a letter to Dr. Rainolds, of Oxford; desiring his judgment of that doctrine preached by Dr. Bancroft, *viz.* of the *superiority* of Bishops over the Clergy, "avouching it to be "of God's own ordinance, though not by express words, "yet by necessary consequence. And that, in that he af- "firmed their opinion to be heresy who impugned that "superiority. And that Aërius affirmed there was no dif- "ference between a Priest and a Bishop; and that Martin "and his companions did maintain this opinion of Aërius. "That his argument to prove this superiority, and that "the denial of it was heresy, was, that Epiphanius saith, "that Aërius's assertion was full of folly. And secondly, "he affirmed, that S. Hierom saith, and Mr. Calvin seemed

293

Sir Francis Knollys desireth the judgment of Dr. Rainolds of this doctrine.

BOOK III. Anno 1588.

" on his report to confess, that Bishops have had the said " superiority ever since the times of St. Mark the Evan- " gelist." I shall not make a transcursion here to relate the answer of Dr. Rainolds: but take notice only, what a handle that Privy Counsellor took hereat, to make the preacher obnoxious to the law.

And for proof thereof he produced a syllogism: which being imparted either to the Lord Treasurer or the Archbishop, soon came into Dr. Bancroft's hands. To which he framed an answer. Both which I will here communicate, being found among some of Archbishop Whitgift's own papers, yet preserved in the hands of a gentleman in Kent. The syllogism was as followeth:

Syllogism against the superiority of Bishops, Collect. Archbishop Whitg. R. T. Bret, LL. D.

Major. Whosoever doth maintain, that any subject of this realm hath superiority over the persons of the Clergy, otherwise than from and by her Majesty's authority, he doth injury to her Majesty's supremacy.

Minor. The preacher, upon Sunday the 12th of January, 1588, maintained, that the Bishops of this realm had superiority over the inferior Clergy, otherwise than by and from her Majesty's authority, namely, *jure divino.*

Conclus. Ergo, the preacher therein did injury to her Majesty's supremacy: unless he can better expound this saying than I can imagine.

The preacher's answer to the syllogism.

I add the preacher's answer. " In so important an ac- " cusation of any man, especially a preacher, it had been " requisite first to have set down his words, whereby his " assertion might the better have been known: and then " to have framed an answer thereupon: lest the strife " should be *andabatarum more.* But to come to the an- " swer of this syllogism; admitting the *form,* though not " yet perfected; albeit also in *matter* much different from " the former syllogism. Which again overthroweth the " credit of so high an accusation, being variable and dif- " ferent from itself. Omitting, I say, these, and all other " exceptions, briefly and plainly to this syllogism I an- " swer thus:

" Both the *major* and the *minor* of this syllogism are captiously set down; the cavil being hidden in the word *otherwise*. For if the word *otherwise* be meant in such wise, as although it be in kind and order different, it be yet agreeable, or subalternal; then I deny the *major*, and grant the *minor*. For they may well hold in some superiority, both *jure divino* and *jure humano*. Partly, for that in some things, as in superiority of ordaining and consecrating Ministers, and excommunicating, *jus humanum* and her Majesty's supremacy do approve, maintain, and corroborate *jus divinum*. To which purpose *jus humanum* doth *subservire juri divino*, without any abasement at all thereunto. And partly, for that in some ecclesiastical matters, that are not mere ecclesiastical or spiritual actions, rites, and orders, but mixed; as human constitutions, and *de jure humano*, so long as they are concordant with the general rule of St. Paul, of *edifying* in order and comeliness, *jus divinum* doth on the other side approve, maintain, and corroborate them. So that both ways they may well be said to be *jure divino:* but especially the former. Which name came by the Prince's authority, both in respect of the persons that have them, being the Prince's subjects; and in respect of the Prince's maintenance of them: albeit that the original institution of them be not derived from the law of men; and so not from the Prince's supreme authority; but primarily from the law of God. And were ordained before Christian princes did maintain them.

" Secondly, if by the word *otherwise* be meant any such 294
wise as is not only in kind and order different, but also in the *analogy* thereof, nor any ways agreeable, nor subalternate, but logically contrary and contradictory thereunto; then I grant the *major*, and deny the *minor*. For I never avouched any such thing: which had been clean contrary to the chief scope of my sermon; and against all mine own writings, both against the Papists and against these inordinate brethren, impugning her Majesty's laws, and calling in question her Majesty's su-

BOOK III. Anno 1588.

" preme authority in ecclesiastical matters. But for my " sermon, and also for the syllogism therein, and proof " thereof, thanks be to God, it is forthcoming when it " shall be called for. In the mean season I put myself to " the testimony of all the honourable, worshipful, and " other sincere hearers and noters of the same. And " therefore for any thing contained in the parts of the " foresaid arguments, the premises being so suspicious " and deceivable; the conclusion is untrue, slanderous, " and uncharitable; the honour of the person that deli- " vered it (but I think made it not) in all dutifulness al- " ways reserved.

" Now although this clear and plain answer may seem " sufficient, yet to shew more plainly the insufficiency of " this argument, I will set down the like for the laity, to " whom the statute stretcheth, as well as to the Clergy, " in this manner: whosoever doth maintain, that any sub- " ject of this realm hath a superiority over the persons, " either of the Clergy or of the Laity, otherwise than " from and by her Majesty's authority, he doth injury to " her Majesty's supremacy. The late writers here in " England, Mr. Cartwright, Fenner, Travers, Penri, all the " learned discoursers, the writers of the *Counterpoison*, " the *Demonstration of Discipline*, and all such others, in " their treatises in print, do maintain, that the Doctors, " the Pastors, the seignory of governing Elders, and the " Deacons, such as they pretend to be erected in every " congregation throughout the realm, have superiority " over the persons, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity, " *otherwise than from and by her Majesty's authority*, " namely, *jure divino*. *Ergo*, All these did therein in- " jury to her Majesty's supremacy. Unless they can bet- " ter expound their sayings, than I can imagine for them.

" Albeit indeed I cannot nor do imagine so hardly of " them. But only I shew hereby, how their own argu- " ments formed thus *logically* true, (as here it is termed,) " do return on themselves *a recumbentibus*, far indeed " more dangerously than any way upon me; I pleading

"*jus divinum*, whereto her Majesty's laws concur; they "also pleading *jus divinum;* but resisting also her Ma- "jesty's laws, as contrary to the laws of God." This had a reply made to it by him that framed the syllogism: but being too long, and interrupting the history if it were here inserted, I omit it.

A syllogism framed to charge the Archbishop with tyranny: with his answer.

Only let me add another syllogism, (coming out of the same forge undoubtedly,) that touched the Archbishop more particularly; as intending to prove him guilty of Popish tyranny. Which he, for the stopping of such a slanderous imputation, provided an effectual answer unto, as I find it written, among his papers, by his secretary. It bore this title, *The Resolution of a pretended Syllogism, captiously and insufficiently concluding the Archbishop of Canterbury, by practise of Popish tyranny, to endanger her Majesties safetie.*

The answer.

"I see three parts of a reason undirectly concluding the "same; but form of syllogism there is none, either in "mood or figure. The first ground or proposition con- "taineth matter of two or three syllogisms to be framed "to that purpose which they pretend. Which I will re- "solve into logical form, that the insufficiency and cap- "tiousness of the reason may the more easily appear, in "this manner following:

"*Major.* Whosoever practiseth Popish tyranny is a "subject dangerous to her Majesty's safety.

"*Minor.* The Bishop of Canterbury practiseth Popish "tyranny.

"*Conclus.* Therefore he is a subject dangerous to her "Majesty's safety.

"The antecedent of this syllogism importeth great and 295
"odious matters: that *my Lord of Canterbury practiseth* "*Popish tyranny.* The conclusion forceth that which is "most dangerous, that is, the working of the utter danger "of the Queen's Majesty's safety. Which I think to be "no less than plain treason; which thing I am persuaded "Christian charity would not have suffered the suggester "of this syllogism to have done, if he had considered with

BOOK III.

" himself what it was, either to practise Popish tyranny,
" or to work danger to her Majesty's safety.

Anno 1588. What Popish tyranny is.

" Popish tyranny hath many parts: as, that he [the
" Pope] taketh upon him by apostolical authority to be
" *head of the universal Church, and at his pleasure to*
" *interpret the whole Scriptures; to ordain ceremonies in*
" *the Church; to make decrees; to bind men's consciences,*
" not for order only, but for holiness and religion: and,
" that *all appeals ought to be made to him out of all*
" *parts of the world:* that *he only hath authority to call*
" *councils, and to be president in the same: and to decide*
" *and determine even against the Scriptures: that he ought*
" *not to be judged by any whosoever; yet might judge all*
" *men: that he hath authority over all princes and rulers*
" *of the earth, and may pronounce them usurpers, and*
" *depose them.* The odiousness of all which things is laid
" upon my Lord of Canterbury by this speech, *He prac-*
" *tiseth* POPISH TYRANNY; how justly let all men judge. If
" my Lord of Canterbury do practise or seek to bring into
" the realm these matters, I must needs confess that he
" is no otherwise than is pretended in this syllogism, that
" is, a *worker of danger to the Queen's Majesty's safety:*
" but the proof will be very weak. Therefore he denieth
" the *minor.* The proof whereof followeth in the next syl-
" logism.

" *Major.* What Clergyman soever taketh upon him
" any supreme authority, above the common author-
" ity, equally given by the word of God to all lawful
" Ministers, doth practise Popish tyranny.

" *Minor.* But the Bishop of Canterbury taketh upon
" him supreme authority above the authority of all
" Ministers, &c.

" *Conclus. Ergo,* He practiseth Popish tyranny.

The answer.

" The *major* whereof is to be answered in this manner.
" The Bishop of Canterbury taketh upon him no supreme
" authority. For he knoweth right well, that the Queen's

"Majesty, by the laws of this realm, and right of her "crown, is supreme governor of both states, as well eccle- "siastical as temporal. Therefore appeals be made from "the inferior Bishops to the Archbishops of Canterbury, "as to a higher authority: and from the Archbishop to "the Prince by her delegates in the Court of Chancery, "as to the supreme authority. It is a slander therefore to "say, that the Archbishop useth supreme authority. The "residue of that *major* is likewise untrue: as, that what "Clergyman soever taketh upon him any supreme author- "ity, equally given by the word of God to all lawful Min- "isters, doth practise Popish tyranny." The rest of this paper is lost. Anno 1588.

Penry's book.

Besides the seditious books that came forth about this year before-mentioned, another (whereof John Penry, a hot Welshman, was the author, as he was of several others) was wrote, to prove readers no Ministers. The book was entitled, *An Exhortation unto the Governors and People of her Majesty's Countries of Wales:* to labour earnestly to have the preaching of the Gospel planted among them. The second edition of this book came out this busy year; wherein, after several arguments to prove readers were not Ministers, he concluded thence, that the people were not to communicate with them. Which he thus expressed: "In regard of the cause [which he had "been before giving] I may justly condemn and despise, "and almost not vouchsafe to answer, whatsoever man or "angel can bring against it. And I dare arrest and attaint "of high treason, against the majesty of the Highest, all "those, both men and angels, which either defend the "communicating with them [*i. e.* readers] lawfully, or to- "lerate them as Ministers under their government."

Readers no Ministers.

The book, commonly called *The Cobler's Book*, comes under this year, or hereabouts: a book of the same strain with the rest. The Archbishop, having appointed somebody to look it over, and report it to him, received this account thereof. That he handled these three articles. I. That the Church of England is not the Church of Christ.

296

The Cobler's Book. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

BOOK III. Anno 1588.

II. What opinion is holden of the members thereof. III. That it is contrary to the Scriptures to join with that Church.

And further he supposed, that this treatise seemed to be a very seditious libel, appointed to be fixed in some place. For this was the title of it; *This is the Health both of Elizabeth our Queen, and also of her Realm and Country. And therefore you, Reader, let this stand, if you wish their Health.* In this treatise, first he charged the realm to maintain open idolatry, under the name of *decency*. The idolatry and monuments of idolatry he affirmed to be maintained, were, godfathers, fonts, baptism by women, bishopping of children, standing up at the Gospel, the chancel, bells, organs, &c. wafer cakes, the prescript order of service in the choir, the prescript number of Psalms and Lessons, the gang-days, Collects ordinary, surplice, copes, tippets, Wednesdays and Fridays fasts, &c. Adding, that the whole treatise was a mischievous railing libel against the Queen's Majesty and others, &c. This account of the book was sent to the Archbishop with these words in the conclusion: "These are the chief things "which by reason of my business, and for want of time, "I did hastily collect out of the *Cobler's Book*, at your "Grace's commandment." The name is not subscribed, but I am apt to believe him to be Dr. Richard Cosins, Dean of the Arches.

Proclamation for seditious books to be brought in to the Ordinary.

All these things considered, and the destructive tendencies of the authors and their books to the present constitution of the whole kingdom, caused the Queen to issue out (besides the aforesaid order to the Archbishop in November last) a severe proclamation, dated February the 13th, for the bringing in all such kind of seditious and schismatical books, whether printed or written. And that whosoever had any of them in their custody should, upon pain of the Queen's high displeasure, speedily bring them to the Ordinary, or to some of the Privy Council: and then should not, for any former concealment of them, be afterwards molested. But to understand the purport of this pro-

clamation against these libels and persons, and what the sense of the Court was about them, it set forth, "How "that within a few years past, and now of late, certain "seditious evil disposed persons towards her Majesty, "and the government established for causes ecclesiastical, "had devised, written, and printed certain schismatical "and seditious books, and defamatory libels, and other "fantastical writings, dispersed among her subjects; con- "taining in them doctrines very erroneous, and other "matters notoriously untrue, and scandalous to the State, "and against the godly reformation of religion and go- "vernment ecclesiastical established by law," &c. This proclamation, having divers things of historical remarks in it, may be read in the Appendix. Anno 1588. N°. XLI.

And further, to shew how hotly these designs were carrying on for the rendering odious the episcopal order and government, and for extirpating it, the University of Cambridge was set on work; and divers earnest men appeared there, (as there had been some before,) and bolder sermons were now preached before the face of the University. I meet with two Fellows of Christ's college, who both preached at St. Mary's in the month of January. Who for this kind of doctrine were summoned before the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Nevyl, and the Heads, and committed to prison. But they appealed; and such a stir was made, and such a party they had, that it became a business wherein the whole University was concerned for a twelvemonth after: the Proctors and Juniors opposing the government of the Heads, and refusing to submit to their sentences; as we may see under the next year. These two preachers were Cutbert Bainbrig and Francis Johnson. Dangerous doctrines preached at Cambridge against the Church.

Bainbrig preached upon Luke xii. 49. *I am come to send fire upon earth*, &c. From his discourse thereupon, certain articles were framed and propounded to him. Of which the Vice-Chancellor required him to declare under oath what he spoke publicly. I. That some seek preferment; themselves pay money for it; and pay their money By Bainbrig. His positions.

BOOK III.

beforehand. II. That there be, that have a bar, to stand between them and the *fire;* if need shall be, to strike the *fire* out of their hands that do bring it. And the bar to be your statutes and positive laws. III. Extremity used, in execution especially. IV. The fire put out by stopping their mouths that be bringers thereof.

Anno 1588.

And by Johnson. His positions.

Johnson preached upon 1 Pet. v. 1—4. *The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder,* &c. His positions laid down in his sermon may be known by the articles framed and propounded by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Perne, and other Heads, for him to declare under his oath, what he spake publicly concerning them. I. The necessity of Elders. II. The form of government commanded. III. And no other to be allowed of. IV. Neglect hereof the cause of ignorance, &c. V. We have not this discipline: and the reason why. VI. Ministers should keep continually at their charge. University, ease, quiet, wealth, the cause why some do not continue [on their cures]. VII. That there should be equality among Ministers and Elders: which the Popish hierarchy, and all of that spirit, do not like of. VIII. Amaziah forbade Amoz to preach at Bethel. IX. Ours do not exhort to feed, but stay them that would feed.

Dr. Perne's petition to the Queen.

I shall conclude this year with a designed good act towards Peter house, the college wherein our Archbishop was first admitted when he came to Cambridge. It was a laudable endeavour, though not by the Archbishop himself, yet by his ancient good friend, and sometime his patron, Dr. Perne, Master of that house, and who was now residing with him at Lambeth: and so it is little to be doubted, but that the Archbishop gave his furtherance to it. It was for her Majesty's favour, to grant the patronage of Fulborn rectory in Cambridgeshire to be settled upon that college, for the encouragement of persons studious in divinity there; advowsons to benefices being the best benefactions to those houses of learning. This benefit to his college the said Dr. Perne laboured to obtain by a supplication to the Queen. But however the mistake grew, the

Lord Treasurer understood him quite wrong, as though he had petitioned for a thing which he was quite averse to, namely, for the impropriation of that rectory, and to settle the great tithes thereof upon the college; and to leave a hungry poor subsistence for a Vicar, which was the course taken by Popes in former times; who impropriated the good livings of this kingdom, and gave them to the monasteries; and left the poor Priests, who were to serve, and to do the work of the church and parish, but a slender allowance. This mistake put some stop to the business. Which when the said Master understood by the Lord Chancellor, (to whom the Queen seemed to refer this petition,) he quickly despatched a letter from Lambeth, in April, to set himself right with that Lord: *viz.* "That "whereas he did understand by his very good Lord, the "Lord Chancellor, that his Honour [the said Lord Trea-"surer] did suspect that he should intend to procure for "Peter house the impropriation of a patronage belonging "to her Majesty in Cambridgeshire, called Fulborn; these "were to assure his Honour, that he did never speak or "desire to have the same patronage impropriated: and "that he never would labour to make that or any other "impropriation during his life. And so he humbly prayed "his Lordship to inform the Lord Chancellor. And that "he only desired of her Majesty the said patronage for "the better encouragement of good scholars, to the study-"ing of divinity in Peter house: as he did always tell the "Lord Chancellor; and as it appeared by his supplication "made to her Majesty for the same." Anno 1588.

BOOK III.

CHAP. XXII.

298 *Expressions in Marprelate's book against the Bishops in general. Foul language there given the Archbishop. The Bishop of Winton's book against that libel; wherein that Bishop is foully abused. He vindicates some expressions in his sermon. The Archbishop slandered in that libel. His particular answers to the charges against him there.*

Anno 1589. Expressions against the Bishops, in the Puritan libels, set forth.

IT is a wonder to observe the pertinacy and uncessant attempts of the new discipline men, not only in Parliament, where they had been unsuccessful, (yet in all their reasonable complaints of any abuses in the ecclesiastical state, redress was readily made,) but in their books and libels too, (wherein they were endless,) vented for their discipline, extolling it up to the heavens, and against the Archbishop and Bishops in a most insufferable manner; without all respect of quality or degree: scoffing at and affronting the godly and learned Bishops, and our good Archbishop above the rest; as though they were the vilest sort of people, and burdens of the realm. As for the Bishops, this is the language bestowed on them; (besides what we heard before.) "Our BB. and proud, popish, "presumptuous, paltry, pestilent, and pernicious Prelates, "are usurpers. I will presently *mar* the fashion of your "Lordships. They are cogging and cozening knaves. The "Bishops will lie like dogs. Impudent, shameless, wain-"scot-faced BB. Your places are Antichristian. They are "limbs of Antichrist; simony is their lackey. Monstrous, "ungodly wretches; that, to maintain their own outrageous "proceedings, mingle heaven and earth together. They "ought not to be maintained by the authority of the ma-"gistrate in a Christian commonwealth." All these are expressions taken out of Martin Marprelate's book; truly answering to the name the author affected.

Martin Marprel. Pap. of Archbishop Whitgift.

Assertions against them. Mar-

To which I add three assertions of the same author in one of his books. "I. That the Prelates usurp their au-

"thority. II. That they claim this authority over those "who by the ordinance of God are to be under no pastors, "[*i. e.* because they are equal with them.] III. This au- "thority of the Bishops in England is accounted Anti- "christian by most Churches in the world."

Anno 1589. Martin Marprelate's answer to Dr. Bridges.

But upon the Archbishop himself, the loads of reproaches and rude affronts lighted the heaviest of all. And such insolent language and lying reports printed against him, that one would think could scarcely ever have proceeded from an inferior towards one (whatever he were) that was of such high place and dignity.

Foul language given in their books to the Archbishop.

In the abovesaid book I read these expressions: "I have "heard some say, his Grace will speak against his con- "science. It is true, &c. Do you not know, that after "full sea, there followeth an ebb, (speaking to the Archbi- "shop.) Remember your brother Haman. Do you think "there is never a Mordecai to step in to our gracious "Hester, for the preserving the lives of her faithful and "best subjects, whom you so mortally hate, and bitterly "persecute: I hope you have not long to reign, Amen." And again: "Of all the Bishops that ever were in that "place, (I mean, in the see of Canterbury,) none did ever "so much hurt unto the Church of God, as he hath done, "since his coming. No Bishop had ever such an aspiring "and ambitious mind as he: no, not Stephen Gardiner of "Winchester. None so tyrannous as he: no, not Bon- "ner." Much more of this stuff, arising to a great bulk of railing and unmannerly words, and false and forged accusations, I care not to fill these pages with. But rather cast them into the Appendix, being collected out of that author's published libels for this purpose, to be laid against him in the Star-chamber.

The Epitome.

299

No. XLII.

Now the Archbishop's great care was twofold, namely, to get himself, the Bishops, and the whole state of the Church, vindicated, by some good answer to these railing accusations of Marprelate; and to find out his press: his books having been suppressed by a severe proclamation already mentioned.

BOOK III.

Besides a book set forth for this purpose by Dr. Bridges, Dean of Sarum, Cooper, the learned and godly Bishop of Winchester, set himself (chiefly, as it seems, by the Archbishop's suggestion and assistance) to compose an answer in a sober and grave style, utterly different from that scurrilous language of the adversary; since it was thought necessary to wipe off the dirt thrown upon the Prelates of the Church; and himself among the rest, who had a considerable share of abuses cast upon him. Take some of them: "Ye of all other men [speaking to this Bishop] are "most wretched. For you pronounced [in a sermon] that "men might find fault, if they were disposed to quarrel, "as well with the Scriptures, as with the Book of Com- "mon Prayer. Blasphemous wretch! that protested in a "sermon at the Court, that there was not in the world at "this day, nay, there had not been, since the Apostles' "time, such a flourishing estate of a Church, as we have "now in England. A flattering hypocrite, an impudent, "shameless, and wainscot-faced Bishop. A monstrous "hypocrite. Leave this villany, and the rest of your de- "vilish practices." I would not defile my paper with repeating of such foul language, but only for the better letting in the reader to an ill book, that about these times made such a noise.

Anno 1589. Bishop of Winton sets forth an answer to Marprelate.

Abuses of this Bishop by that author.

I cannot by the way but subjoin (for the reputation and doing right to this worthy Bishop) what he himself answered to these imputations charged upon him in print, and that in such words as unbecame the mouth of a Christian. "That if he had uttered those words for the "state of the Church appointed by law and order, not re- "specting the faults of particular persons, it might in "Christian duty be well defended. But that it was not "uttered in that manner, nor for the matter, nor for the "time. That the first part of those words [*viz.* that he "protested before God and the congregation] he acknow- "ledged not at all. And that they were purposely in- "serted to stir envy." And then the Bishop shewed, how in truth he delivered this passage: namely, "*As for the*

The Bishop's own account of his sermon so falsely represented. Admonit. p. 63.

" *truth of doctrine according to the word of God, for the* " *right administration of the sacraments, for the true* " *worship of God in our prayers, laid down in the Book* " *of Service; since the Apostles' age, unto this present age* " *of the restoring of the Gospel, there was never Church* " *upon the face of the earth so nigh the sincerity of God's* " *truth, as the Church of England is at this day.* And " that as these were his words, so he added, that with " God's grace he would justify them to be true upon the " danger, not of his living only, but of his life also, against " any man that would withstand it: and yet therein should " not shew himself, either *desperate Dick, or shameless,* " *impudent, or wainscot-faced Bishop,* as it pleased the " libeller to rail. Neither did he think that any learned " man that favoured the Gospel, though he misliked some " things and persons, then in present use, would reprove " it. That the Papists, he knew, did detest his said as- " sertion, and thought their synagogue blasphemed by it. " But that no reformed Church could justly take offence " at it.

Slanders of his sermons.

" That where he was burdened by this speech of his to " excuse the multitude of *thieves, drunkards, murderers,* " *adulterers,* &c. that were in our Church, neither did his " thought conceive, nor his words include, any such mat- " ter. And then he asked, what did not malice, envy, and " spite, utter against the most innocent person that was, " &c.? But that if any man would reprove the assertion " before written, God willing, he should be answered, so " that he railed not. And that this might be a sufficient " answer to the untruth, fathered upon the Bishop of Win- " chester's words; and that he was not for the same to be 300 " justly termed *monstrous and flattering hypocrite, speak-* " *ing against his own conscience.* But he saw (as he " added) in these their words, not only the reproach of " himself, but much more a malicious spite against the " Church of England: and that so deeply settled in their " hearts, that their ears could not without grief hear any " good spoken of it. And that therefore he thought him-

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

"self in Christian duty bound, somewhat further to follow "this matter; and with some signification of thankful- "ness, to acknowledge and confess those excellent bless- "ings, which it pleased God, of his great mercies, to be- "stow upon the same, as well in King Edward the Sixth's "days, as much more in her Majesty's that then was." And so the Bishop proceeded to shew the divine doctrines, government, and devotions, used in this Church; too long here to be set down.

More slanders of it.

And whereas the said Bishop was further charged, that he had said, *That men might find fault, if they were disposed to quarrel, as well with the Scriptures, as with the Book of Common Prayer:* of this sentence of his he gave this account. "That at that time in St. Mary Overy's "church, in a large discourse, he answered the objections "that many made at that day against the Book of Com- "mon Prayer: and towards the end he uttered these "words, *If it could be without blasphemy, they might pick "as many and as great quarrels against the holy Scrip- "tures themselves. For even the best writings are subject "to the slanderous malice of wicked men.*" This asser- tion, the Bishop said, was found fault withal by a Jesuit, or massing Priest, at that time in the Marshalsea. And therefore that the next Sunday following he expounded his meaning; and shewed at large, "That that might be done "which aforetime was done by a great number. But that "he was not so far beside himself, as to compare the Book "of Common Prayer with the holy Scriptures in dignity, "truth, and majesty. That he left such blasphemous "dealing unto the Papists, the *Family of Love*, and some "other sectaries. But that which he did by those words "was the comparing of both; how that (as before was "said) the Scriptures themselves were subject also to "slanderous and depraving tongues; and not therefore to "be rejected. Wherefore Christian charity and modesty "(as he concluded) would not thus maliciously and slan- "derously wrest and wring his words, tending to a good "and godly meaning."

The Bishop of Winton's said book, printed this year, bore this title, *An Admonition to the People of England. Wherein are answered not only the slanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his brood, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chief of the Clergy, purposely to deface and discredit the present State of the Church.* Anno 1589.

This book was the more considerable, because it contained substantial arguments, without ill words, in behalf of the government and public religious worship of this Church; and for that it wiped off all the several aspersions cast upon the ecclesiastical governors and ministers of it; and particularly vindicates the Archbishop and some of the Bishops, (besides himself,) that were bespattered by the former notorious libeller. And these vindications are drawn up by the Bishops themselves, or by special instructions from them to the author. Of the former sort was the vindication of Aylmer, Bishop of London, which therefore was thus entitled, *This have I set down word for word, as I received the same from my Lord of London: who desireth to have the matter heard by indifferent judges, and will shew the suggestions to be very untrue.*

This Bishop's book vindicates the Bishops.

Bishop Aylmer.

It appears also that the vindication of our Archbishop in this said book was his own writing, or his own instructions. The sum of which was, that wheresoever he found any objections made against him, or any slanderous tales reported of him, he gave his answers thereunto, and shewed the falsehood and malice of such reports. Which I shall here set down from that book, (which is but little known at this day, and in few men's hands,) and what the said Archbishop directed to be declared there concerning himself and many of his actions, so unjustly and rudely censured.

The Archbishop's own vindication of himself against the libeller.

First, whereas that libeller had said, that his Grace had 301
received such blows, meaning from his and other pens, that he should carry them to his grave: the Archbishop's answer was, "that he thanked God, he never felt blows

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

" given by him or any other, but the blows of their de-
" spiteful and malicious tongues: which notwithstanding
" he contemned, remembering how true that was that St.
" Hierom said, *Illæ machinæ hæreticorum sunt, ut con-*
" *victi de perfidia ad maledicta se conferant.* When here-
" tics are convinced of falsehood and untruths, their shift
" is to flee to railing and slandering. And again, To back-
" bite is the shift of bad men, and such as seek their own
" praise."

Dr. Bridges' book.

Dr. Bridges, mentioned before, had writ against Marprelate's libel, and that very well. But was railed upon for his pains; and the Archbishop underwent the libeller's censure for allowing his book. To which the Archbishop answered, "That he did peruse Dr. Bridges' said book be-
" fore it went to the press: and that he knew that it was
" the sufficiency thereof that caused these men to storm
" as they did, as not being able otherwise to answer it.
" Which made them so bitterly to inveigh against his per-
" son. And that to inveigh against the person of any one
" was a sign of a desperate cause."

The Archbishop answereth not Cartwright's Second Reply. And why.

Whereas the libeller had said, that it was a shame to his Grace, that Cartwright's books [meaning his Second Reply] were not answered; he subjoined, "That he never
" thought them so necessary to be answered as the fac-
" tious authors of the libel pretended. And that of the
" same opinion were not a few wise and learned men, that
" otherwise bore good-will unto the party: and with all
" their heart wished, that God would direct that man's
" heart to use his good gifts to the peace and quietness of
" the Church. It was added, that there was sufficient
" written already, to satisfy an indifferent reader. And
" that he that with indifferent mind should read the An-
" swer of the one, and the Reply of the other, should see
" great difference in learning between them. And further,
" because Cartwright and his party pretended much to
" dispute their points, it was said, that the desire of dis-
" putation was but a vain brag. That they had been dis-
" puted and conferred with oftener than either the wor-

" thiness of their persons or cause did require. Wherein " their inability to defend such a cause had manifestly ap- " peared, as, he said, it was well known to very many well " able to judge. But such mighty brags as the libeller ut- " tered in this matter did agree well with the old heretics " and schismatics."

Anno 1589.

Dame Lawson's unseemly behaviour at Lambeth.

The libeller had further laid it in scoffing manner to the Archbishop's charge, that he had threatened one Dame Lawson, a citizen's wife, and a great pert consorter with the Puritans, to send her to Bridewell, for offering some abusive words to Dr. Perne, that then seemed to have been at Lambeth with the Archbishop, as he often was. But to this the Archbishop answered, " That it was a no- " torious untruth. For that neither he nor Dr. Perne " ever heard (but of this libeller) that she spake any such " words of him. But that in truth, as well for the immo- " desty of her tongue, (wherein, he said, she excelled be- " yond the seemliness of an honest woman,) as also her " unwomanly and skittish gadding up and down to Lam- " beth, and from thence in company unfit for her, without " her own husband; he had on those accounts threatened " to send her to Bridewell, if she reformed not the same. " And he added, so he still meant to perform, if she conti- " nued her lightness. But notwithstanding he took notice, " how this woman, so notorious for the vileness of her " tongue, and other unwomanly behaviour, was one of " Martin's canonized saints. *Quia quod volumus, sanctum* " *est*, as Augustin said of their predecessors, the Donatists. " But this woman gloried in her shame, and so did her " teachers."

A protection.

Then he charged the Archbishop with granting a protection to an obnoxious man, to wrong his creditors: whereas he had it not from the Archbishop, but from the Lords of the Queen's Privy Council, and that for certain charitable and good causes. Further, he threatened the Archbishop with incurring a *premunire* by some of his doings. To which the answer only was, that the libeller did but dream, and bade him do his worst. He spoke further

A premunire.

BOOK III.

of the Archbishop's buying his pardon, for his *premunire*, as it seems. "Which his Grace said, as it was most un-

Anno 1589. 302 "true, so likewise slanderous to the State. And that if "there were any such matter, it might soon appear by "search. That the impudency of these men was great: "and villanous slander, he added, would never long be "without just reward."

It was further said by this Martin Marprelate, as another accusation against the Archbishop and the rest of

Recusants. the Bishops, that they favoured Recusants rather than Puritans. It was answered, "that he did herein notoriously "abuse them. Though the Recusant for the most part "behaved himself more civilly before the magistrate than "did the Puritan; who was commonly most insolent, "and thereby deserved more sharp words and reproofs "than the other."

The Bishops charged to be Papists. And because of the proceedings of the Bishops and others against the innovators, the libeller charged them to be Papists and Recusants. "It was observed hence by the "Archbishop, that the Martinists accounted all such un-"charitably and wickedly to be Papists that liked and al-"lowed the orders of the Church, and procured the con-"trary to be reformed by authority. And by this sinister "practice and judgment many were discomforted, and "obedience greatly impeached."

The Archbishop to be a Cardinal. He asked the Archbishop, if his Grace did not remember what the Jesuit at Newgate said; as that upon the change of religion the Archbishop would be made a Cardinal? He answered, "No, truly, he never heard of any "such matter but by this lewd libeller, neither did he "think there was ever any such thing spoken." He added in some heat, (that it should be so much as intimated, that he had any favour or inclination to Popery,) "that the schismatics were impudent liars. And that the "world knew what he had ever been, and what he was: "and that he disdained to answer such senseless calum-"niations."

Then he charged the Archbishop, (as a sign perhaps of

his favour to Papists and their superstitions,) about some printers: as, that Thackwel, a Popish printer, was more favourably dealt with than Waldgrave, that had printed the Puritans' books, at a press he had at Kingston upon Thames. That Thackwel had printed Popish Welsh books in Wales; and was detected: but set at liberty, to walk where he would; and allowed to sell his press and letters. But that Waldgrave dared not shew his face for printing books that touched the Bishops' mitres. And that his printing press and letters were taken away. That his press, being timber, was sawn and hewed to pieces, his ironwork battered and made unserviceable; his letters melted, with cases and other tools defaced, and himself utterly deprived for ever printing again, though he had a wife and several small children. To which the Archbishop set down this answer, that what was said of Thackwel was a matter nothing pertaining to him: but what was done by one Mr. Yong [a Justice of the peace] without the Archbishop's privity: and that he was able to justify his doings in that matter, and to convince the libeller of a malicious slander. That the man was known and living, and that the libeller might talk with him, and know his own wickedness. Adding these close sentences from the word of God, applicable to this false accuser; *The mouth that lieth killeth the soul. The Lord will destroy lying lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things.* And that as for Waldgrave, he received justly according to his deserts; having found before that time greater favour than he had deserved, for printing seditious books: being a notorious, disobedient, and godless person; an unthrifty spender, and a consumer of the fruits of his own labours; one that had violated his faith to his best and dearest friends, and wittingly brought them into danger, to their undoing, [being bound, I suppose, for him.] And that his wife and children had cause to curse all wicked and ungodly libellers; who had employed him in printing divers books of their seditious stuff.

Anno 1589.

Thackwel, a Popish printer.

Epitome, p. 23.

Waldgrave, a Puritan printer.

The libeller then spake of a press and letters, bought

BOOK III.

and set up in the Charter-house, London, where a Popish nobleman [the Earl of Arundel] dwelt; where Popish pamphlets were printed. And the allowance of this press he also charged upon the Archbishop: particularly asserting, that the stationers informed the Archbishop, that the said Earl's man and three servants wrought at the press; and what work was in hand, and with what letters, and in what volume. And instead of the work then in hand, another work was appointed; ordered, as they said, by the Archbishop. And that it was observed to that day, nothing had been done to that printer. This was another false calumniation, as the Archbishop shewed. "That as "for the press, their favourite Waldgrave himself sold it "to the said Earl, as it was since confessed. And that "this must receive the same answer with the other of "Thackwel; saving that to Mr. Yong must be added also "some other of great authority: who could tell Martin, "that his spirit was not the spirit of God, which is the "spirit of truth; but the spirit of Satan, the author of "lies." And then added the Archbishop, or the writer, these words; "Charge them, O shameless man, with "this matter, who are able to answer thee, and not the "Archbishop, whom it toucheth not. Though it becom-"eth not every common and base person to demand an "account of the doings of men in authority."

Anno 1589. 303

Epit. p. 23.

Popish pamphlets printed in the Charter-house.

Again, this spiteful scribbler charged the Archbishop for a strict decree about printing, and for the regulation of the press; to hinder such mischievous and reflecting writings from coming abroad. To which the Archbishop said, "that that decree was first perused by the Queen's "learned Council, and allowed by the Lords of her Privy "Council: and had indeed likewise his furtherance: and "so it should have, if it were to do again. That it was "but for the maintenance of good orders among the "printers; approved and allowed by the most, the best, "and the wisest of that company, and for the suppressing "of inordinate persons, such as their Waldgrave was."

A strict decree about printing.

It was asserted further, that contrary to that decree he

had set up one Thomas Orwin, a new printer, who had printed Popish books in corners, as *Jesus Psalter, and our Lady Psalter*, dangerous books against the State; which Waldgrave had not done. The Archbishop denied that he set him up, but acknowledged, "that he used means by "way of persuasion for that man, being commended to "him by his neighbours to be a very honest and poor "man, having married also the widow of a printer. And "that he did very well like and allow of his placing by "such as had interest therein. And that he did never "hear, but by the libeller, (who had no conscience in "lying,) that he ever printed any such books. That this "he knew of a certainty, that the said Orwin himself had "upon his book oath denied, that he ever printed either of "those two books abovementioned, or was any worker "about them, or about any the like books. But *the poi-* "*soned serpent*, as the Archbishop concluded this article, "*cured not them he stingeth*. As for Waldgrave, whether "he had printed any thing against the State, let the books, "said he, by him printed be judges."

Anno 1589. Tho. Orwin, a printer.

The libeller, from all the stories related by him before, concluded the Archbishop's disposition to Popery; and to confirm it, that Dr. Reynolds, the great Popish writer, had commended his book, meaning his Grace's Defence of the corruptions [as the libeller's phrase was] of our Church against T. Cartwright: and said, he had many things in him, which evidently shewed a *Catholic persuasion*. This was pretended to have been writ by Reynolds, of Rheims, in his book against Whitaker. And that some Papists had said, there was no great jar between the Papists and the Archbishop in matters of religion. "This the Archbi- "shop looked upon but as one of the libeller's calumnia- "tions: and that he did not think, that either he, or any "Martinist, ever heard any Papists say so. But if they "did, what was that to him? He thought Martin himself "doubted not of his soundness in such matters of religion, "as were in controversy between the Papists and us; if he "did, the matter, he said, was not great. Yet he thought

The Archbishop's Catholic persuasion.

Dr. Reynolds. Epit. p. 24.

BOOK III.

Anno 1589. 304

" fit more particularly to justify himself against this un-
" worthy imputation: which made him challenge them to
" look back to the past years of his life, whether ever he
" vented or espoused such doctrines; saying, that the
" University of Cambridge, where he had lived above
" thirty years, and publicly read the divinity lecture above
" seven years; and other places where he had since
" remained, would testify for him therein; and con-
" demn the libeller for a sycophant. Further, he added,
" that it was no disparagement to receive testimony of a
" man's adversary. And that therefore if that adversary,
" Mr. Reynolds, had given that commendation to his book
" in comparison of others, it was no impeachment to the
" truth thereof. The Archbishop added, he had not seen
" Reynolds's book: but the libel was so full of lies, that
" an honest man could not believe any thing contained in
" it." And lastly, as to his being reckoned of a *Catholic persuasion;* as if by that phrase he was to be judged a *Roman Catholic;* the Archbishop said in earnest, " He
" would be sorry from the bottom of his heart, if his per-
" suasion, and the grounds thereof, were not *Catholic.*
" And that he detested and abhorred schismatical grounds
" and persuasions. And thereunto he professed himself
" an open enemy: which he would have all Martinists to
" know."

Three Popish principles charged upon him.

Epit. p. 25.

And then the libeller in a scoffing manner bade to take heed, lest the Spaniard [now threatening England] stole him away. " For if we keep him, saith he, we need
" not fear the Spaniards and our other Popish enemies:
" because our Metropolitan's religion and theirs differ not
" much." And he mentioned three particular Popish points, as he supposed, wherein they agreed, *viz.* in the article of Christ's descent into hell: in his maintenance of the hierarchy of Bishops: and in ascribing the name of *Priest* unto the Ministers of the Gospel. As I. To the first charge, as touching upon his loyalty, as though there were an understanding between the Spaniards and him, he answered only, as being provoked, that " he wished the best

"Martinists in England durst say it to his face before wit-
"ness."

Anno 1589.

II. When the libel laid to his charge, as a Popish doctrine, that he held the descent of Christ into hell; he confessed that he firmly believed, that Christ in soul descended into hell. And further added, that all the Martinists in Christendom were not able to prove the contrary, and that they that endeavoured it, did but abuse the Scripture, and fall into many absurdities.

His vindication of the calling of Bishops.

III. The calling of Bishops, as superior to other Ministers of Christ, was looked upon as another Popish principle of the Archbishop's. To this he gave this answer: acknowledging, that he was persuaded, that there ought to be by the word of God a *superiority* among the Ministers of the Church. And that it was sufficiently proved in his book against T. C. and in Dr. Bridges' book likewise. And that he was at all times ready to justify it by the holy Scriptures, and by the testimony of all antiquity. And added, that Epiphanius and Augustin accounted them heretics that held the contrary. And that as for the arguments to the contrary, they were vain; their answers were absurd, the authority they used shamefully abused, and the Scripture they made use of for their purpose wrested. That angry author would also have it an agreement with the Church of Rome, that the Ministers were commonly called by him *Priests*. The Archbishop answered to this, that he had shewed sufficient reason in his book against T. C. why the Ministers of the Gospel might be called *Priests*. That the ancient Fathers so called them. That the Church of England embraced that name: and that by the authority of the highest court in England. And then asked, why might not *Presbyter* be called *Priest?* [seeing it is no more but a contradiction of that word.]

The Archbishop, or the author by his order, proceeded, and said, that in these three points (whereof the last, he said, was of the least moment) he did agree with the holy Scriptures, with the universal Church of God, with all antiquity, and in some sort with the Church of Rome. But

BOOK III.

that he did disagree from the Church of Rome, that now is, in the dregs which it had added: as, that *Christ should*
Anno 1589. *harrow hell: that the Pope should be head of the universal Church: that he, or any other Priest, should have authority over kings and princes to depose them; and to deliver their subjects from the oath of their obedience.* These things, he said, had neither the word of God, nor
305 the decrees of ancient councils, nor the authority of antiquity, to approve them; but directly the contrary. And lastly, that as for the name of *Priest*, as they took it, [*i. e.* as sacrificers,] he did likewise condemn in our Ministers, neither did they ascribe it to themselves. And that therefore the libeller in these points writ like himself.

Conspiracy for pretend. Reformat. p. 3. Wigginton.

Then the part of one Wigginton, a Puritan Minister, (deprived about 1587,) was taken. He had been Vicar in Sedberge and Dent in the north parts, but for his insolencies and contempts against laws, and the peace of the Church, was both deprived, and deposed from his ministry, by authority of her Majesty's commission for causes ecclesiastical: but most famous for being chief counsellor to mad Hacket, that stabbed one of the Queen's Council, out of his Puritanical zeal; as our histories of Queen Elizabeth's reign relate; and a book purposely writ by Dr. Cosin, about that horrible attempt, called, *Conspiracy for pretended Religion.* The libeller had spoken very favourably of this Wigginton, and very reflectingly on the Archbishop for his proceedings with him.

The matter between him and the Archbishop. Epist. p. 26.

The tale is somewhat long, but take it as it is related by our Marprelate. "That the people grew at last offended "with their Pastor, the said Giles Wigginton, because "that severe man did nothing but urge obedience to the "Gospel. These came to his Grace, desiring that Wig- "ginton might be deprived. The Pastor defied the Arch- "bishop to his face, and gave him no other title than John "Whitgift; [which it seems this writer, qualified with the "same impudence, sets down in his commendation.] Not- "withstanding the Sidborough men's complaint, his Grace "would not deprive him, because he could find no law to

" warrant him therein. One Atkinson of Sidborough, " among the rest, was a chief stickler for Wigginton's de- " privement: but the Archbishop would not hear him, but " departed away. Atkinson desired his Grace to resolve " him and his neighbours of one point: which something " troubled them. And that was, whether his Grace, or " Wigginton, were of the Devil. For, saith he, you are so " contrary the one to the other, that both of you cannot " possibly be of God: if he be of God, it is certain you " are of the Devil: and so cannot long stand; for he will " be your overthrow. But if you are of God, then he is of " the Devil, as we think him to be. And so, he being of " the Devil, will not you deprive him? Why should you " suffer such an one to trouble the Church? Now if he be " of God, why is your course so contrary to him? And " rather why do you not follow him, that we may do so? " Truly, if you do not deprive him, we will think him to " be of God, and go home with him with greater good-will " towards him, than we came hither with hatred: and look " you for a fall. His Grace hearing this northern logic " was moved on the sudden, and promised to deprive Wig- " ginton: and so he did. And then the libeller concludes " his story, that this Atkinson came up in the winter, 1587, " to London, being, as it seems, afflicted in conscience for " this fact; desired Wigginton to pardon him: and offered " to kneel before her Majesty, that he might be again re- " stored to his place."

To all this stuff the Archbishop's answer only was, that what he spoke of Wigginton was like the rest, saving for his saucy and malapert behaviour towards him. And that therein, in truth, he bore with him too much: that Wigginton was a man well known to him: and that if he knew himself, he would confess that he had great cause to thank the Archbishop. That as he was a foolish, proud, and vain boy, a laughing-stock for his folly to all the society where he lived, [perhaps in Trinity college, Cambridge, when the Archbishop was Master there,] so he had retained the same qualities, being a man; saving that his

BOOK III.

folly, pride, and vanity, were much increased, so that now he was become ridiculous even to his own faction.

Anno 1589.

And in justification of the censure inflicted on him, the Archbishop added, that the honestest, the most, and the best of his parish, did exhibit to the high Commissioners articles of very great moment against him; the like whereof had seldom been seen in that court. That the most and worst of them were proved by divers sufficient witnesses; and some of them confessed by himself, as ap-
306 peared in record. For which enormities, and for that he refused to make condign satisfaction for the same, and to conform himself to the orders of the Church by law established, he was by due order of law deposed from his ministry, and deprived of his benefice: and so remained, being unfit and unworthy of either.

It was added further in the book, that one Atkinson had spoken some words that touched the Archbishop so home, that it caused him to proceed as he did with the said Wigginton. But the Archbishop called that tale a loud, notorious, and known lie. And that neither he ever said so to him, nor would have taken it at his hands. But that vanity and hypocrisy caused this man to have so small conscience in lying; according to that saying, *Omnis hypocrisis mendacio plena est.*

Preaching.

Another vile falsehood uttered divers times in this book was, that the Archbishop should account preaching of the word of God to be heresy, and that he mortally abhorred and persecuted it. And that when John Penry, in Lent 1587, was before the commission ecclesiastical, and had affirmed the *preaching* of the word [in opposition to the *reading* of it] was the only ordinary means of salvation; (of which non-residents deprived those over whom they thrusted themselves;) one of the Bishops present said, it was execrable heresy to hold it the only means. But Penry replied, that he thanked God he ever knew that heresy: and that by the grace of God he would sooner leave his life, than he would leave it. What, Sir, then said the Archbishop, it is an heresy, and thou shalt recant it as

Mart. epist. to the terrible Priest. p. 29.

a heresy. Upon which the Archbishop said, "That hea- Anno 1589.
"thenish untruth was rather to be pitied than answered.
"And that if man punish not such sycophants, God would
"do it: to whose just judgment the revenge of this injury
"was by him referred. That indeed he did bridle factious
"and unlearned preachers, such as the most part of that
"sect were. Who notwithstanding cried out for a *learned*
"*ministry*, themselves being unlearned: and so would be
"accounted of all men, were it not *propter studium par-*
"*tium*. That he said with St. Hierom, *Nunc loquentibus*
"*et pronuntiantibus plenus est orbis. Loquuntur quæ*
"*nesciunt; docent quæ non didicerunt. Magistri sunt,*
"*cum discipuli antè non fuerint:* i. e. The world is full of
"them that can speak and talk; but they speak the things
"they know not; they teach the things they have not
"learned. They take upon them to teach, before they
"were scholars to learn. The Archbishop added, that in-
"deed our Church was too full of such talkers, rather than
"sober teachers, whom he professed himself greatly to
"mislike. Otherwise, that he defied all Martinists in
"England, and did appeal to the whole state of the learned
"and obedient Clergy for his innocency therein."

A catechism.

Another quarrel Martin picked upon the same account, about a small catechism of two sheets of paper, made by one Davison, an obscure person, printed by the Puritan printer Waldgrave, in the year 1587. Which being brought to the Archbishop to be licensed for the press, was by him committed unto his Chaplain, Wood. And where in one place the means of salvation was attributed (as the author related it) to the word preached, he blotted out *preached*, and would not have it printed. Which was done, said he, to have the work of man's salvation ascribed to the word *read*, [that is, as well as *preached*.] And he made this rude collection thence, that John Cant. was the father of this horrible error; having defended it in print, [namely, in his book against Cartwright.] All the answer given to this was, how Davison's catechism was allowed, or how long in perusing, he knew not. Some party pamphlet belike it

BOOK III. Anno 1589.

was, like to that busy and unlearned Scot, then termed to be the author thereof. And that Dr. Wood was better able to judge of such matters, than either Davison, or any Martinists that dared be known.

Evans.

He went on accusing his Grace for refusing to admit one Evans to the vicarage of Warwick, though he was presented thereunto by the Earl of Warwick, as though he had done it upon some sinister account. His tale was, that the said Earl sent him to him, (being then Bishop of Worcester,) requesting he might be received with a favourable subscription. To whom the Bishop then said, "Oh! I know you, Mr. Evans, to be worthy a better place "than Warwick. And I would very gladly gratify my "Lord. But surely, there is a Lord in heaven whom I
307 "fear. And therefore I cannot admit you without sub-"scription." And when the said Evans offered the Bishop such subscription as the law required, he would not receive it at his hands, unless he would enter into a bond to observe the Book of Common Prayer in every point. And then added, in a very free manner with the Archbishop, "Will law permit you to play the tyrant in this "sort, Bishop? I shall see the *premunire* on the back of "you one day for these pranks." Martin used these further words also upon this occasion of denying the abovesaid Earl; "That he had heard some of his Grace's own "men say, that *he would be beholden to never a nobleman "in the land. For he was the second person*, &c. And "that when a knight was a suitor to him for one of God's "dear children, whom he kept in prison; he answered the "knight, he should lie there still, unless he would put in "sureties, upon such bonds as never the like was heard "of: and said, that he was the second person in the land, "and never a nobleman or counsellor in this land should "release him. Only her Majesty might release him: and "that he was sure she would not: concluding thus, Do "you think this to be he that was Dr. Perne's boy, and "carried his cloakbag after him?" Now let us see what mild answer our provoked Prelate made to these bold cri-

minations. And first concerning Evans. This, the Archbishop says, was maliciously reported. And that he had rejected him for lack of conformity to the orders of the Church. That if he had done him any wrong thereby, the law was open; and he might have his remedy. That that honourable person mentioned by the libeller he was sure accepted of his answer. And that, (as the writer added,) according to his honourable disposition, he thought himself greatly abused by the libeller in this point. But what cared such a corner-creeper what he said of any man, were he never so honourable? And that if the relater hereof durst appear and shew himself, Martin could not be long unknown. Anno 1589.

To what Martin added, that some of his own men had reported the Archbishop should say, that he would be beholden to never a man in this land; on which report the Archbishop said these words, that if any of his men at any time reported that he should say so, he shewed himself to be of the libeller's conditions, that is, a common liar. For that he never spake those words to any man, neither did he use that familiarity with his men. But in conclusion he added, that the libeller cared not what he spoke, either of him or of his men, so that he might fill his libel with untrue slanders.

The Archbishop the second person in the land.

As a further instance of the Archbishop's pride, he brings in some words, pretended to be spoken by him to a certain knight, by occasion of some suit; viz. *that he was the second person of the land*, &c. The Archbishop said, that this was of the same kind with the rest. That he was sure the knight was living; let him, said he, be examined of that matter. That it was true, there was a good knight with him, an old friend of his, about such a suit, but that he spake ever any such words to him, as the libeller would make the world believe, was most false. That the knight lived, and could testify the same. But, reflecting in the end upon this slanderer, he added, that the libeller thought all men to be as proud and malapert as

BOOK III. himself and other of his faction were; whose pride the world saw; and it was intolerable.

Anno 1589. Then to humble the Archbishop, he suggested, that at first he was but Dr. Perne's boy in the college, and carried his cloakbag. The answer he gave to this was, that he never was Dr. Perne's boy, nor under him at any time, but a Fellow of the house where he was Master. Neither did he ever carry his or any other man's cloakbag. Although if he had so done, he added, it had been no disgrace to him: and that better men's sons than the libeller was had carried cloakbags. But that the lewd man was not ashamed to lie in those things that were open to every man's eyes. Such was his malice and impudency.

Apocrypha. The libeller again reckoned it up among the Archbishop's high crimes, that he commanded the Apocrypha to
308 be bound up with the Bibles. The Archbishop said, he did indeed give such commandment, and further, that he meant to see it observed: asking, who ever separated the Apocrypha from the rest of the Bible, from the beginning of Christianity to that day? Or what Church in the world, reformed or other, did it at that present? And shall we, added he, suffer this singularity in the Church of England, to the advantage of the adversary, offence of the godly, and contrary to all the world besides? That he knew there was great difference between the one and the other: yet that all learned men had from the beginning given to the Apocrypha authority, next to the canonical Scriptures. And therefore that such giddy heads as thought to deface them, were to be bridled. And that it was a foul shame, and not to be suffered, that such speeches should be uttered against those books, as by some had been: enough to cause ignorant people to discredit the whole Bible.

The Archbishop's interpretation of Psalm cv. ver. 28. Now one Dr. Sparkes is brought in as being too hard for the Archbishop, and some other Bishops, and putting them to a *nonplus* in some conference with them; and that before some noblemen. It was about the supposed wrong reading of the 28th verse of the cvth Psalm, as they

stand in the Common Prayer Book; *They were not obedient to his word.* Whereas the true reading was, *They were obedient to his word.* And that the contrariety was allowed by the Bishops themselves. To this the Archbishop said, that their Honours that were present could and would, he was sure, answer for the Bishops for this untruth. And that they made report to divers in public place, and some to the highest of that conference, after another sort, and to another end, than the libeller did. That that silly objection, God knoweth, was soon answered in few words, *viz.* that the translation read in our churches was in that point according to the Septuagint, and was correspondent to the analogy of faith. For that if the word were understood of the Israelites, then it was true to say, *that they were* not *obedient to his commandment.* But if of the signs and wonders that Moses and Aaron did before Pharaoh, or of Moses and Aaron themselves, then was it on the other side true, *that they were not disobedient to his commandment.* Adding, that this might have satisfied any learned and peaceable Divine, and pacified those men's immoderate contention against the Book of Common Prayer. That this was then, and the same now, the answer to that frivolous objection: and that this was the *nonplus* that the libeller vaunted of. Concluding, that more modesty might have became Dr. Sparkes, and the reporter, even *conscientiæ suæ imbecillitate,* in that conference. Anno 1589.

And by the way, I may here insert what I find in one of the Archbishop's papers, writ with his own hand; namely, the various interpretations of the abovesaid verse. Which was as followeth, Psal. cv. 28. *Misit tenebras, et obtenebrarunt eam, neque rebellarunt signa contra verbum ejus.* Tremellius. Papers of Archbishop Whitgift, penes R. Tho. Bret, LL. P.

Misit tenebras et obtenebravit [*obscuravit,* vulg.] *et non exacerbavit sermones suos.* Com. translat.

Misit tenebras, et obscuravit, quia exacerbaverint sermones ejus. Septuagint.

And thinking to reflect upon the Archbishop upon ad-

BOOK III.

mitting ignorant laymen into the ministry, he related, how his Grace had lately made, or intended to make, one Patrick, a clothier, of Worcester, and his former acquaintance, a reading Minister. To this also the Archbishop only said, that he never made him Minister, nor intended to make him, neither was he at all acquainted with him at Worcester. And that it was well known, that he had not ordained more than two Ministers only, since his coming to the archbishopric. And therefore that calumniation was to be placed with the rest.

Anno 1589.

This unintended advantage too we reap from this railing slanderous writer, that by putting this good Archbishop thus to justify and plead for himself, many singular passages of his conduct, learning, wisdom, and virtue, in his high place, are come to our knowledge, which otherwise might never have come to light.

And in conclusion, the right reverend author, from whence we have gathered all this information, made this grave reflection; "How this godless libeller was answered "in few words, touching such matters wherewith he "charged the most reverend Father, the Archbishop of "Canterbury. Whereby the world might perceive with "what spirit he was possessed. The Wise Man said, that "*destruction should suddenly come upon the backbiter* "*and calumniator.* The Psalmist said, *The Lord will* "*destroy lying lips, and the tongue which speaketh proud* "*things.* And that *death shall suddenly come upon them,* "*and hell shall receive them.* St. Ambrose saith, that "*detractors are scarcely to be accounted Christians.* And "Cyprian saith, *Not he that is railed at, but he that rail-* "*eth, is the wretched man.* The wicked Jews, when they "could not otherwise answer Christ, called him Samaritan, "and said, that he had a Devil: and shortly after took up "stones and cast at him. So the Anabaptists within our "memory, after slanderous and opprobrious calumniations "against the godly magistrates and ministers then living, "fell to blows and open violence. The libeller in his book "hath performed the one, and threatened the other."

Character of Martin Marprelate.

309

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbishop visits Peterborough and Canterbury; and other Peculiars. His articles of inquiry. Mr. Treasurer offended at him; and at the Bishops' assumed superiority. Argued against by letters. Two questions propounded about it: and resolved. Martin Marprelate's press taken. The Archbishop's letter thereupon to the Lord Treasurer. Letters of Beza to the Archbishop. Seminaries and others brought to the assizes at Oxon: and condemned. Mr. Davers and Mr. Cope, two gentlemen of that county, of different principles, contend. A private receptacle of Jesuits and Romish Priests discovered.

IN the month of June, this year 1589, the Archbishop made a visitation of the diocese of Peterborough; and likewise of his own city and diocese of Canterbury; and the peculiar jurisdiction of the city and diocese of Rochester: to be held on the days and at the churches following. Thursday, the 26th of June, the church of Maidstone was appointed for the visiting of the deanery of Sutton; and one part or half of the deanery of Charing. Friday, the 27th of June, the church of Ashford was appointed, there to visit the other part or half of the deanery of Charing. The 1st of July, St. Alphage church in Canterbury, there to visit the deaneries of Canterbury, of Bridge, and West Bear. July the 5th, at the parish church of St. James in Dover, the deaneries of Dover, Sandwich, and Elham. The deanery of Sittingborn and Ospring to be visited hereafter, either at Sittingborn or Feversham. And these were the Archbishop's articles prescribed for his visitation. Anno 1589. Visits Peterborough and Canterbury.

Articles to be inquired of by the churchwardens and sworn men, in the visitation of the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, and other peculiar jurisdictions, shortly intended to be visited.

I. "First, Whether your church be void: and if it be,

BOOK III.

Anno 1589. Articles for the Archbishop's visitation. Regist. Whitg. vol. i.

"who gathereth the fruits thereof? And if it be full, "whether the incumbent hath any mo benefices than "one? And whether he be a preacher, yea or no? And "what degree of school he hath taken?

II. "*Item*, Whether your Minister doth reverently say "the service, and minister the sacraments, according to "the Book of Common Prayer, without any kind of alter-
310 "ation thereof? And whether doth he use, in his min- "istration, the ornaments appointed by the laws now in "force?

III. "*Item*, Whether have you in your church all things "necessary for the common prayer, and due administra- "tion of the sacraments, according to her Majesty's laws "and injunctions?

IV. "*Item*, Whether have you had monthly sermons in "your parish church at the least, or no? And whether "are the Homilies read when there is no sermon?

V. "*Item*, Whether any person, being not Deacon at "the least, is suffered to say service in your church, to "minister the sacraments, and bury the dead? And whe- "ther doth any one take upon him to preach, not being "sufficiently licensed? And whether doth any use to "preach, that doth not once in the year at least admin- "ister one of the sacraments?

VI. "*Item*, Whether your Pastor or Vicar be resident "upon his benefice? And whether he be an incontinent "person, or suspected thereof: or faulty of any other kind "of lewdness?

VII. "*Item*, Whether your Parson, Vicar, or Curate, "have publicly, or otherwise, spoken against the order or "government of the Church of England, or the Book of "Common Prayer established by law?

VIII. "*Item*, Whether your Minister useth to pray for "the Queen's Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, by the title and "style due to her Majesty, appointed by the statutes of "this realm, and her Highness' Injunctions; and exhort "the people to obedience to her Highness, and other ma- "gistrates, being in authority under her?

IX. " *Item*, Whether your Minister doth not openly in " your church catechise such as be of convenient age, ac- " cording to the order set forth in the Book of Common " Prayer?

X. " *Item*, Whether all persons, of convenient age, do " not repair to the Church upon Sundays and holydays, " and receive the Communion thrice yearly?

XI. " *Item*, Whether you do know any person that " withholdeth any stock of the church; or hath not made " their accounts duly, according to the law, having been " churchwardens?

XII. " *Item*, Whether do you know any common swear- " er, drunkard, or blasphemer; any simoniacal person, " usurer, witch, conjurer, soothsayer, charmer, fornicator, " adulterer, incestuous person; or any that harboureth in- " continent persons, or any vehemently suspected of any " of those crimes?

XIII. " *Item*, Whether you do know any schoolmaster " that doth teach in your parish, without licence of the " Ordinary, under his seal, or no?

XIV. " *Item*, Whether do you know any that doth ob- " stinately defend Papistry, heresies, errors, or false doc- " trine?

XV. " *Item*, Whether do you know in your parishes " any man that hath two wives living; or any woman that " hath two husbands living?

XVI. " *Item*, Whether do you know any person excom- " municate in your parish? Or whether any such do re- " pair to his church?

XVII. " *Item*, Whether your parish church or chancel " be ruinous or decayed? And by whose default?

XVIII. " *Item*, Whether do you know any that use con- " venticles or meetings for expounding of Scriptures, or " saying of prayers, in private houses or places?

XIX. " *Item*, Whether do you know any receivers of " Jesuits, Seminary, or Massing Priests; or any other fu- " gitive persons, or reconciled unto the Church of Rome?

XX. " *Item*, Whether there be any hospitals or alms-

BOOK III.

" houses in the parish? And whether the same be used " according to the foundations and ordinances thereof?

Anno 1589.

XXI. " *Item*, Whether do you know any person ordered
311 " by the law to do penance, or excommunicate for not do- " ing the same, do still so continue unreformed?

XXII. " *Item*, Whether you do know any other matter " worthy of presentment, not expressed, yea or no? Which " you shall likewise present, by virtue of your oaths."

The names of the Prebendaries and others of the church of Canterbury to be visited. Regist. Whitg.

When the cathedral church of Canterbury was to undergo the visitation, the names of the Prebendaries and all the rest of the members and officers of the said church, cited to the visitation, were brought in by Rogers, the Dean of the church, and Suffragan of Dover, after this humble manner: *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac Domino, Domino Johanni Providentiâ Divinâ, Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. Archiep. &c. vestrove Commissario in spiritualibus Generali, &c. Richardus Episcopus Dovor. vester humilis et devotus Suffraganeus; necnon ecclesiæ vestræ cathedralis et metropoliticæ Christi Cant. Decanus, omnem et omnimodam reverentiam, et obedientiam tam reverendissimo Patri debit. cum honore:*

Præbendarii dict. ecclesiæ.

Mr. Johan. Hill, Vice-Decan.	Tho. Lawse, Juris. Civil. Dr.
Andrew Peerson.	John Wynter.
William King.	John Langworth, Th. Dr.
Paulus French.	Robert Hovenden, Th. Dr.
George Bullen, Th. Dr.	Nicolas Sympson.
John Bungey.	Richard Colfe.

Prædicatores.

John Walsal, Th. Dr.	Christopher Webb.
Robert Car.	John Selier.
Henry Robinson.	Francis Lyndley.

Then follows the names of the lesser Canons, and the lay Clerks, being twelve; and of the substitutes, being five; and the poor, being twelve; and the sacrists, being two; and the vergers, being two; butlers of the common

hall, being two; ringers, four; cooks of the common hall, two; porters, two; Anthony Short, schoolmaster; Tho. Consent, under-master; scholars of the grammar-school, fifty; George Juxon, master of the choristers; choristers, ten; and lastly, Thomas Cocks, Gentleman, auditor of the accounts. This it seems was then the full complement of the persons, clerical and lay, of this religious foundation. Anno 1589.

The articles of visitation above mentioned soon came into the hands of the Puritans. Who conveyed them to Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household: who in the month of July was at Oxford assizes. The reading whereof gave him such disturbance, that he thought fit to send them to the Lord Treasurer. And this put the said zealous gentleman upon drawing up other articles about the Queen's authority, as being much infringed by the Archbishop's articles, or at least by the episcopal power assumed therein. And his mind in his letter he delivered after this manner: "That he had herewith sent to his "Lordship the copy of the Archbishop his Archdeacons ar- "ticles of inquisition, lately set out to be answered, by the "inquiry of churchwardens, &c. of every several parish. "Unto which inquisition, as he told him, he had added "certain articles to be inquired of in the Church of Eng- "land, in her Majesty's behalf, if it should please the said "Archdeacon to use them. And because the said Arch- "deacon was then absent from Oxford, he had delivered "them to the Vice-Chancellor of that University, to be "communicated to the said Archdeacon when he should "return." For he seemed now to visit by commission from the Archbishop.

Knollys excepts against these articles as infringing the Queen's authority.

His letter to the Treasurer.

And then, in the process of his letter, he fell upon the *superiority* of Bishops, which he could not any way bear, out of a care for the Queen's supremacy; which he thought their superiority thwarted, and could not be reconciled to. And therefore said, "that he had drawn up several argu- "ments to that purpose, out of his care to maintain her "supreme government, that then many ways was im- "pugned: whereof he meant to speak more hereafter, if 312

Urging the Bishops' assumed superiority to be against her supremacy.

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

" he might be backed by him [the Lord Treasurer] and " the Lord Chancellor: upon whose good allowance and " backing, he must, he said, much depend; because he " knew his great lack of wisdom, to keep or to obtain any " credit with her Majesty. For which cause he should " desire his Lordship to impart this his letter to the Lord " Chancellor and to Mr. Secretary: and thereupon that it " might please them two, either to encourage him, or to " discourage him in his travail in that behalf.

" And that if by their two Lordships' persuasions (as he " proceeded) it would please the Lord Archbishop's Grace " to cause all Bishops severally to give her Majesty her due " right, in acknowledging publicly that they have no su- " periority over their inferior brethren, but such as is to be " derived unto them directly from her Majesty's supreme " authority and government; this their action, in so doing, " he did suppose, would greatly advance her Majesty's " due honour and safety; and would overthrow the trai- " torous practices of all Jesuits, Priests, and Seminaries, " that then too proudly did come into the realm to betray " her Majesty, and to subvert and seduce the common " people, and some of the better sort also, from their due " obedience to her Majesty; so dangerous to her Majesty's " crown and kingdom."

Arguing in another letter concerning the same argument.

This letter was followed by another to the same Lord, dated in August, from Ewelme lodge, with some sharpness against the superiority of Bishops; and was in answer to the Lord Treasurer's letter dated August 1, who had but coldly espoused his zeal against the Bishops. Therein he told the said Lord he had received very small comfort, and small hope of his good maintenance of her Majesty's safety; which consisted, he said, in the sincere maintenance of her Majesty's supreme government, against the covetous ambition of Clergy rulers. That Lord in his said letter had said, that the question about the Bishops was very *disputable*. To which the Knight replied, that he must needs confess that Campion's disputation (in some conferences held with that Jesuit) against the humility of

Christ's doctrine, and the advancement of Antichrist's doctrine, was not only allowed to be *disputable*, but also that it was very plausible in the minds of all those that favoured the worldly pompous rule of Church governors. Anno 1589.

" For the nature of covetous ambition, he said, in Church " governors, had always despised the humble and base " style of Christ's doctrine and government. And then " brought in, for instance, that the high priests and great " governors of the Church of the Jews made it *disputable*, " whether Christ were worthy to die or not. And thence " inferred, that the Church governors in all times, that " were once stuffed (as he expressed it) with the ambi- " tious pride of worldly rule in the Church, could never " away with the humility of Christ's heavenly doctrine, " and of his heavenly and spiritual rule in the Church," [meaning, no doubt, that of the eldership.]

He further proceeded in his letter, " That as touching " the *superiority* of Bishops, to be disallowed as a false " claim, it seemed to him that Christ himself had plainly " decided the matter, at what time as the Apostles, at two " sundry times, did seem to murmur and strive who " should be the greatest after Christ's departure from " them. Where it seemed to him, that Christ condemned " plainly all claiming superiority among the Apostles. " That if our Bishops would follow that rule, (as no doubt " they would, if her Majesty's supreme government were " stoutly stood unto,) then they would be contented to " forbear their claimed superiority of government in the " Church, which Christ condemned in the Apostles: and " they would be satisfied with the equality which Christ " left to his Church among his Apostles.

" But then, he added, that he would not have his Lord- " ship take him, that he denied the Bishops to have any " lordly authority or dignity that they had enjoyed; so " that they claimed it not from any higher authority, than " directly from her Majesty's grant. That he did not 313 " mean hereby to contend with his Lordship, through " whose assistance he had always hoped that her Majes-

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

" ty's safety (consisting in the true maintenance of her " Majesty's supreme government) should be jealously pre- " served. But yet his Lordship must pardon him, (as he " went on with his discourse,) although he did not think " that her Majesty's safety was any thing the better pre- " served, because our Bishops dared not oppose themselves " and their credit [which reason that Lord hinted to him " in behalf of the Bishops] against her supreme govern- " ment. For it was the Jesuits, said he, and not the Bi- " shops, that must bring her Majesty's safety into peril: " if this maxim might be allowed unto the same Jesuits, " that our Bishops of England were not under-governors " to her Majesty, over the Clergy, but that they were su- " perior governors over the said inferior Clergy, by God's " own ordinance."

The *potestas clavium* urged by the Lord Treasurer for the Bishops superiority.

A little after, in the month of September, the Lord Treasurer in his correspondence with the said Mr. Treasurer, about the matter of the Bishops' power and place, which the other was so eager against, told him what his mind was thereof; namely, that they had *potestas clavium*, i. e. *the power of the keys*, from the word of God. Of which thus the other shewed his judgment: " That he " must needs agree with him, to think, that both Bishops " and all other Ministers of the word have that authority, " of *the power of the keys*, from God's word. But to have " the superiority one above another, was a politic ordi- " nance by wisdom of men, to avoid confusion. And that " he did think also with his Lordship, that none of the " Bishops could maintain the contrary; although their " claimed superiority, and unlawful urging of subscription, " must shew their ambition and covetousness, to the pre- " judice of her Majesty's supreme government, too mani- " festly."

Shall I carry the history of this argument a little further, as I find it; since the Archbishop was so much concerned in it, and striking chiefly at him in the overthrow of the hierarchy of the Church of England, by building it only upon a political foundation? For the proving of which

there was about this time a discourse cunningly framed to confute their superiority. It was put into the said Mr. Treasurer's hands to manage for the party: and is still remaining among some of Archbishop Whitgift's own papers. The said discourse was digested under two questions, sent, as it seems, by the said Knight to some of the learnedest of the Puritans; whose names are not set to it; but seem to be either Cartwright or Travers. The questions were these. I. Whether the name of a *Bishop*, as of any office having superiority over many churches, or over the Pastors thereof, be known in the holy Scriptures or no? II. Whether *superiority* committed to a Minister of the word and sacraments over many churches and Pastors, be maintainable by the word of God or no? The resolution of these questions ran all in the negative; and may be read in the Appendix. We shall hear more of this argument under the next year.

Anno 1589.

Two questions about the authority of Bishops.

No. XLIII.

But notwithstanding all the endeavours and arguments to undermine the English episcopacy, and to dissolve the present government of the Church, the Archbishop was not wanting on the other hand to preserve and maintain it, (that is, the ecclesiastical state and religion,) on the foot it was at first reformed and legally established in this land. And now, in the midst of the new reformers' zeal and confidence, by the Archbishop's means, the press and printers of Martin Marprelate were found in the north parts; and sent up by the Earl of Darby to the Council, according to the Queen's late strict proclamation; being taken in the act. And the letters wherewith they were taken printing were found to be the same whereby Martin Junior and Martin Senior were printed.

Printers of Marprelate taken.

And the Archbishop, being at Canterbury in his visitation, thought convenient to give the Lord Treasurer notice of it; and to shew his judgment in a matter that so nearly touched the good and the quiet estate of the whole Church and State. "I assure myself, (said the Archbi-"shop to him in his letter,) that they shall be dealt with "according to their deserts. And that the letters used in

Notice given thereof to the Lord Treasurer by the Archbishop.

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

" the printing of the two Martins (as they termed themselves) being the same with the letters now seized, he " doubted not, but that the authors of those unchristian " libels might by them [the printers] be detected. He " knew, he said, how greatly his Lordship did detest such " actions, being against all Christianity, and not tolerated " among the heathen. If we, added he, were such men " as they would make us, we were not worthy to live; " much less to enjoy our places: and yet not to be used " in that manner and sort." And then reflecting upon their malice to himself above the rest, he had these words: " For my own part, in respect of myself, (the greatest " mote in their eye,) I make little account of their malice; " neither did I ever break sleep for the care thereof. Yet " in respect of my calling and profession, and of the scandal that may, by such lewd libels, be ministered to men, " apt to believe any thing; I could wish them to be dealt " with according to their deserts, and the quality of their " offence. Wishing also that it might be done rather by " their Lordships of the Council, than by themselves, " [the Bishops in the ecclesiastical commission;] that the " world might know that they were men, not cast off of " all sides, as abjects of the world; but that justice should " as well take place in their causes as it did in all other " men's. The rather, because they sustained these injuries by Martinists, for doing their duties in suppressing " sects and wicked opinions, and in maintaining the state " and government by law established, which was wounded, " as he said, through their sides." This was dated August 24, 1589, from Canterbury, and subscribed, " Your " Lordship's most assured, Jo. Cantuar."

We shall see further, under the next year, of the proceedings in the Star-chamber with divers of the Puritans that were soon after discovered and laid into prison; their letters and writings being taken, and many dangerous things, tending to the making disturbance, coming to light by them.

Beza, the chief Minister of Geneva, notwithstanding the

Puritans here at home, (in vindication of their practices,) and the discipline by him set up there; yet wrote, in September this year, (together with Sadeel, another of their Ministers,) a very respectful epistle to the Archbishop, giving him his titles, as Archbishop and Primate, styling him, *Reverendissimo viro, et in Christo Patri, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Screnissimæ Reginæ Consiliario, et totius Angliæ Primati.* And another of their letters was thus subscribed, *Amplitudini tuæ addictissimi in Christo, Theodorus Beza, A. Sadeel, nomine totius nostri cœtus, nec non totius Ecclesiæ Genevensis:* however, the brethren here, that bore themselves out by that foreign Church, scurrilously miscalled him by names picked out of the dirt; as, Pope of Lambeth, Paltripolitan, Antichristian Bishop, &c. But what answer the Archbishop gave to Beza's letters, plainly laying before him that great wrong he did to the Church of England, by countenancing and siding as he did with these discontented men; and yet withal treating that learned man as a brother; we shall see at large under the year 1593.

Anno 1589. Beza's letters to the Archbishop. Survey of the Discipl.

Let us now turn our eyes to the Seminaries and others of the Popish faction at home, some whereof were brought to the trial at the summer assizes at Oxford: which county it seems harboured not a few of them. Where Sir Francis Knollys was present: and after the assizes were over, gave an account of the proceedings against them to the Lord Treasurer at Court; but could not forbear flinging at the Archbishop, and those of his order, on this occasion: as though they gave countenance to these persons, and used some practices agreeable to Popery. In his letter to the said nobleman he signified, "that since he came to "Oxford to the assizes, he found two sorts of Papists: "*viz.* Papists that were traitors, and Papists that were "cunning shifters, to avoid the penalty and danger of the "law. That both were very proud boasters, and such as "had conceived very great hopes: the one sort to die "gloriously for the Popish religion; and the other sort to "escape death by obstinate refusal to answer directly to

Papists tried at the assizes at Oxford. Some account of them.

BOOK III.

Anno 1589. 315

"the charge of their offences: although they would plainly "shew themselves to be Popish Catholics, and traitorously "affected." He subjoined, "that he had here also found "two sorts of subjects, of clergymen and of laymen. The "one sort of clergy and lay were those that sought to "maintain the jurisdiction of my Lord Archbishop, &c.

Difference between two gentlemen there.

"The which two sorts of men, as he wrote, he could not "better describe to his Lordship, than by the persons "of two gentlemen (concerned in the present assizes) "dwelling in Banbury, and near the town; differing much "in manner and behaviour. The one of which persons "was Mr. Davers, then Sheriff of that shire; the other, "Mr. Cope, a more faithful and virtuous gentleman, in his "opinion. The former, *viz.* the High Sheriff, he might "signify, he said, and figure to be the persons that leaned "passionately to the strict observance of the ceremonies "of the Book of Common Prayer; and that no ceremony "thereof should be allowed to be omitted at any time, nor "for any cause, without punishment. And that Mr. Cope, "neighbour to the other, might signify and figure to be "the persons that did passionately lean to the strict ob- "servation of the dutiful maintenance of her Majesty's "supreme government, and of her honour and safety "thereunto belonging."

The issue.

There was a disturbance made at Banbury not long before; upon occasion of some difference arising between the Lord Norris, Lord Lieutenant of the county, and the said High Sheriff: and the two chief contenders were the said Sheriff and the other gentleman, a favourer of Puritanism. The matter came before the Justice of assize; who very well liked of the virtuous behaviour of Mr. Cope, and very much misliked the contentious behaviour of Mr. Davers. Insomuch that he was fain to acknowledge his disorder undutifully used towards the said Lord; and promised that henceforth he would obediently acknowledge and observe his duty. This Sir Francis occasionally brought into his letter, relating it after this fashion, to shew his little good-will to such as favoured Bishops, and approved

the divine service of the Church, and the orders and prescriptions of it.

Anno 1589. Jesuits executed at Oxford assizes.

But to return to his relation concerning what befell some Papists at these assizes. By order of Mr. Topcliff, (who was one appointed to spy out and discover Papists in these times,) and of Mr. Attorney; one Turwhit, a pursuivant, brought thither certain Jesuits, being obstinate traitors, who were worthily here condemned: being roundly now proceeded withal; to the daunting of all the Papists, that before this proceeding had proudly advanced themselves, as though they ought to be taken for good subjects. There was then discovered a receptacle-house at Yxel lodge, in the forest of Barnwood, for Jesuits. The dwellers there that harboured them, were a father and a brother of one Belson, executed at that assizes.

CHAP. XXIV. 316

The soldiers furnished by the Clergy required to be in a readiness. Letters of the Council to the Archbishop: and of the Archbishop to the Bishops, for that purpose. Public prayers appointed by the Archbishop. Consults about the decay of learning in Oxford. Positions vented in Cambridge against the magistrates. Bishop Hutton's discourse with the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham concerning episcopacy, &c. The sees of Bristol and Oxford filled. Unites two churches in Northampton. Dr. Perne dies. Robert Brown, the Separatist, returns to the Church. Some account of him. His tables.

The Clergy required to prepare their horse and foot against the Spaniard.

AND it was highly necessary now, thus to deal with the Popish Priests and Jesuits, that came in plentifully about these times into the realm, and found safe harbour, to subvert the Queen's subjects; and when another Spanish invasion was certainly expected this year. Therefore, as the

BOOK III.

Anno 1589. Archbishop, the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, had freely offered to send in horses and men, furnished with arms and weapons, the last year; (which was very gratefully accepted at their hands by the Queen, and generally by all the subjects of the realm;) so it was expected this year, that the same forces of theirs should be now got ready. "For that as the Council wrote to the Archbishop, "the danger was not over; and that still the extirpation "of religion was intended: and that the enemy still con- "tinued his malice and wicked purposes, and did arm "and make new preparations. And that therefore the "Queen, having a princely care and regard for the defence "of the realm, and thought it meet to put in readiness the "forces of the same; they [the Privy Council] thought "good to pray his good Lordship to give order to the rest "of the Bishops and Clergy, that such number of horse- "men and footmen, as were then furnished by them, might "now be put in a readiness; sorted with armour and wea- "pon accordingly, within so short a time as conveniently "might be done. That a view might be taken of them, "by such as her Majesty should appoint for that purpose. "Wherein, as they doubted not, but that he, the Archbi- "shop, and the rest of the Clergy, would shew that for- "wardness and readiness, as the rest of the subjects "should be encouraged by their example: so likewise, be- "cause her Majesty did look that those numbers which "were then certified should be an extraordinary supply "and increase of forces, raised of their voluntary offer and "contribution: to the end it might appear to the world, "how ready they [of the Clergy] were to spare no ex- "penses for the defence of that religion which they pro- "fessed and taught: seeing the quarrel picked to her Ma- "jesty by foreign princes grew out of that root.

The Council to the Archbishop for that purpose. Regist. Whitg. vol. i. fol. 163.

"That therefore they were to pray his Lordship, that "special care should be had, that those forces that should "be by them furnished, might not be taken out of the "trained and enrolled bands which were already prepared "by the country. The which otherwise, as his Lordship

"knew, would be no augmentation of forces; but weaken-
"ing and diminishing of the bands already erected by her
"Majesty's appointment. And so, praying the Archbishop
"to take such order herein, as the forwardness and good 317
"disposition of the Clergy might appear in these times of
"danger; and that he would cause certificates to be sent
"unto them [of the Council] of the several troops and
"bands; they wished his Lordship right heartily well to
"fare. From the Court at Greenwich, the 4th day of
"March, 1589; subscribing,

"Your good Lordship's very assured loving friends,

"Will. Burghley.	F. Walsingham.	W. Cobham.
"F. Knollys.	H. Hunsdon.	Fortescue.
"C. Howard.	J. Wolley.	T. Buckhurst."

The Archbishop's letter to the Bishops for arms. Regist. Whitg. fol. 163.

Within two days after, *viz.* March the 6th, the diligent Archbishop without delay despatched his letters to the Bishops of his province, with the copy of their Lordships' letter inclosed; for their putting in readiness of such horse and armour, as they had certified in the year 1588. to have been prepared by themselves, and the Clergy of their respective dioceses: "Their Lordships nothing doubted, (as
"he wrote to them in his letter,) but that the same would
"presently be put in a readiness, and rather increased
"than in any point diminished. That the number of
"horses, especially of lances, were thought to be very few
"within their dioceses: considering what proportion was
"intended to have been allotted upon the Clergy the last
"Parliament. Which also we, (said the Archbishop,
"meaning themselves in the Convocation,) promised to
"perform, without any such compulsion, when need should
"require. He added, that it was greatly misliked, that
"they that were Bishops, and others that were Deans,
"Archdeacons, and other double-beneficed men, who of
"necessity must have horses for themselves and their
"men, (that rid with them,) were not furnished with such
"as were serviceable: especially in those dangerous days

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

" and times, wherein it stood them so greatly upon, both " in respect of the religion they professed, and also of the " safety of their lives, goods, country, and all that they " had. For what, said he, would become of all these, if " the cruel enemy, the Spaniard, should prevail?

" Wherefore, in the most earnest manner that he could, " he earnestly prayed the Bishops, not only to strain them- " selves, for the better furnishing of this service, but also " the rest of the Clergy of their diocese. That they should " herein shew good fruits of their profession; give good " example to others; perform a necessary duty to their " country; greatly comfort her Majesty; and do more " good to the state of the Church, than they peradventure " did conceive. And lest perhaps some of them did not " remember the particulars of their foresaid certificates, he " thought fit, he said, to send inclosed (in his letters to " them) a brief thereof, as it was recorded in the Coun- " cil Book. And as for such as the Bishops then had sig- " nified unto him, to have been backward in this service, " the Archbishop directed the said Bishops, either to force " them to furnish themselves proportionably to others of " like ability; or else to certify their names to him, that " they might be dealt with accordingly."

He urged further, " that they must go in hand with " this business with all speed; and advertise him of their " doings, as soon as possibly they could." And then, like a truly godly Primate, after these temporal means prepared, to defend religion and the realm, he directed also the spiritual weapons to be used; that general public supplications and prayers should be made to Almighty God for his blessing and protection: piously subjoining these words to the said Bishops:

318 " And forasmuch as these means will profit little or no- " thing, unless God be on our side; therefore I think it " also most requisite, that you forthwith cause public " prayers throughout your whole dioceses to be used in " every several parish church, thrice in the week at least:

"according to such order as was taken at the last intended invasion: unless they should receive further direction from him."

And to certify him concerning preachers.

And lastly, he expressed himself "very desirous (for "some special causes moving him thereunto) to have as "well a brief note from them, how many parish churches "within each diocese were furnished with preachers, "and how many were unfurnished. And likewise, how "many preachers there were that had no benefices, with "cure in the same: as also, how many recusants they had "remaining there." His reason hereof was, for the better knowing the present state of the Church, in order to his dealing with Puritans and Papists. "And so he prayed "them to take good consideration of every the contents of "this his letter; and to be careful to see the same per"formed, as they loved and tendered their own credit and "the good of the Church. And so he committed them to "the tuition of Almighty God. From Lambeth, the 6th "of March, 1589. Subscribing himself,

"Their loving brother in Christ,

"J. Cant."

The Archbishop's care for the Church with respect to the Universities.

In order to the mending and bettering of the state of the Church, the Archbishop had it under deliberation, how to provide for it a constant supply of men endued with good learning, that might be able to defend the present excellent reformation and establishment of it, against its adversaries of both sorts; and that more and better preachers might be sent abroad for the instruction and edification of the Queen's subjects, according to it; especially since ignorance and want of preaching the Gospel, and a reading ministry, were so much and so frequently called out against; though too unjustly, all things considered. And for this purpose he had a careful eye to the Universities; as being the seminaries from whence the Church was furnished from time to time with governors and ministers, for the service of it.

In the correspondence therefore between the Archbishop

BOOK III.

and the Lord Treasurer this year, there passed certain discourses of the great decay of learning and other good qualifications in the University of Oxford. And the Archbishop in a letter had told him, that he would ere long tell what his thoughts were, by word of mouth, when they should meet together. We shall have light in this matter by a paper (which I meet with among some authentic MSS.) laid before the Archbishop concerning the neglects of that University: and which paper the Archbishop seemed to have communicated to the said Lord. It ran to this tenor:

Anno 1589. The decay of learning in Oxford. MSS. G. Petyt.

1. "The great neglect of public lectures in the three "professions, the tongues, and all arts; and the remiss- "ness of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors in calling the "school-books, as in former times, by the rolls of the bea- "dles. 2. The want of encouragement and reward in the "University, for such as would make themselves University "scholars; to read public lectures, or to write against the "adversary: there being only six places of Professors, and "salaries so small, that they will not suffice, unless only to "buy books: whereby it followeth, that every scholar fit- "teth his studies to be a popular preacher, or falls to prac- "tise in the faculty, and neglecteth profound learning. 3. "The want of direction of the studies of the younger sort "by Masters and Governors in colleges: whereby it cometh "to pass, that few do read the best authors, fathers, and "schoolmen, in divinity. And so in other professions, both "comments and epitomes. 4. The facility of granting de- "grees before they do the acts required by statute. But "chiefly the granting of dispensations of absence from the
319 "University: by reason whereof many, and the greatest "part of proceeders in Arts yearly, do not spend above a "third part of the time limited in the statutes for hearing "of public lectures in arts, &c. in the University; but ra- "ther in some gentleman's house or Curate's place. And "so the University giveth degrees and honours to the un- "learned; and the Church is filled with ignorant Min- "isters, being for the most part poor scholars: in whom

" it is true, *Necessitas cogit ad turpia.* These dispens-
" ations would be restrained unto the degree of doctorship;
" and that rarely: for desuetude even in the best maketh
" unfit for school acts. 5. The wives and children of such
" as are married, and keep their families in their colleges.
" They are distracted with the care of family and posterity,
" and so neglect learning and government. And thereby
" most esteem of such as are fittest for such purposes; and
" the best and finest wits, and men of greatest hopes, by
" such baits are often caught, and withdrawn, and put out
" into the world before their time and ripeness. 6. The
" liberty of young students, to go out of their colleges with-
" out leave; and the licence of others, to lodge abroad in
" houses in the town; and the loose government of many
" halls, where hours of shutting up of gates be not well ob-
" served, nor none called to account for lying out; whereby
" many disorders are committed by night-walkers. 7. The
" contempt of formal habits in apparel, and want of reve-
" rence of higher degrees; (Bachelors of Arts being in no
" subjection in that University;) whereby it cometh to
" pass, that none be known or rejected in his place."

This that follows is the Archbishop's own hand.

" 8. Not coming to their meals in the common hall, as
" their statutes require, but dining in their chambers, or in
" the town; which is the cause of over-spending them-
" selves, loss of time, and many other inconveniences. 9.
" Excess in apparel, both in the University and abroad.
" Scholars and Graduates neglecting to use their habits
" according to their degrees, and attiring themselves like
" courtiers, in silks, contrary to their statutes, and all good
" order. 10. Neglect of disputations, lectures, and other
" scholastical exercises, both in the public schools and pri-
" vate colleges, contrary to the statutes both of the Uni-
" versities and particular colleges. 11. Neglect of speaking
" Latin; whereunto they are bound both by public and pri-
" vate statutes. 12. The negligence of tutors towards
" their pupils, as well in matters of learning as religion

BOOK III. Anno 1589.

" and manners. 13. The intolerable carelessness of Heads " of colleges, and other officers of the University, who have " authority sufficient to reform all these things, but do it " not."

As these were the defects in Oxford, and the reasons of the decay of learning there; so the Archbishop intended now a meeting with the Lord Treasurer, to confer with him by word of mouth, for the remedying thereof. As for those colleges where he was Visitor, and the disorders there, we shall see hereafter, in the process of this history, what orders he took for the redress thereof, and for rectifying abuses and neglects by the members, and for restoring the due observance of the statutes.

New contentions in Cambridge, of the Fellows against the Heads.

Things also were out of course in the other University, that of Cambridge, (of which our Archbishop once was a member and Head, and ever a friend and patron,) by reason of the prevalency of a faction. What the Archbishop's influence and endeavours from time to time were, for keeping good orders there, we have seen divers instances. Notwithstanding, the principles of the new platformers had tainted not a few of its members in many of the colleges: and by the frequent meetings of T. Cartwright and other Puritan Ministers, privately holding their synods here, the younger sort of students were carried away with those plausible conceits: as may appear by a letter of Dr. Preston, Vice-Chancellor, dated in February 1589, to their
320 High Chancellor, about an emergence (as he reckoned it) of such import, that he thought it needful to acquaint him with it, and to take his advice about it. There had happened a difference between the Heads and the rest of the Fellows and Members of the colleges, occasioned upon a sentence of the Vice-Chancellor against one Johnson, of Christ's college, for something vented by him in the pulpit at St. Mary's. When Bettes, the Proctor, took upon him to control his sentence, by inhibiting Dr. Barwel, [Master of the said college] in the execution thereof; which was done in pursuit of some loose principles taken up and espoused by them: " thereby to give themselves a liberty

"(as the Vice-Chancellor wrote) to control the sentence "of the magistrates. For which purpose they allowed a "certain liberty of speech in the pulpit; either to discou- "rage the magistrate, as far as by words they might, from "the doing of his duty in the repressing of them; or by "animating the younger sort against lawful authority, by "the liberty and strangeness of their positions, to bring "the governors there into contempt: being agreeable to "that course which had been lately taken for the over- "throwing of the present estate: the ready way to con- "fusion in the common nurseries of learning." And then he descended particularly to name some of these men's principles, *viz.*

Positions vented there against magistrates. MSS. Academ. penes me.

"They did ordinarily," said he in the same letter, "hold "and boldly give out in their public sermons, as follow- "eth, *viz.*

"That a sentence given by a Judge is to be examined "by every private man, by the word of God.

"That it deserveth no obedience, if by them it be not "found to be thereunto agreeable.

"That the godly zealous in these times are ordinarily "persecuted by the authority of the superior.

"That the young ones in God's school are not to faint, "or to be discouraged by such tyranny.

"That the beauty of our Church, in the government "thereof, is far from that of the presbytery, &c. in the "time of the Apostles, &c.

"Whereupon, (as the said Vice-Chancellor concluded,) "that forasmuch as he took it to be very apparent, that all "these hurts and incumbrances [above mentioned] did "principally arise from Mr. Johnson's complotting with "his associates; it must needs be confessed, he did not "see how to proceed, for the greatness of the inconveni- "encies like to ensue; unless by his Honour [the said "Chancellor] they might be therein relieved." I shall not pursue further these University animosities raised by the faction, as wide of my present business; only to observe, that Mr. Andrews (then or thereabouts Archbishop Whit-

BOOK III.

gift's Chaplain) was denied his grace of Doctor of Divinity in the first congregation of Dr. Preston's admission of him.

Anno 1589.

Bishop Hutton's discourse about episcopacy before the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham.

In this *interim*, while the calling of Bishops, and their authority, as founded upon Scripture, was so much opposed, as contrary thereunto; a very learned discourse was seasonably made, in conference with the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham, the Queen's two great Counsellors of State, at their motion, by Hutton, Bishop of Durham, a man well studied in divinity, and sometime the Public Professor of that faculty in Cambridge, immediately before Whitgift; and for whom the said Whitgift, now Archbishop, had a great esteem for his learning. Those two great men, for their own satisfaction, heard that Bishop discourse accurately this and some other points, mightily nowadays insisted on by Puritans. An account whereof the said Bishop wrote soon after, in the month of October, to his friend the said Archbishop, which is well worthy the recording in history. This discourse consisted of three heads. I. Concerning the judicial law of Moses. II. The authority of a Prince in causes ecclesiastical. And III. The authority and lawfulness of Bishops. This Bishop being at Court, the Lord Treasurer had his company in his private chamber to dinner; where none was present but himself, the Secretary, and the Bishop. There designedly these two Statesmen, for their better satisfaction, desired
321 to hear what that well-learned and grave man could say on those greatly contested arguments. His resolutions whereof, as himself penned them down in his letter dated from York to the Archbishop, being somewhat long, I have reposited in the Appendix. Wherein we may see and understand what were the judgments of the Bishops of the realm and the learnedest Divines in those times nearest the reformation of this Church; and so best knew the true constitution of it.

Number XLIV.

His thoughts of the abuses offered to the Archbishop.

After Bishop Hutton had given this relation of his discourse, as the Archbishop had desired him, he took notice, with a concern, how grossly these seditious spirits (meaning Marprelate's party) had in their libels, and otherwise,

abused him; and he suspected, that both Papists and atheists were too near the Court, that for their own ill ends secretly upheld these men: writing thus to him: Anno 1589.

"I am sorry to hear that your Grace is so abused of some "unquiet spirits. You must be patient. And the rather, "because I do not hear that any wise man or honest man "doth conceive the worse, either of you or of the common "cause, for their writing. Only it doth comfort the Papists "and atheists; whereof the one sort seek the spoil of the "Church livings, bishoprics, Universities, and cathedral "churches: the other the overthrow of the Gospel. I pray "God there be not some of both kinds near unto the "Court. Which for these causes only, and not for any con-"science, do give them secret comfort and heartening." He added, "that there were some men in that their north "and rude country, in opinion, that if the Court were re-"formed, all England might easily be reformed."

Her Majesty moved to resume lands of the vacant bishoprics, in exchange.

Divers Bishops' sees were now vacant: of the inconveniencies whereof this was none of the least, that the good lands and lordships of these bishoprics were then especially in great danger of being resumed by the Queen, and in exchange thereof settling tithes and impropriations upon them, to satisfy the importunity of some of her courtiers: which was one of the causes (no doubt) the Archbishop often called upon the Lord Treasurer to remind the Queen of filling up those vacancies. Thus it happened not long before this time, in the month of March, when the Earl of Leicester took this occasion to prefer his suit to her Majesty, "that it would please her to resume from the bi-"shoprics of Durham, Ely, Oxford, and Bristol, now being "void, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to "the clear yearly value of one thousand two hundred "pounds. And that her Majesty would recompense the "same with parsonages, impropriate tithes and tenths, to "the like clear yearly value of 1200*l.* And then it was de-"sired, that after the said 1200*l.* should be resumed, and "recompence delivered as aforesaid, it would please her "Majesty, at the suit of the said Earl, and in consideration

BOOK III.

Anno 1589.

" he should assure unto her Highness, her heirs and suc-
" cessors for ever, of his manors, lands, tenements, and he-
" reditaments, to the clear yearly value of 1000*l.* to grant
" unto the said Earl and his heirs for ever the fee simple
" of so much of Bishops' lands and possessions, as should
" amount to the clear yearly value of 1000*l.* and of lands
" whereof her Majesty is in reversion to the clear yearly
" value of 200*l.*"

Dr. Sprint thought on for the bishopric of Bristol.

Of these bishoprics, two of the new foundation (being but of small revenue) were now intended to be filled. Dr. Sprint, Dean of Bristol, a plausible Clergyman, (very gay and brisk, a spender, and behindhand in the world,) was thought of by the Lord Treasurer, or recommended to him, to come into the government of that see. But first he consulted (as he always did in such cases) with the Archbishop, (who was now, being the month of August, at Canterbury,) concerning this man's qualifications. The Archbishop privately by letter thence signified freely his dislike of him for that preferment, as wanting that gravity that became a Father of the Church; and moreover, being under the temptation of making no fit use of the revenues of the Church; signifying his mind to this tenor:

His character. Epist. Whitg. penes me.

" That Dr. Sprint, whom the Treasurer mentioned in
" his last letter, was a man greatly indebted; and that by
" his means, as he was informed, the church of Bristol
322 " (whereof he was Dean) stood also indebted to her Ma-
" jesty for the tenths and subsidies of that diocese, in some
" good round sum of money. That besides, he was noted
" to be a man of very light and wanton behaviour. And
" therefore he thought him not meet for a bishopric." But yet we must not leave this Divine wholly under an ill character. For though on these accounts he was judged unfit to be made a Bishop, yet he had very good parts, a learned Divine, and of a sober conversation. At least under such a character he was recommended to the Lord Treasurer many years before, by Horn, Bishop of Winchester, *viz.* in the year 1576, to whose church he then belonged. Who, when the said nobleman was about to confer some benefice

upon him, and some of his friends had desired that Bishop to signify his knowledge of him, he readily shewed that Lord, "that the benefice would be well bestowed: that "the man had a proper wit; was well learned; read the "divinity lecture in his cathedral church; had a good grace "in the executing thereof, as also in preaching; that he "was of a good and sober life, to the commendation of the "rest; that he had been brought up under him six or "seven years, in which time he had found by experience "the truth of what he writ: adding, that he would be very "loth to give this commendation of him, or any other, to "his Honour, if he did but suspect the contrary." Anno 1589.

Fletcher made Bishop of Bristol. Regist. Whitg.

But whether or no his behaviour afterwards was answerable, he missed of the bishopric of Bristol, it being granted to Richard Fletcher, S. Th. P. a courtly Clergyman also, and the Queen's Chaplain; who was elected to that church of the Blessed Trinity of Bristol, and his election was confirmed on Friday, the 12th of December, 1589, and consecrated Sunday, December 14th following, in the chapel of Lambeth by the Archbishop; John Bishop of London, John Bishop of Rochester, and John Bishop of Gloucester, assisting. There was then also the same day consecrated by the same Archbishop and Bishops, John Underhil, S. Th. P. Bishop of Oxford, whose confirmation was on Saturday, December the 13th.

And Underhil, Bishop of Oxford.

Unites two churches in Northampton. Regist. Whitg.

The Archbishop did this year, in the month of February, unite St. Mary's church in Northampton, and All Saints, in the same town. That he might by this means consult for the better sustentation of the Clergy; whose better estate he studied to advance, from their slender livelihoods, this way, as well as others; especially, when no other inconvenience ensued thereby. The Archbishop's instrument set forth the particular reason and account of this union, *viz.* "That it was credibly reported to him, on the part of the "parishioners of St. Mary's in that town, that the fruits "and revenues of that church were but 54*s.* 4*d.* yearly, "too little for the maintenance of the Rector there for the "time, and other burthens belonging to the same church:

BOOK III. Anno 1589.

"And that the church itself was very ruinous, in danger "of falling for many years: that no divine offices were "performed for some time in it: nor any convenient "dwelling for the Rector: and that the rectory had now "for a long time been vacant, and no cure taken of souls "there. And further, that the inhabitants and parish- "ioners of the said St. Mary's were very few: that, with- "out any difficulty or inconvenience, they could go to the "church of All Saints within the town of Northampton: "and that it could as well receive them, with its own pa- "rishioners, as also the inhabitants of St. Gregory's, that "had been a good while united to the same. Upon these "considerations he, the Archbishop, granted their petition, "and made them one parish, and constituted them one "ecclesiastical benefice; and to go under the name of All "Saints, with the parochial churches of St. Mary the Vir- "gin and St. Gregory's annexed to it, for all future "times." This instrument bore date February the 20th, 1589.

Dr. Perne dies at the Archbishop's house in Lambeth.

This year deprived the church of Ely of her Dean, Peterhouse in Cambridge of a good governor and liberal benefactor, that University of an ancient and very useful Head, and our Archbishop of a very dear friend, as formerly he had been his great patron, *viz.* Andrew Perne, S. Th. P. the Archbishop having been sometime after his coming to Cambridge admitted Fellow of that house, and having had 323 his peculiar regard when he was a young man there. He was very much with the Archbishop at Lambhith in the latter part of his life. At whose palace he deceased in the month of April. And from thence was borne to the parish church, and there interred; with a grave-stone and inscription laid upon him; but now gone. But is preserved and recorded in this History elsewhere.

Book i. c. i.

His arms, granted by Garter. Offic. Armor.

He was honoured by Garter Principal King of Arms with a coat of arms, being or, a chevron between three pelicans' heads erased, azure: a star of the first. His patent bore date June the 15th, 1579. Wherein this honourable character is given of him: *Diu ita virtute et optima-*

rum scientiarum cognitione omnibus claruit, ut maximis honoris gradibus offici, inque aliorum nobilium catalogo numerari justis de causis omnibus bonis dignus, magnopere videretur: Nos igitur præfatus Garterus Armorum Rex, ne præclara illius merita negligere, aut eximiis dotibus præditos nihil æstimare videamur (quantum me penes foret) non potui non eundem merito illustrare. Quo melius igitur inter alios nobiles recipiatur, et eadem loci dignitate, quam multi excellentes antea obtinuerint, in perpetuum fruatur, ego prædictus Armorum Rex, &c. Anno 1589.

Browne the Separatist returneth to the Church.

I shall conclude this year with a note of a matter, which, though it may seem some digression from our present history of Archbishop Whitgift, yet, having so peculiar a respect to one of this Church's adversaries, (which our Archbishop so vigorously set himself to maintain against them,) may have a place here. This year there went off from the separation, and came into the communion of the Church, a ringleader, namely, Robert Browne: who went at a further distance than any of the Puritans at first did; even to the breaking off wholly from the Church established, as holding it utterly unlawful to be a member thereof, or to communicate with it; as being antichristian and idolatrous. This man writ books to prove this charge; whereby he drew away a great party with him: and set up a sect, which from his name were called *Brownists*. The Lord Treasurer was related to his father, Anthony Browne, of Tolthorp, in the county of Rutland, Esq. and High Sheriff of that county in 37 Hen. VIII. 5 Mar. and 13 Eliz. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Philip Boteler, of Woodhal, in the county of Hertford: whose third son was this Robert, that became afterwards Rector of Achurch in Northamptonshire. The said Lord Treasurer therefore, when this his cousin had left his fancies, and was now become obedient to the Church, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, (in whose diocese he was,) to shew him favour: and that as he had been deprived of some benefice which he had before; so now, if he found him duly conformable, to provide some ecclesiastical employment

Ex Offic. Armorum Rutland Visitat. book.

BOOK III.

for him. That Lord's letter ran to this tenor: "That "though it might seem somewhat strange, that he should

Anno 1589. Lord Treasurer's letter to the Bishop in favour of him.

"write unto his Lordship in favour of the bearer, Robert "Browne; who had been so notably misliked in the world "for his strange manner of writing and opinions, held by "him; yet seeing he had now a good time forsaken the "same, and submitted himself to the order and govern- "ment established in the Church; he had been the rather "moved to recommend him to his Lordship's favour; and "to pray him, if haply any conceit might be in him, that "there should remain any relics in him of his former er- "roneous opinions, that he would confer with him: and "finding him dutiful and conformable, (as he hoped he "should,) to receive him again into the ministry; and to "give him his best means and help for ecclesiastical pre- "ferment. And that herein, as he added, he was the more "willing to do him good, and was not a little glad of his "reclaiming of him, because of kindred to him; as his "Lordship, he believed, knew." This he writ from his house near the Savoy, 20th of June, 1589.

He remained fanciful, and conceited of his learning.

But it seems Mr. Browne could not so leave his opinions, but he still remained conceited and very fanciful. Certain *tables* in Latin, which he wrote, and hugely applauded himself for, shew the same: which were offered to some Bishops to read and consider, for the readier promoting the study of arts and sciences, as he fancied. Of him, and these *tables* of his, we may better judge by his own

324 letter to the Lord Treasurer concerning them, *viz.* "that "he understood, that they had been shewed to some "learned and reverend fathers, but were either neg- "lected, or through greater business forgotten. Never- "theless he assured himself, and dared offer (as he said) "the challenge, that in that treatise he had justly altered "the arts and the rules and terms of art, by evidence "of the word: and had corrected many errors of all our "professors; yea, many falsified points of learning, both "in the method and truth of the arts, and also of religion. "Also, that he was to justify this treatise, and the exact

" method and truth thereof, against the multitude of phi- CHAP. XXIV.
" losophers, doctors, and writers heretofore: and that he
" would prove, that the word of God did expressly set Anno 1589.
" down all necessary and general rule of the arts and all
" learning. And at last hinted his desire, that he might be
" authorized to read public lectures, and make profession
" accordingly, at his Lordship's town of Stamford." But the whole letter may be worth reading for the novelty; and therefore I have put it into the Appendix. N°. XLV.

THE END OF VOL. I.

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